

PRABHURAM AYURVEDIC COLLEGE
&
DR POPAT UNIVERSITY OF AYURVED
PUBLICATION

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पोपट युनिवर्सिटी ओफ आयुर्वेदनां "आचार्य" पद भाटे अ
प्रभुराम आयुर्वेदिक कोलेजनी मेम्बरशीप भाटे
परीक्षक समितिअ स्वीकारेले निबंध

रसायनाचार्य: वासुदेव भूषणशंकर द्विवेदी,
एम. पी. ए.

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मुंबई

December 1935

નં. ૨૧૩૦ ઓફ ૧૯૩૫.

નિબંધ અને તેના લખનાર વિષે, સામ્રેદ્ય થોડુંક રસમય લખાયું છે, પણ થોડી લુખ્ખી દકીકતોનો ઉદ્દેશ્ય અહીં કરવો રહે છે.

શ્રી વાસુદેવ મૂળચંકર દિવેદીએ બરોબર તેવાર થઈ પોતાનો નિબંધ પ્રભુરામ આયુર્વેદિક કોલેજ અને ડો. પોપટ યુનિવર્સિટી ઓફ આયુર્વેદની પરીક્ષા સમિતિ સમક્ષ મુકયો હતો. સમિતિએ તે બરોબર તપાસી જોયો અને લગભગ દૈનિક માસ પછી શ્રી વાસુદેવને રસાયનાચાર્યના પદ માટે અને પ્રભુરામ આયુર્વેદિક કોલેજની મેમ્બરશીપ માટે લાયક ઠેરવ્યા.

આ પ્રકારેના નિબંધોની માસિકી સંસ્થાની જ ગણાય. એટલા માટે જ જ્યારે 'આયુર્વેદ વિજ્ઞાન' તરફથી શ્રી. શાસ્ત્રીએ એ નિબંધના મુદ્રણ માટે માગણી કરી ત્યારે એ મેં સહયોગ સ્વીકારી, અને એ સાથે મેં એ માગણી કરી. કે. જર્જરી અરથે સંસ્થાને નિબંધની ૨૫૦ નકલો મળવી જોઈએ. એ વિનિતિ સ્વીકારવા માટે હું તેમનો આભારી છું.

આસ કરીને 'આચાર્ય'ની પદવી માટેના વિદ્યાર્થીઓ તરફથી કયા પ્રકારના લેખનની આશા, પરીક્ષક સમિતિ તરફથી રાખવામાં આવે છે તેની પ્રતીતિ આ નિબંધના વાંચનારને થશે.

કોલેજ અને યુનિવર્સિટીનું આ પ્રથમ સ્વતંત્ર પ્રકાશન આવા જ અનેક સ્વતંત્ર પ્રકાશનોમાં પરિણમી એનું પ્રભુ પ્રત્યે પ્રાર્થનું.

૧.

અતાપકુંભાર વૈદ્ય

૨૪-૧૨-૩૫

કોલેજ-યુનિવર્સિટીની ઓફીસ
વૈદ્યશુવન-શુભેશ્વર, મુંબઈ નં.

ડ. પી. એ. સી.,

ફેટરી પ્રભુરામ આયુર્વેદ કોલેજ અને
ડો. પોપટ યુનિવર્સિટી ઓફ આયુર્વેદ

ઉપાધિ: આદિત્ય મુદ્રણાલય
અમદાવાદ

કુપર ઉપાધિ: 'ગુજરાતી' પ્રેસ
મુંબઈ

પ્રકાશક: અતાપકુંભાર વૈદ્ય

'આયુર્વેદ વિજ્ઞાલય' અને સહસંસ્થાઓના મંત્રી

અબ્રક સર્વસ્વમ્

પ્રાસ્તાવિક એ શબ્દો

મારા મિત્ર વૈદ્યરાજ ભાઈ વાસુદેવ મૂળશંકર દિવેદીએ પ્રભુરામ આયુર્વેદિક કોલેજ અને પોપટ યુનિવર્સિટી તરફની આચાર્ય પદવી માટે લખેલા અબ્રક સર્વસ્વમ્ નામના આ નિબંધને ઉપર કહેલી સંસ્થાની પરીક્ષક કમિટીએ આચાર્ય પદવીને યોગ્ય ગણ્યો છે. એ હકીકત જ એ નિબંધનો યોગ્યતા પૂરવાર કરવા માટે પૂરતી છે.

એ નિબંધના લેખક ભાઈ વાસુદેવ સાથે મારે પહેલું ઓળખાણ નાશિકના નિ. ભા. વૈદ્ય સંમેલન વખતે ભાઈ બાપાલાલ ગ. શાહ મારફત થયું. ત્યારથી જ તેઓને રસશાસ્ત્રનો શોખ છે, રસશાસ્ત્રના ગ્રન્થો વાંચવાનો જ નહિ પણ પ્રયોગો કરવાનો યે શોખ છે એ હું બહુ શક્યો છું. બીજી તરફથી આધુનિક વિજ્ઞાનનો પરિચય રાખી જે વિષયનો અભ્યાસ કરવા માંગ્યો હોય તે વિષયનું વૈજ્ઞાનિક સાહિત્ય વાંચી જઈ પ્રાચીન ગ્રન્થોનાં કથનો સાથે તેની તુલના કરી હાથમાં લીધેલા વિષયને પૂરેપૂરો સમજી લેવાનો ભાઈ વાસુદેવ આગ્રહ રાખે છે. અને આ નિબંધમાં એ તુલનાત્મક અભ્યાસનું કૃણ સ્પષ્ટ જોઈ શકાય છે.

આ નિબંધમાં અપૂર્વ અન્વેષણ છે કે તદ્દન નવીન આવિષ્કાર છે એવો દાવો નિબંધકારનો નથી. અને એ સમય પણ હજી દૂર છે. હજી તો જે જૂનું ધન કાંઈક દટાયેલું કે મેલ ચડેલું પડ્યું છે તેને ખદાર કાઢી, સાફ કરી, ઉત્તમી, વ્યવસ્થિત રીતે ગોઠવવું એ મોટું કામ કરવાનું છે. વ્યવસ્થિત રીતે ગોઠવાયા પછી હાલની દુનિયાના બજારમાં આપણી દુકાનમાં ગોઠવાયેલા માલની સાચી કોમત કેટલી છે એની આપણને અને બીજાને ખબર પડશે. પણ એ તો બધી ભવિષ્યની વાત છે. અત્યારે તો ઉપર કહેલ વ્યવસ્થિત ગોઠવણીની દિશામાં વૈદ્યરાજ વાસુદેવ મૂળશંકર જે કામ કર્યું છે તે વિદ્વાનોની આગળ રજુ કરવાની ફરજ હું બજાવું છું.

અબ્રક સર્વેશ્વર

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A thesis, for Acharya Test, submitted to Prabhurām Ayurvedic College. (Bombay)

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અબ્રક સર્વસ્વમ્

લેખ લખવાનો ઉદ્દેશ:—

ગૌરીતેજ:પરમમૃતમ્—શ્રી ભગવતી પાર્વતીનું તેજ અને પરમ અમૃત એવા અબ્રકનું સ્થાન દેશી વૈદ્યકમાં ઉચ્ચ છે. ક્ષયરોગ, દમ, નપુંસકત્વ વિગેરે અનેક મહાન વ્યાધિઓની ચિકિત્સામાં તેની પ્રશંસા સારી છે. આવા અતીવ મહત્વના ઔષધિદ્રવ્ય વિષે સાચી અને સર્વ દેશીય માહિતીની જરૂર છે.

ઉત્પત્તિ:—

અબ્રકને રસકોવિદોએ અષ્ટ મહારસમાં ગણ્યું છે. આયુર્વેદ પ્રકાશકારે તેની ઉત્પત્તિ વિષે રમુજી કથા કહી છે; પરંતુ મને તો તેમાં બહુ જ સુંદર નિગૂઢ સત્ય લાગે છે. “વૃત્રાસુરવધ માટે ઇંદ્રે જે વજ્ર ધારણ કર્યું હતું, તેમાંથી યુદ્ધ દરમિયાન જે તણુઆ આકાશમાં ફેલાયેલા, તે પર્વતના શિખર પર પડ્યા. અને જે જે પર્વતપર તે પડ્યા તે તે પર્વતમાં અબ્રક ઉત્પન્ન થયું.” તદ્વજ્રંવજ્રજાત—ત્વાત્—(આયુર્વેદ પ્રકાશ—પૃષ્ઠ ૭૬-૭૭) એમાં તો અબ્રકના ગર્ભમાં મુખ્ય કંઈ ધાતુ હોવી જોઈએ તે બધું સમગ્રની દીધું નથી લાગતું શું ?

ભેદનિર્ણય:—

શ્વેત, રક્ત, પીત, અને કૃષ્ણ એવા અબ્રકના મુખ્ય ચાર ભેદ પાડ્યા છે. તેમાં તારકર્મ (રૂપું બનાવવાની ક્રિયા)માં શ્વેત, રસાયન ચિધિમાં રક્તાબ્ર, હેમક્રિયામાં પીળું અબ્રક અને—

× × × કૃષ્ણંતુ ગદેપુદ્ગતયેડપિચ (આ-પ્ર પૃ. ૭૭-શ્લો. ૫).

(૨) કૃષ્ણં તત્ર ગદાપહમ્ (રસતરંગિણી-પૃ. ૯૩-શ્લો. ૩).

(૩) રસે રસાયને ચૈત્ર યોજ્યં વજ્રાબ્રકં પ્રિયે ।

(રસાર્ણવ-પૃ. ૬૯-શ્લો. ૮)

રસકર્મમાં તથા વ્યાધિહરણ કાર્યમાં કૃષ્ણાબ્રકની યોજના ચરેલી છે. તે સમગ્રય તેવું છે. અને આ કૃષ્ણાબ્રકના પિનાક, નાગ, મંદૂક, અને વજ્ર એવા ચાર પેટા ભેદો છે. લુઓ—

(૧) પિનાકં દર્દુરં નાગં વજ્રંચેતિ ચતુર્વિધમ્ ।

કૃષ્ણાબ્રં કથિતં પ્રાજ્ઞે તેષાં લક્ષણ પુચ્યતે ॥ ૬ ॥ (આયુ. પ્ર. પૃ. ૭૭)

(૨) પિનાક નાગ મંદૂક વજ્રાહ્યવિભેદતઃ

પરીક્ષા:—

આ ઉપરથી પિનાક વગેરે કૃષ્ણાભ્રકના જ બેદો છે, તે સિદ્ધ થાય છે. લગભગ બંધાં રસમૈથોમાં આ પ્રમાણે જ છે. (૧) પિનાક જ્વલિતાં અભ્રકને અગ્નિ પર મુકવાથી તેનો દલસંચય ફૂલે છે, (૨) દર્દર જ્વલિતાં અભ્રકને અગ્નિમાં નાખતાં તે દર્દુરવત્ ખનિ કરે છે. (૩) નાગાભ્રક અગ્નિમાં નાખતાં નાગના જેવા ફૂટકાર કાઢે છે અને (૪) વજ્રાભ્રક

વજ્રાભ્રક:—

વજ્રં તુ વજ્રવત્ તિષ્ઠેત્ત ચાગ્નો વિકૃતિં વ્રજેત્ ।

સર્વાન્નૈષુ વરં વજ્રં વ્યાધિવાર્ધક્ય મૃત્યુજિત્ ॥ ૧૦ ॥

અન્યત્રાપિ

યદંજનનિમં ક્ષિપ્તં ન વદ્ધૌ વિકૃતિં વ્રજેત્ ॥ ૧૧ ॥

(આ. પ્ર. પૃ. ૭૭)

અગ્નિમાં નાખતાં વજ્રની પેઠે (લોહની પેઠે) અવિકૃત જ રહે છે, અંજન જેવું સ્થામ હોય છે. સર્વ અભ્રકમાં તે શ્રેષ્ઠ છે. અને તે જરા, વ્યાધિ, અને મૃત્યુને જીતે છે. આ ઉપરથી એટલી વાત તો નિર્વિવાદ સિદ્ધ થાય છે, કે કાળા અભ્રકમાં પણ વજ્રાભ્રક એ જ આપણા ઔષધોપયોગ માટે વાપરવા યોગ્ય અભ્રક ગણાય. તે કયાંથી નીકળે છે? તેમાં શું શું તત્વો છે? વગેરે જાણવું પણ જરૂરનું છે. પણ ત્યાર પહેલાં સ્વેત, રક્ત, વિગેરે જ્વલિતાં અભ્રકોમાં પણ શું છે? તેનું સંક્ષિપ્ત નિરૂપણ અરથાને નહિ ગણાય.

Muscovite } સ્વેતાભ્રક:—

મસ્કોવાઇટ

Muscovit અથવા Potash Mica. આ જ્વલિત ધણે ભાગે સફેદ જુરા રંગની કે સહેજ પીળા રંગની હોય છે. કેટલીક પ્રકારનાં સ્વેતાભ્રક અને ટેલક (હાઇડ્રસ સીલીકેટ ઓફ મેગ્નેશીયા)માં જુલ થઇ જાય તેવું છે.

સ્વેતાભ્રકમાં મેગ્નેશીયા કરતાં એલ્યુમીનીયમ વધારે હોય છે, તથા થોડાધણા પ્રમાણમાં ક્ષાર હોય છે. તેથી તેને પોટાશ માઇકા કહે છે. પોટાશ માઇકાને મળતું Paragonite of St. Gotthard છે, જેને સોડા માઇકા Sodomica $H_2 Na Al_2 (SiO_4)_2$ કહે છે. આના બીજા પણ સૂક્ષ્મ બેદો છે.

લેપીડોલાઇટ } લેપીડોલાઇટ માઇકા

લીપીયા માઇકા

II લેપીડોલાઇટ (Lepidolite) અથવા Lithia Mica નામની અભ્રકની જ્વલિતાં

$Kl [Al (OH, F)_2] Al (SiO_2)_2$ સિક્તા, એલ્યુમીનીયમ, લોહ, મેગ્નેશીય,

લીથીયા, પોટાશ, વગેરે હોય છે. તેનો રંગ ભૂરા, શ્વેત, અથવા માકિતક જેવો આછો ગુલાબી હોય છે. વૈકાન્તની ખાણોમાં તે મલી આવે છે. Mosavia માં Rogena નજીક લેપીડોલાઇટની ખાસ ભૂમિ છે. હમણાં હમણાં કાલીફોર્નિયામાં Pala માં લીથીયા વોટર ખનાવવામાં વપરાતાં લીથીયમ સોલ્ટસ પૂરાં પાડવા માટે મોટા પ્રમાણમાં ખાણમાંથી તેને કાઢવામાં આવે છે. સેક્સની, બોહીમીયા અને કેર્નવેલ જિલ્લામાં કલઇની ખાણોમાંથી Zinnwaldite નામની લીથીયાવાળી ભૂરા રંગની અબ્રકની જાત નીકળે છે.

ફ્લોગોપાઇટઃ—

III Phlogopite—ફ્લોગો પાઇટમાં કેટલાક મેગ્નેશીયન અબ્રકનો સમાવેશ થાય છે. તેનો રંગ લાલાશ પર અથવા Bronze (કાંસા) જેવો હોય છે.

વ્યાપારાર્થે કેનેડા તથા સીલોનમાંથી તેને ખોદી કાઢવામાં આવે છે.

ખાયોટાઇટઃ—

IV Biotite—(વજ્રક) ખાયોટાઇટ માઇક્રમાં મેગ્નેશીયન તથા ફેરો મેગ્નેશીયન અબ્રકની ઘણી જાતોનો સમાવેશ થાય છે. ઘણીવાર શ્વેતાબ્રકની સાથે પણ તે નીકળી આવે છે.

Rubellane—an opaque red mica from certain Volcanic rocks in merely an altered biotite which has lost its elasticity.

ભાવાર્થઃ—કેટલાક જ્વાલામુખી પહાડોમાંથી નીકળતું રૂબેલેઇન નામનું અપારદર્શક રક્ત અબ્રક એ કૃષ્ણાબ્રકનું વિકૃત સ્વરૂપ જ છે. ફક્ત તેમાંથી સ્થિતિ સ્થાપકત્વ નાશ પામેલું હોય છે.

(A dictionary of Applied Chemistry by Sir Edward Thorpe. C. B., L.L. D., F. R. S. Vol IV page 361.)

Lepidomelane લેપીડોમીલેઇન નામની કૃષ્ણાબ્રકમાં એલ્યુમીનીયમની જગ્યાએ લોહ વધારે પ્રમાણમાં હોય છે. તે અબ્રકનો રંગ કાળો હોય છે. અને તેને લોહચુંબક ખેંચી શકે છે.

(તે જ ગ્રંથના તે જ પૃષ્ઠ પર).

ઉપરના વર્ણનમાં શ્વેતાબ્ર, રક્તાબ્ર તથા કૃષ્ણાબ્રકનો સમાવેશ થાય છે. પીતાબ્રને Chlorite કહે છે. તેમાં સીલીકા, મેગ્નેશીયા, એલ્યુમીનીયમ, પાણી અને લોહ હોય છે. એમ ડો. દેશાઇ કહે છે.

(ભુએ—ભારતીય રસશાસ્ત્ર પૃ. ૨૪૧).

ઉપરોક્ત ભિન્ન ભિન્ન પ્રકારની અબ્રકની ઘટના સર એડવર્ડ થોર્પ નીચે મુજબ આપે છેઃ—

પૃથક્કરણ:—

	I સ્વેતાશ્વક	II લીલી માષકા	III ફલોગોપાષ્ટ	IV બાયોટાઇટ (કૃષ્ણાશ્વક)
SiO_2 સીલિકાઇનકાષ્ઠ ઓક્સાઇડ	૪૫-૦૫	૫૦-૯૮	૪૧-૬૮	૩૬-૩૦
Al_2O_3 એલ્યુમી. ઓક્સ.	૩૦-૫૭	૨૭-૮૦	૧૩-૨૧	૧૬-૯૫
Fe_2O_3 ફેરીક ઓક્સાઇડ	૧-૧૪	—	૦-૧૬	૦-૪૮
FeO ફેરસ ઓક્સાઇડ	૧-૭૩	૦-૦૫	૦-૧૧	૮-૪૫
CaO કેલ્શીયમ ઓક્સાઇડ	—	—	—	૦-૮૨
MgO મેગ્નેશીયમ ઓક્સાઇડ	૦-૯૭	—	૨૮-૧૬	૨૧-૮૮
K_2O પોટાશ ઓક્સાઇડ	૧૦-૨૩	૧૦-૭૮	૮-૭૮	૭-૭૬
Na_2O સોડીયમ ઓક્સાઇડ	૨-૧૩	—	૧-૦૪	૦-૪૬
Li_2O લીથીયમ ઓક્સાઇડ	—	૫-૮૮	—	—
H_2O પાણી	૬-૧૯	૦-૯૬	૩-૧૦	૪-૦૨
F ફ્લુઓરિન	૧-૨૬	૭-૮૮	૩-૦૭	૦-૮૯
	૯૯-૨૭	૧૦૪-૩૮	૧૦૧-૭૭	૧૦૧-૦૮
વિશિષ્ટ ગુણ	૨-૮૦	૨-૮૪	૨-૮૬	૨-૮૬

(ડીક્વેનરી ઓફ એપ્લાઇડ કેમીસ્ટ્રી, પૃ. ૩૬૦ ઉપરથી)

આ ઉપરથી ઉપરોક્ત ચારે પ્રકારના અશ્વકમાં ક્યાં ક્યાં તત્વો કેટકેટલા પ્રમાણમાં છે તે સ્પષ્ટ રીતે જોઈ શકાય તેવું છે. છતાં પણ બાયોટાઇટ અશ્વક એટલે કૃષ્ણાશ્વકમાં લોહનું પ્રમાણ સૌથી વધારે છે. એ ખાસ યાદ રાખવાનું છે.

વજ એટલે લોહ:—

બ્યાપારાયે અશ્વક હિંદુસ્થાન, યુનાઇટેડ સ્ટેટસ, અને કેનેડામાંથી આવે છે. હિંદુસ્થાનમાં હઝારીબાગ (ગંગાલ) નેલોર (મદ્રાસ) એ અશ્વક નીકળવાનાં મુખ્ય સ્થળો છે. રજા પુતાનામાં અજમેર પાસે પણ તેની ખાણો છે. ઉપરની અશ્વકની ઘટના પરથી માલુમ પડશે કે બાયોટાઇટ માષકામાં લોહનું સૌથી વધારે પ્રમાણ છે, એટલે સેકેડે ૮.૪૫ ટકા લોહ છે. બાયોટાઇટ માષકા એ જ આપણું કૃષ્ણાશ્વક—વજાશ્વક હોય—અને છે. વજ શબ્દનો અર્થ આ સ્થળે લોહ થાય છે. જેનાં ગર્ભમાં વધારે પ્રમાણમાં લોહ છે તેવું અશ્વક તે વજાશ્વક—એવો અભિપ્રેતાર્થ ન હોય શું ? આયુર્વેદ પ્રકાશકારની વજાશ્વકની ઉત્પત્તિ કયા આ અર્થને કેટલી મળતી આવે છે ! પારદના ચારણ પ્રકરણમાં રસાર્ણવમાં એકાદશ પટલમાં પણ કહ્યું છે કે:—

અમાવેડશ્વકસત્ત્વસ્ય કાન્તસત્ત્વં પ્રદાપયેત્ ।

કાન્તસ્ય ચાન્યમાવે તીક્ષ્ણભોહં તુ દાપયેત્ ॥

શ્લો. ૮૯-૮૧

ભાવાર્થ:—પારદની તરણ દિવામાં અમ્લકસત્ત્વના અભાવમાં કાન્તસત્ત્વ વાપરવું. અને કાન્તસત્ત્વના અભાવમાં તીક્ષ્ણલોહ વાપરવું.

આ ઉપરથી નક્કી થાય છે કે અમ્લકસત્ત્વ એટલે લોહ (અમ્લક પ્રકારનું).

અમ્લકસત્ત્વ, કાન્તસત્ત્વ, અને તીક્ષ્ણલોહ એ ત્રણે જો ભિન્ન ભિન્ન દ્રવ્ય હોય તો એક એકના સ્થાને ખીજું વાપરવાની ભૂલ રસાયણ જેવા કરે ખરા ? વાસ્તવિક રીતે કાન્તપાપાણ (Loadstone)માંથી લોહ જ નીકળે છે, અને અમ્લકસત્ત્વ એ પણ લોહ સ્વરૂપે જ નીકળે છે. એવો મારો જાતિ અનુભવ છે. તેની ખાતરી માટે મેં કંઈ રીતે અમ્લકસત્ત્વ કાઢ્યું છે તેનો સવિસ્તર પ્રયોગ આ લેખમાં આપ્યો છે.

હુંકામાં આપણા ઔષધ વ્યવહારમાં વજ્રામ્લક કૃષ્ણામ્લકનો જ ઉપયોગ કરાય છે. અને જે વજ્રામ્લકમાં વધારે પ્રમાણમાં લોહ હોય તે જ સૌથી વધારે શ્રેષ્ઠ માનવું. ભિન્ન ભિન્ન ખાણોમાંથી નીકળતા અમ્લકમાં લોહનું પ્રમાણ પણ ભિન્ન ભિન્ન હોય.

ભસ્મમાવધાન:

હવે તેની ભસ્મ બનાવવાનો વિધિ સંક્ષિપ્તમાં જોઈ લેયું તો કીક પડશે.

એક પુટી, દશ પુટી, એક ચત્વારિશતપુટિ, પદ્મિ પુટી, શત પુટિ અને સદસ પુટિ, એવા અમ્લકભસ્મ કરવાના ભિન્ન ભિન્ન પ્રકારો છે. ભસ્મ કરવામાં પ્રથમ તેનું શોધન કરવું હચિત છે. કારણ કે તેમાંથી તેથી કાંકરી વિગેરે મળે હોય છે તે નીકળી જાય.

શુદ્ધિ પ્રકાર:

प्रतप्तं सप्तवाराणि निक्षिप्तं कांजिकेऽभ्रकम् ।

निर्दोषं जायते नूनं प्रक्षिप्तं वापि गोजले ॥ ૧૭ ॥

त्रिफलाकवधिते वापि गवां दुग्धे विशेषतः

(-રસરત્ન સમુચ્ચય પૃષ્ઠ ૧૦)

ભાવાર્થ:—અમ્લકને સાત વખત તપાવી તપાવીને કાંજમાં, ગોમુત્રમાં કે ત્રિફલાના ક્વાથમાં નાખવાથી તેની શુદ્ધિ થાય છે. અને તે ગાયના દૂધમાં નાખવાથી વિશેષતઃ શુદ્ધિ થાય છે. હું ગાયના દૂધવાળો શોધનપ્રકાર વધારે પસંદ કરું છું. ધાન્યામ્લક ત્યારબાદ ધાન્યામ્લક કરવા કહ્યું છે.

धान्ययोगेन सूक्ष्मीकरणं तस्य धान्यान्नकम् इति संज्ञा । (आयुर्वेदप्रकाश-૪.૭૯)

ધાન્યામ્લક એટલે ધાન્યના યોગ વડે અમ્લકને ઝીણું બનાવવું તે. તેની વિધિ સર્વે રસ-અન્યોમાં આપેલી છે. માટે તેની પુનરુક્તિ અનાવશ્યક છે. હું તો એમ માનું છું કે આપણે જુદા કરેલ અમ્લકને ખાંડીને મુક્કમ ચૂર્ણ બનાવીને ભસ્મ કરવામાં વાપરીએ તો બરાબર ચાલે.

મારણના વિષયમાં:

પુટનિર્ણય:—(૧) અમ્લકને ટંકણથી મારવાનું લાગે છે. અને તે પણ એક જ પુટમાં

—હું આવી ભસ્મ વાપરવાની કોઈને સલાહ આપી શકતો નથી.

(૨) ખીજે પ્રકાર દશપુટ આપીને બનાવવાનો છે. પણ દશપુટમાં બરાબર નિશ્ચંદ અબ્રહ્મરૂપ કોઈ થાય છે ખરી ? મારે તો નથી થતી.

(૩) એકતાલીશ પુટની વિાધ સારી છે. (બુદ્ધિ આયુર્વેદ પ્રકાશ પૃષ્ઠ ૮૧-૨૧૦. ૩૬ થી ૪૦).

વ્યાધિહરણ યોગોમાં

દશાદિસ્તુ શતાંતઃસ્વાદ વ્યાધિનાશનકર્મણિ

(આયુ. પ્ર. ૫૦. ૭૮ સ્લો. ૧૮).

દશથી સો પુટ આપેલી અબ્રહ્મરૂપ વ્યાધિનાશન યોગ્ય થાય. શતપુટી હોય તો બહુ જ સારું. છતાં પણ શતપુટી બનાવવાનાં સામર્થ્ય કે સમય ન હોય તો નિશ્ચંદ તો જરૂર થવી જ નેહએ. કારણ કે—

મૃતં નિશ્ચંદ્રતાં યાતં અરૂણં અમૃતોપમ્ ।

સચંદ્રં વિષવજ્ઞેયં મૃત્યુકૃદ વ્યાધિરોમયત્ ॥

(આયુ. પ્ર. ૫૦. ૭. સ્લો. ૧૮)

ભાવાર્થ:—મરેલી, નિશ્ચંદ થયેલી, અણુવર્ણી, અબ્રહ્મરૂપ અમૃતતુલ્ય છે. ચંદ્રિકા-યુક્ત અબ્રહ્મરૂપ વિષ જેવી જાણવી કારણ કે તે વ્યાધિરોમ (વાધનાં ફેવાડાં)ની જેમ મૃત્યુ નીપજાવે છે. વ્યાધિરોમનો અર્થ “વ્યાધિરોમશ્ચરોમ” એવો અર્થ આયુર્વેદ પ્રકાશકાર તે જ સ્લોક નીચેની ધંકિતમાં કરે છે. હવે પ્રસ્તુત તરફ વળીએ:—

નિશ્ચંદ્ર અબ્રહ્મરૂપ પચ્ચાસપુટ વિના થવી મુશ્કેલ છે. એટલે એકચત્વારિંશત્ પુટવાળી અબ્રહ્મને ખીજ દશેક પુટ આપવાથી વધારે યોગ્ય થશે. છતાં મારો પક્ષપાત તો શતપુટી વાપરવા તરફ વધારે છે.

અગ્નિમાં મૂકતાં પહેલાં શું કરવું?

અબ્રહ્મરૂપ બનાવવામાં ગજપુટનો જ ઉપયોગ કરવો. અને ચક્રીકૃતાશ્રકમ્ (૨૨ રત્ન સમુચ્ચય સ્લો. ૨૫ પૃ. ૧૧) એટલે તેની ચક્રિકા કરીને જ ગજપુટ અગ્નિ આપવો નેહએ. અબ્રહ્મારકગણની વનસ્પતીના રસ કે ક્વાથમાં અબ્રહ્મના સૂક્ષ્મ ચૂર્ણને ઘુંટી, તેની રૂપીયા રૂપીયા જેવડી ચક્રિકાઓ—ટીકડીઓ—બનાવવી; તેને તડકે સુકવવી અને પછી તાવડીના સંપુટમાં મૂકી ગજપુટ આપવો. આવો શિષ્ટ પુરોષોનો મત છે. અને તે અનુકરણીય છે. કેટલાક તાવડી કે શરાવમાં ઉપર નીચે અર્કપત્ર મૂકવાનું પણ કહે છે. તે પણ ઠીક છે.

શતપુટ પ્રકાર:

શતપુટ પ્રકારમાં:—

દુગ્ધત્રયં કુમાર્યંબુ ગંગાપુત્રં નૃમૂત્રકમ્ ।

વટશુંગમજારક્તમેભિરશ્નં સુમર્દિતમ્ ।

શંતધાપુટિત્તં મસ્મ જાયતે પદ્મરાગવત્ ॥ ૪૧. ॥

ભાવાર્થ:—વડનું દૂધ, અને અર્ધદૂધ તથા મોય, નૂન, વડનાં કુમ્પળાનો દવાય, અને બકરીનું લોહી—એ સર્વે ક્રમશઃ સારી રીતે મદન કરી કુલ મળી સોપુટ દેવાથી લાલ કમલ જેવી અબ્રકલરમ થાય છે. (આયુર્વેદ પ્રકાશ પૃષ્ઠ ૮૧).

આ પાક સારો છે. પણ દુગ્ધનયના અભાવે ત્રણે વનસ્પતિના રસની યોગના કરાય. નૂનમૂત્રને બદલે ગૌમૂત્ર લેવાય, અને અંગરક્ત મળી રહે તો કામ સુંદર થાય. નહિ તો ખંચી બકરીનું દૂધ લેવું એવો મારો મત છે.

સહસ્રપુટક્રિયા—રહસ્ય—

સહસ્રપુટક્રિયા માટે આયુર્વેદ પ્રકાશ પૃષ્ઠ ૮૧ પર આપેલ “ગગનમારકગણ” સારો છે. તેમાંથી યથા લાભ વનસ્પતિના પુટા દેવાય; અને બરાબર સહસ્રપુટિ લરમ થાય તો જ ગણ સુંદર કામ કરે; અને શાસ્ત્રોક્ત ફલશ્રુતિનો ખરો અનુભવ થાય; તથા લોકોની શ્રદ્ધા પણ આયુર્વેદ પર દઢતર થાય. સહસ્રપુટિત અબ્રકલરમ સાફ કામ આપે છે, તેનું કારણ એવું હોય છે કે—એક હજાર વખત અગ્નિમાં પુટ આપવાથી અબ્રકલરમ પ્રધાન જ થઈ ગયું હોય અને તેનું ખૂબ જ મદન થવાથી તેનાં પરમાણુઓ સૂક્ષ્મતમ સ્થિતિમાં આવી ગયાં હોય, તેથી જ તેની આટલી બધી પ્રશસ્તિ છે. આયુર્વેદ પ્રકાશ સિવાય કોઈ પણ પ્રાચીન રસગ્રન્થમાં સહસ્રપુટી અબ્રક કરવાનો વિધિ જોવામાં આવતો નથી. આયુર્વેદ પ્રકાશ ઇ. સ. ૧૭૦૦માં લખાયેલ હોવાનું મનાય છે. રસરાજ સુંદર (પૃષ્ઠ ૧૦૬-૧૦)માં પણ સહસ્રપુટિ અબ્રક બનાવવા માટે વનસ્પતિઓની શ્લોકબદ્ધ યાદી છે; પણ લગભગ આયુર્વેદ પ્રકાશને જ મળતી છે. વળી “આયુર્વેદિય ઔષધિગુણધર્મશાસ્ત્ર” ભાગ ૧. (શ્રી. ગંગાધર શાસ્ત્રી ગુણે કૃત)માં પૃષ્ઠ ૪-૫; પરંતુ પણ સહસ્રપુટિત અબ્રકલરમ બનાવવા માટે બીજી એક વધારે યાદી આપી છે. આ સર્વે ગ્રન્થો ઉપસંખ્ય છે. તથા તેવી લાંબી યાદીઓ લખી નિરર્થક સ્થળ રોકવું અનુચિત લાગતાં, તે યાદીઓ અત્રે ઉતારી નથી.

ધણી વનસ્પતીનાં સારભૂત તત્ત્વો (enzymes) અને અબ્રકલરમનું સત્ત્વ પ્રધાનત્વ સૂક્ષ્મત્વ, આ ત્રણે તેનાં ગુણ વૈશિષ્ટ્ય માટે મહત્ત્વનાં છે.

સહસ્રપુટી અબ્રકલરમ વિધાનમાં મારકગણની વનસ્પતીઓ ૬૦ છે. દરેકના સત્તર સત્તર પુટ આપવાના છે. સોપુટ સુધી તો દરેક ભાવનાને અંતે સુકાયા બાદ પુટ આપવાનો છે. પરન્તુ—

સહસ્રપુટપક્ષે તુ ભાવના પુટનં મવેત્ ॥ ૨૦ ॥

(આયુ. પ્ર. ૫૦ ૭૮)

સહસ્રપુટ પક્ષમાં તો ભાવના (Saturation) માત્ર જ પુટ ગણાય. આ વાક્યથી કેટલાક સંદેહમાં પડે તેવું છે. કેવલ ભાવનાઓ આપીને જ હજારની સંખ્યા પુરી કરવી ઈષ્ટ નથી. કારણ કે તેમ કરવા જતાં અબ્રકલરમ કરતાં વનસ્પતીના રસના તત્ત્વોનું પ્રમાણ (વર્ણના) વધી જાય છે; માટે તે વાક્યને વળગી રહેવું ઈષ્ટ નથી. પરન્તુ દરેક ભાવનાને અંતે ગળપુટ અગ્નિ આપીને હજાર વખત અબ્રકને અગ્નિ આપો તો જ શાસ્ત્રોક્ત ગુણોની આશા રખાય, છતાં યે કેટલાક પૃદ્ધ વૈદો એવું માને છે કે:—

ત્રણ ત્રણ ભાવના આપીને ચોથી ભાવનાએ ગજપુટ અગ્નિ આપવો. એટલે સોપુટ પ્રથમના અને બાકીના નવસો પુટમાં—

ત્રણ ભાવના અને એક પુટ એમ કુલ મળી ચારપુટ ગણવા; એટલે કુલ છસોપચોતર (૬૭૫) ભાવનાઓ અને બરસોપચીચ ગજપુટ મળી બાકીના નવસો પુટની સંખ્યા પુરી કરવી. હુંકામાં કુલ ૧૦૦+૨૨૫+૩૨૫ વખત ગજપુટ અગ્નિ આપવો અને ૬૭૫ ભાવના દેવી, એમ કરવાથી સહસ્રપુટિ અબ્રહ્મરમ તૈયાર થાય.

આ વિધિ અનુકૂળતા વાળી છે. પણ મારા મત પ્રમાણે તો સહસ્ર વખત ગજપુટ અગ્નિ આપેલ અબ્રહ્મરમ—એ જ સાચી સહસ્રપુટી અબ્રહ્મરમ ગણાવી જોઈએ.

નૂતન યોજના:

લિન લિન વનસ્પતીઓના પુટ આપવા વિષે એક બીજી યોજના મને સૂઝી છે. તે વિદ્વાન વાંચકો સમક્ષ ધરવાનું યોગ્ય સમજીું છું. જેમકે—

સહસ્રપુટી અબ્રહ્મ જનાવવા માટે ૬૦ વનસ્પતીઓ છે. તેમાંથી પ્રત્યેક વનસ્પતિઓના સો સો પુટ આપીને સાઠ પ્રકારની અબ્રહ્મરમ તૈયાર કરવી. બીજી રીતમાં પ્રત્યેક વનસ્પતિના હમર હમર પુટ આપી ૬૦ નવતની બીજી અબ્રહ્મરમો તૈયાર કરવી અને તે લિન્ન લિન્ન વ્યાધિઓ પર વાપરી જોવી. દાખલા તરીકે—છર્ચુનવરમાં—ગજોના રસમાં જ જનાવેલી અબ્રહ્મ વાપરવી. દમમાં—ધતૂરાના રસમાં જ જનાવેલી અબ્રહ્મ વાપરવી. ખાંસીમાં—અરડૂશીમાં—કે અર્કદુગ્ધમાં જનાવેલી અબ્રહ્મ વાપરવી.

જ્ઞાનતંતુઓના વ્યાધિમાં—અશ્વગંધાના કવાયમાં જનાવેલ ભરમ યોજવી.

પુરૂષત્વ માટે—વિદારીકંદના રસ કે કવાયમાં જનાવેલ અબ્રહ્મરમ વાપરવી.

આ યોજના કોઈ ધર્મદા કોલેજ કે સંસ્થાના અન્વેષણ ખાતાં તરફ મૂકાય અને અમલમાં આવે તો ધણું જોગવાનું મળે. હું માનું છું કે જરૂર સફળતા પ્રાપ્ત થાય.

વર્ણનિર્ણય:—

મૃતાબ્રકનાં લક્ષણ તથા વર્ણનિર્ણય

निश्चद्रं चारुणं स्वच्छं सुसूक्ष्मं स्पर्शकोमलम् ।

(૧) અન્નં મૃતં વિજાનીયાત્

॥ ૫૬ ॥

(રસ તરંગિણી પૃ. ૬૮)

(૨) અબ્રકં ચૈષિકામં સ્યાદ

॥ ૨ ॥

(યોગ રત્નાકર પૃ. ૫૨)

ભાવાર્થ:—નિવંદ્ર, અરૂણવર્ણ સ્વચ્છ, સારી રીતે ઝીણી તથા સ્પર્શ કોમલ. આ લક્ષણો જો અબ્રહ્મરમમાં જણાય તો તેને મૃતાબ્રક ગણવી. રંગ માટે અરૂણવર્ણ ઇષ્ટિકાભમ પદ્મરાગવત્ સિંદૂરાભમ વગેરે વિશેષણો અપાયાં છે. અને તે સર્વથી ઇષ્ટકા-ઇષ્ટ જેવો લાલ રંગ અભિપ્રેત છે. અબ્રહ્મરમના લિન લિન રંગો આજકાલ જોવામાં આવે છે. અબ્રહ્મરમલાલ થાય એમ સૌ કોઈ જાણે છે. પણ શા માટે લાલ થાય છે? એ કોઈ

કહેશે ? એક વૈદ્યરાજની અબ્રકલરમ જરા પીળાશ પડતા રંગની, બીજાની વળી...ભગવા રંગની, ત્રીજાની વળી કાળાશ પડતા લાલ રંગની હોય છે.

આ પ્રમાણે પૃથક પૃથક રંગની અબ્રકલરમ બેવામાં આવે છે. આનું કારણ એ છે કે ભસ્મ બનાવવાના પાઠો સૌ સૌને અનુકૂળ પડે તે ગ્રહણ કરે છે. આપણી ભસ્મો, માત્રાઓ સર્વે Standardized હોય તો કેવું સાઈ ? આપણી આયુર્વેદિય ચિકિત્સા પદ્ધતિમાં વપરાતાં મુખ્ય મુખ્ય રસો, ક્વાથો, ચૂર્ણો, ધૂતો, તૈલો, આસવો, તથા ભસ્મો વગેરેની ચૂંટણી કરી, વિદ્વાનો તેના પાઠ નક્કી કરે. તે પ્રમાણે એક આયુર્વેદિય કાર્મા કાપીયા બહાર પાડવી; અને તે પ્રમાણે જ બે પ્રત્યેક વૈદ્યરાજ અબ્રકલરમ કે અન્ય બનાવટો તૈયાર કરે તો બધાને એકસરખા જ રંગ, ગુણ વગેરે મालુમ પડે, અને જનતાને પણ અવિશ્વાસનું કારણ ન જ રહે. મારે અત્યંત દીલગીરીની સાથે કહેવું પડે છે કે એક સારા પ્રતિષ્ઠિત વૈદ્યરાજને ત્યાં સહસ્ર પુટિત અબ્રકલરમ એવું લેખલ જે ખોટલ પર હતું તેમાં તેઓ ટંકણખાર તથા ગેર યોગ્ય પ્રમાણમાં મેળવી (અભીષ્ટ લાલ રંગ લાવીને)ને ભરતા અને દરદીઓને છૂટથી તે અપાતું. આવી અબ્રકલરમ જમનારા દરદીઓ બીજી સાચી અબ્રકલરમ જે ત્યારે સાચી કષ્ટ અને ખોટી કષ્ટ ? તે વિષે શંકામાં પડી જાય તે સ્વાભાવિક છે. બીજા ધીરનરો વળી ધાપાણ, શંખજીં વગેરેમાં ગેરનો સુંદર યોગ કરીને અબ્રકલરમને નામે વાપરે છે. શિવ ! શિવ ! આ શું ઓછું લગ્નરૂપદ ગણાય ! લાઘવો ! આયુર્વેદનો ઉદ્ધાર જ કરવો હોય, જનતામાં દૃઢતર પ્રતીતિ ઉત્પન્ન કરવી હોય, તથા સાચી સેવા કરવી હોય તો આ વિમાર્ગ મૂકીને સન્માર્ગે વળો; અને તો જ કલ્યાણ સાધના શક્ય છે. બાકી ખોટા વાગ્વિલાસ કે બાહ્યાંબરથી કાંઈ વળવાનું નથી.

અબ્રકલરમ બનાવતાં ખાસ અણુ રંગની જ આકાંક્ષા હોય તો, નાગબક્ષા, ભદ્રમુસ્તા, વટદુગ્ધ, વટજ્ય ક્વાથ, હળદરનો ક્વાથ, મજ્જનો ક્વાથ એમ ક્રમશઃ પુટો આપવાનું લખ્યું છે. ત્યાર બાદ અમૃતીકરણ નામનો સંસ્કાર છે. અમૃતીકરણથી

અમૃતીકરણ:—

અમૃતીકરણેન ગુણવૃદ્ધિઃ વર્ણહાનિશ્ચ મરતિ

(આયુર્વેદ પ્રકાશ પૃ. ૮૨)

ગુણવૃદ્ધિ થાય છે, પણ રંગ બગડે છે.

અમૃતીકરણનો શો હેતુ હશે ?—એટલું તો સ્પષ્ટ લાગે છે કે પ્રાચીનોએ અમૃતીકરણમાં ગુણવૃદ્ધિ તો અનુભવી છે. હાલ આપણામાં કેટલા ભોધઓ અમૃતીકરણ કરતા હશે ?

અમૃતીકરણના ત્રણચાર પ્રકારો છે. અને તે પ્રત્યેકમાં ઘી તો છે જ. ઘી એટલે આપણું અમૃત. ઘીમાં વિટામીન “એ” તથા “ડી” છે. અમૃતીકરણમાં અગ્નિ ઠીક ઠીક આપવાનો છે. એટલે લગભગ ૪૦૦° ડીગ્રી સુધી અગ્નિ તો જરૂર લાગેજ. એટલા તાપમાં વિટામીન “એ” તો નાશુદ થાય પણ તેમાં વિટામીન “ડી” તો જરૂર રહે. અમૃતીકરણ કરવું એટલે તે ભસ્મમાં આવા સુંદર જીવનપોષક તત્ત્વની પ્રતિષ્ઠા કરવી. એવો નિગૂઢાર્થ ન હોય શું ? જે જે વ્યાધિઓમાં (ક્ષય જેવા) આ તત્ત્વની ન્યૂનતા હોય છે. તે તે વ્યાધિઓમાં અબ્રકલરો ઉપયોગ પણ બહુ થાય છે. હું અનુમાન કરવામાં બહુ જ આગળ જઈ છું એમ મને જરૂર લાગે છે, પણ તે સાચું હોય તો કેવું સાઈ ?

સત્યની જરૂરિયાત:—

હવે આપણે અબ્રહમસત્ત્વ નિષ્કાસન ક્રિયાનું નિરૂપણ કરીશું.

અબ્રહમસત્ત્વ શા માટે જરૂરનું છે? અબ્રહમસત્ત્વ તથા અબ્રહમસત્ત્વ આ બન્નેમાં કોણ ગુણવત્તર છે? અને શા માટે? તે કઇ રીતે કાઢવું? વિગેરે પ્રશ્નો આપણે ચર્ચવાના છે.

શરૂં રસમન્થોમાં અબ્રહમસત્ત્વપાતનની ક્રિયા આપવામાં આવી છે. પરંતુ રસહૃદયકાર શ્રી. ગોવિંદપાદની પદ્ધતિ મને બહુ જ સુંદર લાગે છે. પારદના પદ્મખંડ માટે અબ્રહમસત્ત્વના ચારણા તથા ત્રણા જરૂરનાં છે. વળી પારદમાં રસાયનતા લાવવા માટે પણ અબ્રહમ તથા સુવર્ણની જરૂર આસ આવશ્યક છે. જુઓ—

ન જલદ્વકલંઘીતપાકહીનઃ વ્રજતિ રસાયનતામિતિ પ્રતિજ્ઞા ॥

(આયુર્વેદ પ્રકાશ પૃ. ૨૪)

અબ્રહમ ભલે હંસમના સ્વરૂપમાં હોય છતાં પણ પારદ ગ્રહણ કરતો નથી. અને સંત્ત ચારણા સુગમ થઇ પડે છે. માટે જ સત્ત્વ કાઢવાની જરૂર છે. જુઓ:—

નિશ્ચંદ્રિકં હિ ગગનં વાસિતમપિ વાસનાભિરિહ શતંથાં ।

તદ્વિ ન ચરતિ રસેન્દ્રઃ સત્ત્વં કથમત્ર યત્નતઃ પ્રભવેત્ ॥ ૨ ॥

વળી—

મુક્ત્યૈર્કમમ્ભસત્ત્વં નાન્યો રસપક્ષકર્તૃત્ત્વમર્થઃ ।

તેન નિરુદ્ધપ્રસરો નિયમ્યતે વ્યયતે ચ સુખમ્ ॥ ૩ ॥

(રસહૃદય ચતુર્થાવ બોધ પૃ. ૪૩.)

અબ્રહમસત્ત્વ વિના અન્ય વસ્તુ પારદને પદ્મખંડ કરવા સંભવે નથી. અબ્રહમસત્ત્વથી પારદનું નિયમન તથા બંધન થાય છે. તથા તે નિરુદ્ધપ્રસર થાય છે. (નિરુદ્ધઃ આકન્ધિતઃ પ્રસરઃ પ્રસરણં પ્રકૃષ્ટેન ગમનં યસ્ય સીદ્ધશઃ)

ઉપરના શ્લોક બીજાનાં ચોથાં પાદમાં સત્ત્વં કથમત્ર યત્નતઃ પ્રભવેત્ નો અર્થ દીકાકારે નીચે મુજબ કર્યો છે. અને તે જ ચોથા છે. જુઓ—

‘ચારણે,....’ કથમપિ સમર્થાભવેત્ । સત્ત્વં યત્નતઃ સમર્થાભવેત્ હ્યર્થઃ

(રસહૃદય પૃ. ૪૩)

‘ટૂંકોમાં—અબ્રહમસત્ત્વ ચારણામાં અતુલજતાવાળું છે. રસકર્મમાં અબ્રહમસત્ત્વનું આટલું મહત્ત્વ છે. વળી ઔષધ તરીકે પણ કયાં ઓછું ગણ્યું છે. જુઓ—

‘સત્ત્વસેવી વયઃસ્તંભે કૃતશુદ્ધિર્ભેત્સુધીઃ ।

તથા

સત્ત્વમ્ભ્રમ્ય શિશિરં ત્રિદોષર્ષ્ણ રસાયનમ્ ।

વિશેષાત્ પુસ્ત્રજનનં વયસઃ સ્તંભનં પરમ્ ।

નાનેન સદશં કિંચિદ્ ભૈષજ્યં પુંસ્ત્વકૃત્પરમ્

સત્ત્વસેવો વયઃ સ્તમ્ભં લભતે નાત્ર સંશયઃ ॥ ૫૪—૫૬ ॥

(અધિવેદ પ્ર૦ પૃ૦ ૮૪)

ભાવાર્થ:—અબ્રકસત્ત્વ શિશિર, વાત, પિત્ત, કફ એ ત્રણે દોષોને હણીને રસાયન (રસાયનં તુ તત્ત્વજ્ઞેયં યજ્જરા વ્યાધિનાશનમ્) છે. ખાસ કરીને પુંસ્ત્વત્વપ્રદ છે. ઉત્તમ પ્રકારનું વયઃસ્તંભન છે. એટલે વૃદ્ધાવસ્થાને આવતી અટકાવે છે, ટેકારૂં છે.

ઉપર પ્રમાણે શાસ્ત્રોક્ત રીતે તેની પ્રશંસા હીક છે. અબ્રકભરમ તથા સત્ત્વભરમનો ગુણુર્ભેદ આપણે આગળ નોંધ્યું. હવે તેની મિષ્કાસન પદ્ધતિપર નેરું ઉડતી નેરું નાખીએ સત્ત્વનિષ્કાસન પદ્ધતિ:

સત્ત્વનિષ્કાસન માટે વજ્રાબ્રક જ શ્રેષ્ઠ છે. કારણ કે—

રસે રસાયને ચૈવ યોજ્યં વજ્રાંશ્રકં પ્રિયે ॥

રસાણું વિગેરે ધણુંખરા રસાંશ્રકોમાં સત્ત્વપાતન માટે ધાન્યાંશ્રક લેવાની જ ભલામણ છે. ધાન્યાંશ્રકને ધમવાથી નેરું સત્ત્વ નીકળે છે ખરું. પરંતુ તેને ત્રણુચાર ગળપુટ આપી તેનું સક્ષમતમ ચૂર્ણ કરવામાં આવે તો સત્ત્વ સારા પ્રમાણમાં હાય લાગશે.

સત્ત્વપાતન કરતાં પહેલાં શું કરવું નોંધએ? જુઓ:—

સુર્યોવર્તઃ કંદલી વન્દ્યા કોશાતકી ચ સુરદાલી ।

શિર્ષશ્ચ વજ્રકંદ્રો નીરકળા કાફમાંચી ચ ॥ ૮ ॥

આસામેકરસેન તુ લવણશ્ચારામ્લ ભાવિતા વહુશઃ ।

શુઘ્યન્તિ રસોપરંસાઃ ધ્માતા સત્ત્વાનિ મુઞ્ચન્તિ ॥ ૯ ॥

(રસહૃદય અવખોધ ૯-૫૦ ૯૨—૯૩)

ભાવાર્થ:—સુરજમુખી, કેળ, વાંઝ કેકાડી, કડવી ઘીસોડી, કુકડવેલ, સરગવો, જંગલી મુરછુંકંદ, જેલપીપલી (રત્તવેલીયો) કાકમાત્રી (પીહુડી) આં દ્રાવક ગણનાં ઔષધોમાંથી એકના રસથી ધણી લાવનારો દેવી, પછી તડકે મુઞ્ચવાં અને પછી લવણદ્વાર તથા અમ્લવર્ગથી બહુ વાર લાવના આપી તડકે મુઞ્ચવાં. તેથી વૈકાન્ત વગેરે આઠ મહારસો તથા ગંધક વગેરે અષ્ટ ઉપરસો શુદ્ધ થાય છે અને પછી ધમવાથી પોતાના ગર્ભમાં રહેલ ધાતુરૂપ સત્ત્વ મૂકે છે.

લવણ તથા દ્વાર એટલે શું ?

'સંચળ, સંધન, ચૂલિક' (કાંચ લવણ), સામુદ્રિક, રોમક અને 'ખીડ એમ છે' લવણ અને સાથખાર, ટંકણદ્વાર અને 'યવેદ્વાર, એમ ત્રણ દ્વારો અને અમ્લવર્ગમાં મુખ્યતઃ લીણ, કંછ, અમ્લવેતસ વગેરેની યોજના થાય છે.

આપણા પ્રાચીન રસાયણોનું જ્ઞાન કેટલું સુંદર અને અગાધ છે, કે તેમના તરફ મંસ્તક અનેકશા નમાવવું જ પડે છે. કાકચેડીથીર પણ અબ્રકને ગાળવા માટે લગભગ આનું જ કહે છે.

જુઓ:—

ક્ષારત્રયસમાયુક્તં પટુપંચસમન્વિતમ્ ।

एकीकृत्य तु कल्केन अभ्रपत्राणि लेपयेत् ॥ ३० ॥०

મૂપાગર્ભોદેરે ક્ષિપ્ત્વા ધામયેત્ સ્વદિરાનલૈઃ ।

द्रवते नात्र संदेहो..... ॥ ३१ ॥

(કાકચંડીશ્વરમતે ૫૪:પટાલ:)

ભાવાર્થ:—સાજખાર, જવખાર, ટંકણુ, એમ ત્રણ ક્ષારો તથા પંચલવણુને એકત્ર કરી તેનો કલ્ક અબ્રકનાં પતરાં પર લગાવીને મૂપામાં મૂકી ખેરના કાલસાથી ધમવાથી જરૂર અબ્રક ગળી જાય છે. તેમાં સંદેહ નથી આ જ મતના સમર્થનમાં ડૉ. પી. સી. રાય થું કહે છે ? તે જુઓ.

Refractory silicates are treated similarly at present day with "Fusion Mixture" (History of Hindu Chemistry Vol. II P. 13.)

ભાવાર્થ:—આધુનિક વિજ્ઞાનશાસ્ત્રીઓ પણ સીલીકેટસને ગાળવા માટે ફ્યુઝન મીક્ચર (દ્રાવણ મિશ્રણ) વાપરે છે.

Fusion Mixture એટલે શું ?

Fusion Mixture is a mixture of Na_2CO_3 and K_2CO_3 in equivalent proportions (or about 10 parts Na_2CO_3 to 13 parts of K_2CO_3) (A manual of Chemical Analysis Qualitative and quantitative by G. S. Newth F. I. C. F. C. S.; page 49.)

ભાવાર્થ:—સોડીયમ કાર્બોનેટ (સાજખાર) તથા પોટેશીયમ કાર્બોનેટ (યવક્ષાર) ને સરખા પ્રમાણમાં લઈને જે મિશ્રણ બનાવવામાં આવે તેને ફ્યુઝન મિશ્રણ કહે છે. સાજખાર દસ ભાગ તથા યવક્ષાર ૧૩ ભાગ એમ પણ લઈ શકાય છે. શ્રી. ગોવિંદપાદે પ્રથમ દ્રાવક ગણુની વનસ્પતિની ભાવનાઓ દેવાનું કહ્યું છે. એટલે આ વનસ્પતિનાં ગર્ભમાં Pot-carb. (યવક્ષાર) હોય છે. ત્યાર પછી પડુ લવણુ તથા ત્રણ ક્ષારો લેવાનું કહ્યું છે. કાક ચંડીશ્વર પણ ત્રણ ક્ષારો લેવાનું કહે છે. એટલે ફ્યુઝન મિશ્રણના સોડીયમ કાર્બોનેટ તથા પોટેશીયમ કાર્બોનેટ ઉપરાંત ટંકણુક્ષાર વધારામાં લેવાનું આપણા આચાર્યોનું ફરમાન છે. તે એટલા માટે કે—કોઈ પણ ધાતુ ગાળવામાં ટંકણુક્ષાર નાખ્યાથી તે ધાતુ જલ્દી ગળી જાય છે. કોઈ ધાતુ અમુક ડીઝી તાપથી જ ઓગળતી હોય, પણ ટંકણુ નાંખવાથી તેના દ્રાવણાંશ (Melting point) પહેલાં તે ગળી જાય છે. એટલે ટંકણુક્ષારની યોજના દ્રાવણમાં સુગમતા કરી આપે છે. અને ખરેખર યાય છે પણ તેમજ.

તમામ રસગ્રન્થોમાં સત્ત્વ પાતનમાં ટંકણુની યોજના થયેલ છે. આટલા લાંબા વિવેચન પછી હવે આ લેખકે પોતે અબ્રક સત્ત્વ કઈ રીતે કાઢ્યું છે, તેનો સવિસ્તર પ્રયોગ અને આપીશ:—

સત્ત્વ પાતન પ્રયોગ:—

બનારસથી મંગાવેલ અબ્રકમાંથી તા. ૧૫-૬-૨૯ના રોજે વીસ તોલા અબ્રક લીધું. ગાયના દુધમાં તેની શાસ્ત્રોક્ત વિધિથી શુદ્ધિ કરી. પછી ૧૬-૬-૨૯ના રોજ તેને શરાવમાં મૂકી ગજપુટ અગ્નિ આપ્યો. લઠ્ઠીમાંથી કાઢી, બારીક ચાલણી (આંક) થી ચાલ્યું. અને કેળના રસમાં ભીંજવું: અને ગજપુટ અગ્નિ આપ્યો. તા. ૨૦-૬-૨૯ના રોજ તેજ પ્રમાણે કેળના રસમાં મર્દન કરી ગજપુટ દીધો. એમ કુલ મળી ચાર ગજપુટ આપ્યા, ત્યારે તેનું સારી રીતે સૂક્ષ્મલક્ષણ ચૂર્ણ થયું. આ ચૂર્ણને લગભગ એક માસ સુધી કેળના રસમાં ભીંજવી રાખ્યું. રસ સૂકાય તેમ નવો રસ નાખતા જતા પછી તેમાં

દશાંશ સોડીયમ કાર્બોનેટ, યવક્ષાર, મીઠું, સીંધવ, નવસાર, નાખ્યા અને ટંકણખાર (તા. ૫) નાખી કેળના રસ સાથે મર્દન કરી સાથે થોડો ઘઉંનો લોટ નાખી પીંડ બાંધ્યા— અને કાળીયંત્રમાં એક કલાક સુધી ધમ્યું. બહાર કાઢી કંકુ કરી, તોડતાં દશ આની બાર રવા સ્વફાન્ હાય આવ્યા અને તે રવા રાખી લીધા. પછી પ્રથમ ધમેલ વસ્તુને ફરી સૂક્ષ્મ ચૂર્ણ કરી તેમાં

સાજખાર (sodium carb)

યવક્ષાર

ટંકણખાર

}

એ દરેક ચતુર્થાંશ.

તથા તે ઉપરાંત ટંકણ તોલા પાંચ નાખ્યો અને કેળના રસમાં પિંડ બાંધી ધમ્યું. તો ચૌદ આની બાર સત્ત્વ નીકળ્યું. આ વખતે રવા પ્રથમ કરતાં મોટા હતા. અને આ દ્રાવણ મિત્રણથી પ્રથમ કરતાં અબ્રક ઠીક ગળી ગયું લાગ્યું. ત્રીજી વખત મિત્રપંચક (મધ, ગોળ, ઘી, ગુંબ, ટંકણ) દરેક પાંચ પાંચ તોલા લઈ પીંડ બાંધીને દોઢ કલાક ધમ્યું તો તોડતાં એક તોલા જેટલા રવા નીકળ્યા. ચોથીવાર તેજ પ્રમાણે મિત્રપંચકથી ધમ્યું તો છ આની બાર રવા નીકળ્યા. એટલે વીસ તોલા અબ્રકમાંથી કુલ મળી (ગાત્રગાત્ર ૧+૦+૦) રાત્ર પોણા ત્રણ તોલા અને બે આની બાર સત્ત્વ હાય આવ્યું; શેર અબ્રકમાંથી પોણા છ તોલાં થયું. એટલે સેકડે ૧૪^૩/_૪ સવાચૌદ ટકા ઉપરાંત થોડું થયું. જે પ્રમાણ સાફ કહેવાય. આગળ આપેલા કાષ્ટકમાં કૃષ્ણાબ્રકમાં આકથી નવ તોલા લોહ હોવાનું જણાય છે, તેજ વિદ્વાન આગળ ચાલતાં ૧૭ સત્તર ટકા લોહવાળું અબ્રક હોવાનું પણ કહે છે. અબ્રકની જાતિ પર તેમાંથી સત્ત્વ નીકળવાનું પ્રમાણ નિર્ભર છે. મુંબઈની બજારમાંથી લીધેલા અબ્રકમાંથી સત્ત્વ કાઢવાના પ્રયોગો અગાઉ કરેલા. પણ તેમાંથી વધારેમાં વધારે એક શેર ત્રણ તોલા સત્ત્વ હાય લાગેલું હતું.

ભાઈઓ! આપને લાગશે કે આ સત્ત્વના રવા એટલે કંઈ ધાતુ હશે! પરંતુ તે રવા લોહ જ છે. એમ હું ખાત્રીથી કહું છું. પ્રથમ તો અબ્રકને ધમ્યા બાદ લઠ્ઠીમાંથી કાઢી કંકુ કરી તેને ખાંડવામાં આવે છે. અને પછી ખાણીથી ઘોષ નાખવામાં આવે છે. અને સૂકાયા બાદ લોહ ચુંબક વડે જે જે રવા હોય તે લઈ લેવાય છે. લોહ ચુંબક લોહ સિવાય કોઈ પણ અન્ય ધાતુને ખેંચે જ નહિ.

(૧) સત્ત્વં પાતયતિ લોહનિમન ॥૧૦॥

(૨) एतत् पिण्डं लोहनिभं मुण्डनिभं सत्त्वं पातयति ।

(૨સહસ્ર અવબોધ ૪)

એટલે લોહ નિમન સત્ત્વ મળે છે એમ જ કહ્યું છે અને લોહ જ છે. અમ્મક માહેની ખીજ ધાતુ એલ્યુમીનીયમ છે. તે આ સત્ત્વમાં આવતી નથી. અને આપ્તીના ખીજ તરવોથી લોહ છુદું પડી આવે છે; જેને અમ્મકસત્ત્વ એવું નામ આપ્યું છે.

જવાબા:—

અમ્મકસત્ત્વ પાતન સમયે અગ્નિ જ્વાલા કેવા રંગની હોવી જોઈએ ? તે સંબંધમાં પણ રસમન્થેમાં ઉલ્લેખ છે. જુઓ:—

बहु गंभीरं ध्यातो वर्पति मधः सुवर्णधाराभिः ।

देवमुखतुल्यममलं पतितं सत्त्वं तदा विन्वात् ॥ ૧૨ ॥

(૨સહસ્ર સતુથીવ બોધ.)

સાવર્ય:—અમ્મકને બહુ તીવ્ર અગ્નિથી ધમતાં, શોભન વર્ણુ જ્વાલા નીકળે. (લીલા, પીળા, લાલ ધુમાડા વિનાંની) ત્યારે અગ્નિના જેવું નિર્મળ સત્ત્વ પડેલું માનવું. આજ શ્લોકની દીકમાં દીકાકારે અન્યાન્તર એમ કરીને ખીજનાં વાક્યો ઉદ્ધૃત કર્યા છે, તે પણ જોવા જેવાં છે. જુઓ.

मज्जानलेन तीव्रेण महाज्वाले हुताशने ।

अतिदीप्तो भवेद् बुद्धिः अंगाराः क्षयमागताः .

यद्वा दीप्तो भवेद् वह्निः शुद्धज्वालो महाबलः ॥

અત્યંત તીવ્ર અગ્નિ આપતાં અગ્નિમાં અમુક ગાતનું તેજ દેખાય. કોલંસા ફજળી જવા માટે, અને અગ્નિ શુદ્ધ જ્વાલાવાળો થાય, ત્યારે સત્ત્વ પડેલું મળ્યું. રસ કામધેનુમાં કાવું જ્વાલા વર્ણુ લક્ષણમાં જસત્ત્વે પાણુહરમ્મા (૫૪ ૨૩) એમ કહ્યું છે. દ્રોણમાં લાલ શીલા પીળા, ધુમાડા નીકળતા બંધ થાય, અને શુદ્ધ જ્વાળા નીકળે ત્યારે નિર્મળ પડશે એમ માનવું.

આ સત્ત્વ નિષ્કાસનમાં ધમણ તથા પંખો (Blower) એમ બન્ને સાધનોનો યથા લાભ ઉપયોગ છે.

સંસ્કાર:—

अयो वच्छोधनं तस्य मारणं तद्वदेवतु ।

(યદ્વા) भारितं ताम्रवद् गन्धपारदाभ्यां निपेक्षयेत् ॥ ૫૩ ॥

લોહ પેઠે જ તેનું શોધન કરવું, અને મારણ પણ તેજ પ્રમાણે કરવું. એટલે ત્રિફલા વગેરેથી લાવના આપીને વીશવાર, પશ્ચિમવાર પુટ આપીને ભસ્મ કરવી અથવા પારદ ગંધકથી તામ્રની પેઠે તેનું મારણ કરાય.

રસગ્રંથામાં લોહભસ્મ કરવામાં, પારદ ગંધક, હિંગુલ વગેરેના જે જે યોગો છે તે સર્વે અભક્ત સત્ત્વ મારણમાં યોગ્ય શકાય છે.

પ્રથમ શોધન કરીને તેનું સૂક્ષ્મચૂર્ણ (અને તેનું) કરી, ત્રણ વખત કે સાત વખત ઘીમાં શેકી પછી તેનું મારણ શરૂ કરવું વધારે યોગ્ય છે.

અભક્તસત્ત્વનું મારણ લક્ષણાર્થે જ કરાય છે. બાકી રસેજારણાર્થે તુ શોધયિત્વા જાર્યમ્ । પારદની ભરણામાં તો તેનું શોધન કરીને જ યોજવું

અભક્તસત્ત્વ ભસ્મના ગુણ:—

સત્ત્વમન્ત્રસ્ય શિશિરં ત્રિદોષધ્નં રસાયનમ્ ।

વિશેષાત્ પુંસ્ત્વજનનં વયસઃ સ્તંભનં પરમ્ ॥૫૪॥

નાનેન સદૃશં કિંચિદ્ મૈષ્ણ્યં પુંસ્ત્વકૃત્પરમ્ ।

સત્ત્વસેવી વયઃ સ્તંભં લભતે નાત્ર સંશયઃ ॥૫૫॥

(આયુઃ પ્ર૦ પૃ૦ ૧૪)

ભાવાર્થ:—અભક્તસત્ત્વ શિશિર, ત્રિદોષધ્ન, અને રસાયન (યજ્ઞરાવ્યાધિનાશનમ્) છે. ખાસ કરીને પુરુષત્વપ્રદ છે. ઉત્તમ વયઃ સ્થાપન કરનાર છે. (અવસ્થાને ટેકા આપનાર છે) આના જેવું પુરુષત્વપ્રદ બીજું એકે ઔષધ નથી. સત્ત્વસેવન કરનાર પુરુષ વયઃસ્થાપન કરી શકે તેમાં શંકા નથી.

અન્યકારનો ખાસ પક્ષપાત પુંસ્ત્વજનક ગુણ તરફ લાગે છે. રસ તરંગીણીકાર પણ પ્રૌઢાંગનામદવિચૂર્ણન એમ કહીને આ ગુણ તરફ ઢળી ગયા છે. રસપ્રકાશ સુધાકર

ક્ષયં પાંડુઃ પ્રહણિકાં શૂલં શ્વાસં ચ કામલામ્ ॥૫૨॥

જ્વરાન્મેહાંશ્ચ કાસાંશ્ચ ગુલ્માન્ પંચવિધાનપિ ।

મંદાગ્નિમુદરાણ્યેવ મર્શાસિ વિવિધાનિ ચ ॥૫૩॥

આ પ્રમાણે ધણા રોગો અભક્તસત્ત્વથી મટે એમ કહે છે પ્રથમમાં જ તે ગ્રંથકાર મૃતં સત્ત્વં દરન્ મૃત્યું સર્વ રોગવિમાશનમ્ ॥૫૧॥ એમ કહી અભક્તસત્ત્વના, ગુણાધિક્ય તરફ પોતાનો પક્ષપાત પૂરવાર કરે છે. વળી તેણે તેના જે ગુણો આપ્યા છે તે મને તો લોહ તથા તામ્રના મંડુકત ગુણો લાગે છે. થોડી અતિશયોક્તિ પણ જરૂર હશે—છે. હું તો અભક્તસત્ત્વ એટલે લોહ એમ માનનારો છું એટલે લોહના સર્વે ગુણો અભક્તસત્ત્વને જરૂર લાગ્ય પાડી શકાય; તેમાં સંદેહ નથી. તેના પુરુષત્વપ્રદ ગુણ માટે વૃદ્ધ વૈદો પ્રેમથી વાપરે છે. હું એ પણ સિદ્ધ મકરધ્વજ જેવાં ઔષધોના યોગમાં વાપરું છું અને સારું કામ આપે છે.

સત્ત્વભરમ અને અભક્તભરમમાં ગુણવત્તર કોણુ ?

અભક્તભરમ ક્ષયરોગમાં સાફ કામ આપે છે. મારે અભક્તસત્ત્વભરમ તો જરૂર તેથી વધારે સાફ કામ કરે છે એમ કોઇ માને કે દલીલ કરે તો તે બૂલ ભરેલું છે એમ કહી માનું છું. કારણ કે અભક્તભરમમાં લોહ ઉપરાંત ખીન્ન જે જે ઉપયોગી તત્ત્વો હોય છે, તે અભક્તસત્ત્વભરમમાંથી તો નીકળી ગયાં હોય છે. એટલે અભક્તસત્ત્વમાં વિશેષ ગુણારોપણ કરવું એ બૂલ નથી લાગતી શું ? બૂલ જ છે.

ભાષ્યો ! અભક્તભરમ એટલે, લોહ, મેગ્નેશીયમ, કેલ્શીયમ, એલ્યુમીનીયમ, એમ સંયુક્ત સીલીકેટ—ભરમ છે. અને અભક્તસત્ત્વભરમ એટલે એક વિશિષ્ટ પ્રકારની લોહભરમ છે. માટે બન્નેના ગુણમાં ફેર રહે એ સ્વાભાવિક છે. કેટલીક રીતે અભક્તભરમ ગુણવત્તર છે એ રખે ભૂલતા.

અભક્તભરમના ગુણો :

હવે અભક્તભરમના ગુણનું નિરૂપણ કરીએ:—પ્રથમ અન્યોક્ત ગુણો કહીશું.

અન્નં કષાયં મધુરં સુશીત માયુઃ ફરં ધાતુવિવર્ધનં ચ
હન્યાત્ ત્રિદોષં ત્રણમેહકુષ્ઠ્લીહોદરમન્થિવિષકુર્મોષ્ઠ ॥ ૧૪ ॥

રોગાન્ હન્તિ દદ્યતિ વપુર્વીર્યવૃદ્ધિં વિધત્તે ।
તારૂણ્યાદ્યં રમયતિશતં યોષિતાં નિત્યમેવ ।
દોષાયુષ્યમાન્ જનયતિ સુતાન્ વિક્રમૈઃ સિંહતુમ્યાન્ ।
મૃત્યોર્મૌર્તિં હરતિ સતતં સેવ્યમાનં મૃતાન્નમ્ ॥ ૧૫ ॥

(ભાષ્ય૦ પ્ર૦ પૃ૦ ૭૮)

ષેષ્ઠવ્યોપસમન્વિતં ઘૃતયુતં વછોન્નિતં સેવિતમ્
દિવ્યાન્નં ક્ષયપાંડુરૂર્ગ્ પ્રહણિકા શ્લેષ્મ કોષ્ઠામયાન્ ।
આર્તિશ્વાસગદં પ્રમેહમરૂચિં કાસામયં દુર્ધરમ્ ।
મંદાગ્નિં જઠરવ્યથાં વિજયતે સ્વંહન્તિ સર્વાભયાન્ ॥ ૩ ॥
ગૌરીતેજઃ પરમમૃતમ્ વાતપિત્તક્ષયન્નં ।
પ્રજ્ઞાવોધિ પ્રશમિતજરં વૃષ્યમાયુષ્યમદ્યમ્ ॥
બન્ધ્યં સ્તિગ્ધં રૂચિદમ્ કફં દીપનં શીત વીર્યમ્ ।
તત્ત્વોગૈઃ સકલગદહદવ્યોમસૂતેન્દ્રવન્ધિ ॥ ૪ ॥

રસરત્ન સમુચ્ચયમાં પણ લગભગ યોગ રત્નાકર પ્રકરણમાં
પણ શબ્દાન્તરમાં તેવું જ કહે છે. ફક્ત કેટલ્યમ્
ગુણો અધિક વર્ણવે છે.

ભાવાર્થ:—અમ્રક કપાય (Astringent), મધુર, શીતવીર્ય, આયુરકર, ધાતુવર્ધક, ત્રિદોષધન, મ્રણુધન, મેહધન, કુષ્ઠધન, તથા પ્લીહા, ઉદરરોગ, ગ્રંથિ—(Glands) વિકૃતિ, વિષ (Toxin) તથા કૃમિને મટાડે છે. ગ્રીમ સ્થોકમાં અમ્રકના વાજકર ગુણનું સવિસ્તર પ્રતિપાદન કરે છે.

(૨) મરી તથા ત્રિકટુના અનુપાનથી ઘી સાથે એક વાલં મોતીની જે અમ્રકનું સેવન કરવામાં આવે તો ક્ષયરોગ પાંડુ, સંઘ્રહણી, શૂલ, (Intestinal colic) આમદોષ, ઉદરરોગ, શ્વાસ, પ્રમેહ, અરોચક, સંખત ખાંસી, મંદાગ્નિ, નૃકરંશૂલ—(Gastralgia) ને છંતે છે અને સર્વ રોગોને હણે છે. વળી અમ્રક પરમ અમૃત છે. ત્રિદોષધન છે, મેદોનનક છે, વૃદ્ધાવસ્થા દૂર કરનાર છે, વાજકરણ અને આયુષ્ય વૃદ્ધિમાં શ્રેષ્ઠ છે. બલ્ય, સિન્ધ, રૂચીકર, કફધન, દીપન, શીતવીર્ય છે. અને લિપ્ત લિપ્ત અનુપાનથી સર્વ વ્યાધિઓને હણે છે. તથા અમ્રક પારદને બાંધે છે.

આ શાસ્ત્રોક્ત ગુણો બહુ જ વિચારવા જેવા છે. પ્રત્યેક વિશેષણમાં અર્થવાહીત્વ વ્યાપક છે. આ વિષયમાં આના કરતાં સૂક્ષ્મતર અવલોકન આધુનિક વિજ્ઞાન હજી ઓપી શક્યું નથી.

હવે આપણે તુલનાત્મક દૃષ્ટિએ ગુણધર્મનું સવિસ્તર વર્ણન કર્યા પહેલાં લિપ્ત લિપ્ત અનુપાનથી અમ્રકના સામયિક પ્રયોગોની ટુંકી સમીક્ષા કરીશું. આવા યોગોનું વર્ણન યોગરત્નાકર તથા રસતરંગિણી એમ બે ગ્રન્થોમાં મળે છે. રસતરંગિણીકારે યોગરત્નાકરના જ મતનું ધણું ખરું પ્રતિપાદન કર્યું છે. તેથી યોગરત્નાકરેકત વર્ણન મને ઠીક લાગે છે. જુઓ (યોગરત્નાકર પૃ. ૫૬-૬૦).

અમ્રકાનુપાનાનિ:—

૧ વીરા પ્રકારના પ્રમેહપર—(૧) હળદર અથવા પીપર સાથે મધમાં

(૨) ગંજોસિસ્ત્ર તથા સાંકર સાથે.

૨ ક્ષય રોગ પર—(૧) સુવર્ણ સાથે (સુવર્ણભસ્મ ઠીક છે)

૩ ધાતુવૃદ્ધિ પર—(૧) રૌપ્ય, અમ્રક અને સુવર્ણ

(૨) લવંગ તથા મધ સાથે.

૪ રક્તપિત્તપર—(૧) હરડે તથા ગોળ સાથે

(૨) એલચી તથા સાંકર સાથે

૫ ક્ષય અને પાંડુ—ત્રિકટુ, ત્રિફલા, આતુર્ગત તથા સાંકરના ચૂર્ણ સાથે.

૬ મેહ તથા મૂત્રકૃંચ પર—એલચી, ગોખર, જૂધાત્રી અને સાંકરના ચૂર્ણયુક્ત ગાયના ઘીમાં.

૭ જીર્ણીકર તથા ભ્રમ પર—પીપર મધ સાથે

૮ બલવૃદ્ધિ માટે—ગાયનું દૂધ તથા વિકારીકંદ.

૯ અર્શપર—ભલ્લાતક સાથે.

૧૦ વાત વ્યાધિપર—સૂક, પુષ્કર મૂળ, ભારંગમૂળ અને અશ્વગંધા સાથે મધમાં.

૧૧ સ્થેષ્ઠરોગ પર—કાયફળ, પીપર, સાથે મધમાં.

૧૨. મૂત્રાધાતુ }
મૂત્રકૃમ્મ } ૫૨—સર્વ દ્વાર સાથે.
અશ્મરી. }

૧૩. શુક્ર સ્તંભે—ભાંગ સાથે.

૧૪. પિત્તરોગે—ગોદુગ્ધ તથા સાકર સાથે. ઉપરોક્ત વર્ણન પરથી આપણે જોઈ શકીએ તેવું છે કે—

ફેફસાં, હૃદય વૃક્ક, મૂત્રાશય (Bladder), મૂત્રમાર્ગ (Urethra) વદ્યત, પ્લીહા, આંતરડાં, જઠર, ત્વચા, અંતઃસ્નાયુઓની વિગેરે અવયવો પર તથા પ્રભો પર અભ્રકનું વિશિષ્ટ કાર્ય છે.

ફેફસાંપર અભ્રકનું કાર્ય:

ફેફસાંના રોગોપર અભ્રક શા માટે કામ કરે છે ? ડૉ. અંદ્ર લખે છે કે—It is suggested that if there is plentyful supply of silicates, the pulmonary connective tissue becomes better nourished and more liable to limit tuberculosis.

જો પુષ્કળ પ્રમાણમાં સીલીકેટસ આપવામાં આવે તો છાતી માંહેના કનેક્ટીવ ટિસ્યુઝને વધારે સાફ પોષણ મળે છે. અને ક્ષયરોગને વધારે ગોચર રીતે અટકાવે છે.

વળી કોઈ પણ કારણથી પ્રભુ યથેચ્છ હોય અને તેમાં પર ભરાયું હોય તો તેને વધતું અટકાવવા માટે સીલિકાથી ભરપુર એવું એક કનેક્ટીવ ટિસ્યુઝનું જન્યું તે પ્રભુની આસપાસ તૈયાર થઈ જાય છે. અને તે પરને વધતું અટકાવે છે. અને જન્યુઓની શક્તિને મહાત કરે છે. પર ઉત્પન્ન કરે તેવા જીવાણુઓ સિવાય કદીએ ક્ષય ઉત્પન્ન થતો નથી. આપણું અભ્રક એ એક સંયુક્ત સીલીકેટ છે. તે પર ઉત્પન્ન કરનાર ચક્ષુષ જીવાણુઓની આસપાસ એક જગ્યા પર જન્યું બનાવે છે અને તે જીવાણુઓને ચવાડે છે. ટુંકામાં અભ્રકમાં સારામાં સારી પ્રભુરોપણ શક્તિ છે. જીર્ણ ખાંસીમાં પણ દુર્ગંધયુક્ત નીકળતો કફ અભ્રક આપ્યા પછી જલદી ઘટી જાય છે. તે પણ આ પ્રભુરોપણ ગુણને લીધે જ હશે.

બાયોકેમિક તથા હોમીયોપેથીક ડોક્ટરો માને છે કે સીલીકા Functional વ્યાધિ કરતાં Chronic organic વ્યાધિમાં સાફ કામ આપે છે. પણ આપણું અભ્રક એ કેવળ સીલીકા નથી. પણ આપણે આગળ જોઈ ગયા તેમ લોહ, મેગ્નેશીયમ, કેલ્શીયમ, એલ્યુમીનીયમ વિગેરે તરતો મિશ્રિત સંયુક્ત સીલીકેટ હોઈ Organic તથા Functional એમ બંને પ્રકારના વ્યાધિઓમાં સુંદર કામ કરે છે એમ અમારો અનુભવ છે.

હોજરી તથા આંતર પર અભ્રકનું કાર્ય:

According to Rosenheim and Ehrmann. (Dant-Med-Woch-20. Jan. 1910.) aluminium silicate, when taken into stomach reacts with the excess of hydrochloric acid in the gastric juice to form silicic acid and aluminium chloride; the latter acting as a protective to the gastric mucosa in a manner similar to Bismuth.

(The Indian Materia Medica by Nadkarni, Page 1010).

એથ્યુમીનીયમ ત્યારે હોજરીમાં લેવાય છે ત્યારે તે જઠરરસમાં રહેલ હાઇડ્રોકલોરિક એસીડને વધારે છે. અને તે સીલીસીક એસીડ તથા એથ્યુમીનીયમ ક્લોરાઇડમાં પરિણમે છે. એથ્યુમીનીયમ ક્લોરાઇડ જઠરની શ્લેષ્મત્વચાને રક્ષિત બનાવી ગિરમય જેવું કાર્ય કરે છે. હાલમાં પણ “ન્યુટ્રેલોન બ્રેકાડોના” તથા ચાર-કેઓલીન (Char-Caolin)ની એથ્યુમીનીયમ સીલીકેટની બનાવટો જઠરક્ષત (Gastric Ulcer) તથા ડ્યુડેનાલ (Duodenal Ulcer)ની ચિકિત્સામાં ડોક્ટરો વાપરે છે. અબ્રકલરમ પણ તેવાજ કાર્ય માટે જરૂર વપરાય. કારણકે કેઓલીન જેવાં ત્રણરોપણ તત્ત્વ ઉપરાંત ખીજાં શક્તિપ્રદ તત્ત્વો તેમાં હોવાથી તે ગુણવત્તર ગણાય. ઉપરોક્ત બન્ને ક્ષતવાળા દરદીઓને મેં તે આપી નેયું છે. હું અબ્રકલરમ સાથે ગ્લિસેરોલ (લાંગવાળું) વાપરું છું. ઠીક કામ આપે છે. ટાઇફાઇડમાં પણ વિદ્વાનો તેને મૃગશ્રૃંગ ભસ્મ સાથે વાપરે છે. અને તેના ત્રણરોપણ તથા શક્તિપ્રદ ગુણોને લીધે દરદીને સુંદર ટેકા આપે છે.

નાડીતંત્રના રોગોપર અબ્રકલરમ વપરાશ:

જ્ઞાનતંતુના રોગો જેવાકે:—અપરમાર ને ઉન્માદમાં યતા જ્ઞાનતંતુના ક્ષોભમાં તથા નાડીતંત્રની કમજોરીમાં અબ્રકલરમ સેવનથી રસ, રક્ત વિગેરે ધાતુઓ કમશ: વૃદ્ધિ પામે છે. અને તેને પરિણામે મગજને પોષણ મળે છે. એટલે એ ઉપરોક્ત વ્યાધિઓમાં સાફ કામ કરે છે. વ્યાધિની તીવ્ર અવસ્થામાં પ્લાહી વિગેરે ક્ષોભનાશક ઔષધોનો ઉપયોગ કરવો એમ વિદ્વાનો માને છે. અબ્રકલરમ પ્રજ્ઞાવોદ્ધિત્વ આ રીતે સાચું કરે છે.

વિવિધ વાત વ્યાધિ પર પણ તે વાપરી શકાય છે. સમીરપન્નગ, વાતવિધ્વંસરસ, સૂતિકાભરણ, લક્ષ્મીનારાયણ વિગેરે અંતીવોષગોગી રસોમાં અબ્રક આવે છે. લક્ષ્મીનારાયણ રસ બચ્ચાંઓની આંચકી માટે સૌરા ઇલાજ છે. અર્ધાગ વાતમાં પણ અબ્રક ઠીક કામ આપે છે. પણ જો વ્યાધિ ફિરંગજન્ય હોય તો સાથે મકરધ્વજ, કેસરાદિ, ઉપદંશસૂપ, (સોમલની બનાવટ છે. રસયોગસાગર પૃષ્ઠ ૧૮૪—૮૫) અથવા ગંધક રસાયન વિગેરેનો દરદીનું બલાબલ જોષ યોગ કરવો.

અબ્રકલરમ તથા સત્ત્વભસ્મના પુરૂષત્વપ્રદ ગુણ પર રસતંત્રકોવિદો અત્યંત મુગ્ધ થઈ ગયા છે. શૂંગારાત્ર તથા લક્ષ્મીવિલાસરસ વીર્યસ્તંભન તથા વાજકરણ માટે પ્રખ્યાત છે. હું પણ અબ્રકસત્ત્વભસ્મ સાથે મકરધ્વજ, માક્ષિકસત્ત્વ વિગેરેનો અનુપાનયુક્ત યોગ કરી વાપરું છું. અને તે નપુંસકત્વમાં સંતોષકારક ફલ આપે છે. તેનાથી વીર્યનું કમી થવું, પાતળાપણું વીર્યની ગર્ભોત્પાદક શક્તિની ન્યૂનતા વિગેરે વિકારો જરૂર દુર થાય છે. વળી અત્યંત સ્ત્રી-સેવા તથા હસ્તમૈથુનથી ઉલ્લેવેલી નપુંસકતામાં પણ અબ્રકલરમ સંતોષકારક કામ આપે છે.

પાંડુ તથા સંમ્રહણીમાં અબ્રક ભસ્મ

પાંડુ રોગમાં પણ લોહભસ્મ અથવા સ્વર્ણમાક્ષિક ભસ્મ સાથે તે આપવાથી લોહીનાં રક્તકણોની વૃદ્ધિ કરે છે. સાથે Liver Extract ની યોજના કરવાથી દરદીને સત્તર શક્ત મળે છે. અને વજન-પણ વધવા લાગે છે.

સંમ્રહણી તથા પાંડુને બહુજ મળતાપણું છે. અને ગન્નેની ચિકિત્સા લગભગ સરખી છે. હું તો પંચામૃત પર્પરી, અબ્રક ભસ્મ, અને પ્રવાલ ભસ્મ (calcium તરીકે) એ ત્રણેનો યોગ કરું છું. સાથે લિવર એક્સ્ટ્રેક્ટની યોજના કરું છું. અને તેથી પરિણામ ધણુંજ

તામ્રનો ગુણ હૃદયના રોગોમાં બહુજ સુંદર છે. એમ મારો અનુભવ છે.-તામ્રના હૃદયાર્ણવરવ વિગેરે યોગો પ્રસિદ્ધ છે. હું તો અબ્રક સાથે આવા વ્યાધિમાં સ્વર્ણમાક્ષિક ભસ્મ વાપરું છું. સ્વર્ણમાક્ષિક ભસ્મ એ લોહ તથા તામ્રનો સૌમ્ય કલ્પ છે. એવી પૃથક્કરણ કરવાથી મારી ખાત્રી થયેલી છે. હૃદયના રોગોમાં અબ્રક ભસ્મ તથા સ્વર્ણમાક્ષિક ભસ્મ વાપરવા જેવાં ઔષધો છે. આ બધી હકીકતો કોઈ સ્વતંત્ર લેખમાં ચર્ચવા જેવી છે. તેથી અત્રે આટલું બસ થશે.

વળી લિન્નલિન્ન વ્યાધિ ચિકિત્સામાં અબ્રકના ઘણા યોગો છે. એટલે ઘણા ખરા રસોના ગણોમાં અબ્રકની યોજના શાસ્ત્રકારોએ કરી છે. તે સર્વે રોગો અત્રે વિસ્તાર લખથી ઉતાર્યા નથી. કારણકે તેનો વિસ્તાર કરવો વ્યર્થ છે. વિદ્વન્મનો પાસે ચર્ચિતચર્ચણથી શો કાયદો ?

હુંકામાં અબ્રક ભસ્મ (સહસ્રપુટિત હોય તો સાફ) એ આયુર્વેદના રસશાસ્ત્રનું સર્વાંગ સુંદર નિર્દોષ રસાયન છે. અને તે ઇર્ષુન્વર, ક્ષય, કાસ, શ્વાસ, વીર્યના રોગો, વિગેરેમાં સારી પ્રતિષ્ઠા પામેલું છે. તથા શાસ્ત્રોક્ત સર્વકલ શ્રુતિ તેમાં અનુભવાય તેવું છે. પણ તેની ભસ્મ કેવા સાચી હોવી જોઈએ. કાચો માલ (raw material) પસંદ કરવામાં પણ સાવચેતીની જરૂર છે.

આ લેખમાં જે કાંઈ ન્યૂનતા કે દોષ જણાય તે મારો છે. અને. ગુણ જણાય તે વિદ્વન્મનોનો છે, એમ કહીશ તો અયોગ્ય નહિં ગણાય. છતાં પણ આ લેખમાં કાંઈ મૌલિકતા, અન્વેષણ, અને નવીનતા લાગશે અને તે વૈદ્ય સમાજને ઉપયોગી જણાશે તો મારો શ્રમ સફળ થયો માનીશ. નરહરિઃ કુરતાં જગતાં શિવમ્ ।

પ્રાંગકા

તા-૬-૬-૩૫

}

લી. વૈદ્ય સમાજનો નમ્ર સેવક

વૈદ્ય વાસુદેવ મૂલશંકર દ્વિવેદી

મુંદર આવ્યાં છે. વીશથી પચ્ચીસ રતલ વજન વધ્યાના Case—Records (કપસ રેકૉર્ડ્સ) મારી પાસે છે.

અર્થ, સંગ્રહણી, અને અતિસાર, એ ત્રણ વ્યાધિની ચિકિત્સામાં જઠરાગ્નિ પ્રદીપ્ત થાય તેવું જ કરવું જોઈએ—બુઝો ચોગ્ગ જ કહ્યું છે કે:—

અશૌંડતિસારમ્હણીવિકારાઃ

પ્રાયેણ ચાન્યોન્યનિદાનમૂતાઃ

સન્નેડનલે સન્તિ ન સન્તિ દીપ્તે

રક્ષેદતઃ તેપુ વિશેષતોડગ્નિમ્ ॥૨॥

(યોગ રત્નાકર પૃષ્ઠ-૧૩૦)

એ રીતે અબ્રક ભરમ જીર્ણ અગ્નિમાંથી અથવા જઠરાગ્નિના અન્ય વિકારોમાં પણ કામ કરે છે.

મેહ પર અબ્રકનો યોગ

અબ્રકને શાસ્ત્રકારે મેહન કહ્યું છે. મેહ એટલે આધુનિકયુગનો પરમીયો gonorrhoe નહિ. ગોનોરીયાનું સંક્રમણ દુષ્ટ યોનિ સંસર્ગથી થાય છે. અને શરૂઆતમાં તે મૂત્રમાર્ગ (Urethra) નો જ વ્યાધિ હોય છે. ત્યારે આયુર્વેદોક્ત વીશ મેહો ઘણે ભાગે મૂત્રપિંડ તથા મૂત્રાશયની વિકૃતિના પરિણામે જ જન્મે છે. મધુમેહ છે તે જ્ઞાતંતુનો વ્યાધિ છે છતાં પણ મૂત્રમાં સાકર જવા માટે તથા બહુ મૂત્રત્વને લીધે તેની ગણના મેહ પ્રકરણમાં કરી લાગે છે. બાકીના આદ્યુગીનેરીયા, કાલ્ધ્યુરીયા, હીમેપ્યુરીયા, ફાસ્કેપ્યુરીયા, વિગેરે પ્રમેહો બીજા ભિન્ન ભિન્ન વ્યાધિના યોગ સાથે અબ્રક ભરમની વપરાશથી શાન્ત થાય ખરા. મધુમેહમાં પણ અબ્રકભરમ જેવા નિર્દોષ રસાયનનું સેવન હિતાવહ છે. વસંતકુસુમાકર રસ પણ મધુમેહ ચિકિત્સા માટે પ્રખ્યાત છે. તેમાં સુવર્ણ, રૌપ્ય, કાન્ત, મૌક્તિક, પ્રવાહ, બંગ, નાગ, વિગેરે ભરમો સાથે અબ્રક ભરમ પણ છે. કેટલાક વૈદ્યો સાથે નંધુડાના કળીયાનું ચૂર્ણ તથા અશીષુની મૃદુ બનાવટ વાપરે છે. હવે ગોનોરીયા ઉર્દે સોજાકે પરમીયામાં પણ અબ્રક ભરમ વપરાય ખરી. કારણ કે જ્યાં જ્યાં પડે તે સડો હોય ત્યાં ત્યાં અબ્રક આપવાથી તે પડે સડો અટકે છે. એટલે તે વ્યાધિમાં પણ અબ્રક ઉપયોગી છે. સાથે જ બંગ ભરમની યોજના થાય તો સત્તર-ગુણ વૃદ્ધિ થશે. બંગ ભરમ પણ Staphylococcus (સ્ટેફીલોકોક્કસ) નામના જીવાણુને મહાત કરે છે એમ મનાય છે. પ્રતિકર્ણમાં પણ બંગ ભરમ વાપરવા જેવી છે.

હૃદય રોગ પર અબ્રકનો ઉપયોગ

હૃદય રોગમાં પણ અબ્રક ભરમની ક્રિતેષ્વરસઃ (યોગરત્નાકર પૃ-૨૩૨) અને બીજા બનાવટો અર્જુનના યોગ સાથે વપરાય છે. હૃદયની નબળાઈથી ચાલતાં શ્વાસ ચઢવો, નાડીનું ફીણપણું તથા હૃદયપંદન નાડીનું અનિયમિતપણું વિગેરે લક્ષણોમાં અબ્રક ભરમ ઉપયોગી છે. રક્તાભિસરણના વ્યાધિઓમાં પણ તે વપરાય છે. મારા અનુભવમાં અબ્રક ભરમ સાથે નાત્રનો કાષ્ઠ સૌમ્ય કૃષ્ણ બહુજ હિતાવહ થાય છે.

તામ્રનો ગુણ હૃદયના રોગોમાં બહુજ સુંદર છે. એમ મારે અનુભવ છે.-તામ્રના હૃદયાર્ણવરવ વિગેરે યોગો પ્રસિદ્ધ છે. હું તો અબ્રક સાથે આવા વ્યાધિમાં સ્વર્ણમાક્ષિક ભસ્મ વાપરું છું. સ્વર્ણમાક્ષિક ભસ્મ એ લોહ તથા તામ્રનો સૌમ્ય કદપ છે. એવી પૃથક્કરણ કરવાથી મારી ખાત્રી થયેલી છે. હૃદયના રોગોમાં અબ્રક ભસ્મ તથા સ્વર્ણમાક્ષિક ભસ્મ વાપરવા જેવાં ઔષધો છે. આ બધી હપ્તીકતો કાંઈ સ્વતંત્ર લેખમાં ચર્ચવા જેવી છે. તેથી અત્રે આટલું બસ થશે.

વળી લિન્ગલિન્ગ વ્યાધિ ચિકિત્સામાં અબ્રકના ઘણા યોગો છે. એટલે ઘણા ખરા રસોના ગણોમાં અબ્રકની યોગના શાસ્ત્રકારોએ કરી છે. તે સર્વે રોગો અત્રે વિસ્તાર લખથી ઉતાર્યા નથી. કારણકે તેનો વિસ્તાર કરવો વ્યર્થ છે. વિદ્વન્મનો પાસે ચર્વિતચર્વણથી શો કાયદો ?

હુંકામાં અબ્રક ભસ્મ (સહસ્રપુટિત હોય તો સાફ) એ આયુર્વેદના રસશાસ્ત્રનું સર્વાંગ સુંદર નિર્દોષ રસાયન છે. અને તે શુભ્રજ્વર, ક્ષય, કાસ, શ્વાસ, વીર્યના રોગો, વિગેરેમાં સારી પ્રતિષ્ઠા પામેલું છે. તથા શાસ્ત્રોક્ત સર્વકલ શ્રુતિ તેમાં અનુભવાય તેવું છે. પણ તેની ભસ્મ કેંવા સાચી હોવી જોઈએ. કાચો-માલ (raw material) ખસેદ કરવામાં પણ સાવચેતીની જરૂર છે.

આ લેખમાં જે કાંઈ ન્યૂનતા કે દોષ જણાય તે મારે છે. અને. ગુણ જણાય તે વિદ્વન્મનોનો છે, એમ કહીશ તો અયોગ્ય નહિં ગણાય. છતાં પણ આ લેખમાં કાંઈ ભૌલિકતા, અન્વેષણ, અને નવીનતા લાગશે અને તે વૈદ્ય સમાજને ઉપયોગી જણાશે તો મારે શ્રમ સફળ થયો માનીશ. નરહરિઃ કુરતાં જગતાં શિવમ્ ।

પ્રાંગણ

તા-૬-૬-૩૫

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લી. વૈદ્ય સમાજનો નમ્ર સેવક

વૈદ્ય વામુદેવ મૂલશંકર દ્વિવેદી

EPIC STUDIES¹

By

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

V. NOTES ON MAHĀBHĀRATA COMMENTATORS

§ 1. Chronological Notes.

A necessary complement to a critical study of the Mahābhārata is an intensive study of the commentaries of the Mahābhārata, of which there is quite a large number preserved still, mostly in manuscript form. Among the scholiasts who have written commentaries on the Mahābhārata—either on the whole, or only on selected parts of the Great Epic—are: (1) Anantabhaṭṭa, (2) Arjunamiśra, (3) Ānanda, (4) Caturbhujā (miśra), (5) Jagadīśa-cakravartin, (6) Devabodha, (7) Nīlakaṇṭha, (8) Mahānanda-pūrṇa, (9) Yajña-Nārāyaṇa, (10) Ratnagarbha, (11) Rāma-kimkara, (12) Rāmakṛṣṇa, (13) Rāmānuja, (14) Lakṣmaṇa, (15) Varada, (16) Vādirāja, (17) Vidyāsāgara, (18) Vimalabodha, (19) Śaṅkarācārya, (20) Śrīnivāsa, (21), Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa, and (22) Sṛṣṭidhara. Very little is at present known about these commentators: only very few of them have been, so far, published. The only collective study made of these commentaries is by Holtzmann in *Das Mahābhārata*, Vol. 3, pp. 67 ff., and that was in 1897, that is, nearly forty years ago. The material at his disposal was very scanty, and so are his notes.

But the study of these commentaries must be now taken up more seriously, not so much for the sake of the explanations contained in the commentaries—though even the glosses of a commentator like Devabodha are extremely important—as for the readings and pāṭhāntaras recorded in them; because, most of

¹ For the first instalment of the series, cf. *JBRAS* (NS), 4, 157 ff.; the following three have appeared in these *Annals*, Vol. 11, pp. 165-191, 259-283; Vol. 16, pp. 90-114.—The substance of the present study (No. V) was communicated to the International Congress of Orientalists at Leyden in 1931.

the commentaries are older—some very much older—than our manuscripts; and therefore the documentation of these readings by the commentators takes us back a stage further in our investigation of the history of the epic.

The usefulness of these commentaries is, however, considerably diminished by the fact that we know next to nothing about these commentators themselves. In particular, we lack information about their dates, which are not easy to fix in Indian literature. Even if the dates cannot be determined, it would be a great help if we could fix their relative chronology. An attempt is made in the following pages to fix, to start with, the relative chronology of some of the more important Mahābhārata commentators.

A fixed point in the exegetical literature centering round the Mbh. is furnished by Nilakanṭha, who until lately was considered, at least in India, as the most trustworthy guide for the exposition of the Great Epic, and about whose date there is not much doubt. The available personal data about him has been put together by Wilhelm Printz in the biographical note on Nilakanṭha appended to his Berlin dissertation entitled *Bhāṣā-wörter in Nilakanṭha's Bhāratabhāvadīpa und in anderen Sanskrit-kommentaren*.¹ Nilakanṭha, according to his own statements, was a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin of the Gautama Gotra, with the surname Catūrdhara (modern Chaudhari), eldest son of Govinda Sūri and Phullāmbikā, residing at Kūrparagrāma (modern Kopargaon) on the Godāvari. Nilakanṭha wrote his commentary on the Mbh. and on the Gaṇeśagītā (a section of the Gaṇeśapurāṇa) in Benāres, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century,² the latter (Gaṇeśagītā) being composed in A. D. 1694.³

In the beginning of his commentary on the Mbh., Nilakanṭha tells us that before writing his commentary, the Bhāratabhāvadīpa, he had compared many (*bahūn*) copies of the Mbh., collect

¹ *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, Vol. 44, pp. 69-109; see particularly p. 70 f.

² He was apparently a protégé of Anūpasimha, who was a contemporary of Shah Jahan.

³ The year of composition is given as Śaivāt 1750. The name of the commentary is Gaṇapati-bhāvadīpikā. Cf. the name of his Mbh. commentary, Bhāratabhāvadīpa; see next note.

ed together from different parts of India (*vibhinnadeśyūn*) in order to ascertain the correct reading (*pūṭham agryam*) and also consulted older commentaries¹ We accordingly find that he frequently mentions variant readings and "additional" passages found in the versions consulted by him, and he cites the explanations given by older scholiasts:² information, scanty though it be, of immense interest and value for the history of the received text.

(i) *Devabodha and Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa*.

In marked contrast to Nilakanṭha stands Devabodha, whom I regard as probably the oldest and therefore the most important commentator of the Mbh. He is extremely reticent about himself and his predecessors, but is cited or mentioned by several commentators, who must therefore have lived after him. One of such successors of Devabodha was Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa. Sarvajña's Bhāratārthaprakāśa has fortunately been preserved, though it is not definitely known whether his commentary on all the eighteen parvans of the Mbh is now available. His commentary on the Virāṭa and the Udyoga has already been published by Mahadeva Shastri Bakre³ The Bombay Government MSS. Collection (No. 180 of 1891-95) contains a fragment of his commentary on the Ādi, comprising merely the first adhyāya with the beginning of the second; while the Madras Government Collection (No. 2169) contains another fragment which lacks the beginning. In the colophon of the latter MS., Sarvajña is styled *paramahansa-parivrājakācārya*; he was therefore a saṁnyāsīn..

Now Sarvajña explicitly refers to Devabodha in the beginning of his commentary on the Udyoga :

उद्योगे देवबोधस्य वाग्वाहचमरीचयः ।
पिबन्तु⁴ ज्ञानद्रव्यनिवसोत्तमहागर्भम् ॥

1 धर्मसमाहत्य विभिन्नदेशाः कोट्यान्निर्दिश्य च पाठम् यम् ।

प्राचीं पुष्कलामनुसृत्य वाचमात्रभ्यने भारतभाषीतिः ॥

2 Cf. my Ādiparvan (Poona 1933), Prolegomena, pp. LXVff.

3 The Virāṭaparvan was published in 1915, and the Udyogaparvan in 1920, by the Gujarati Printing Press of Bombay.

Read 'पिबन्तुस्तान्' ?

This stanza is curiously enough not found in the commentary of Sarvajña as printed in the Gujarātī Press edition of the Udyoga, but occurs in both the MSS. of the work in the Bombay Government Collection (deposited at the Institute), bearing Nos. 33 of A 1879-80 and 168 of 1884-87 respectively. The priority of Devabodha is, however, independently established by another direct reference to Devabodha in the body of the published commentary itself, to which my attention was recently drawn by my friend and colleague Professor Sushil Kumar De of Dacca University, who is editing the Udyoga for the Institute. In Sarvajña's comment on B. 5. 96. 41 (on p. 327 of the Gujarati Printing Press edition), we find:

देवबोधपादास्तु ।

कामक्रोधी लोभमोहो मदमानो तथैव च ।

मात्सर्यादिकृती चैव क्रमादिते उदाहृताः ॥

इति । केचित् काकुलीकं पुषिष्ठिरं ।¹

This quotation can unfortunately not be verified; for in the very old Bengal Asiatic Society's palm-leaf MS. (No. 3399) of the unpublished commentary on the Udyoga by Devabodha the corresponding folio is missing! But there is no reason to doubt its authenticity.

This establishes Devabodha's priority to Sarvajña. We therefore get

Series 1: Devabodha—Sarvajña

Now this Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa must be identical—as has indeed been assumed by Jolly,² Bühler,³ Holtzmann,⁴ and others⁵—with the Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa (also called Nārāyaṇa-Sarvajña), the author of the Manvarthavṛtti or Manvarthanibandha, a

¹ This important passage was verified by me in a MS. of Sarvajña's commentary deposited at the Institute, namely, Bombay Government Collection No. 33 of A 1879-80 (fol. 194^b).

² *Tagore Lectures*, p. 11; passage cited in Burnell's *Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 126. Cf. also *Recht und Sitte*, p. 31.

³ *The Laws of Manu*, S. B. E., vol. 23, p. cxx.

⁴ *Das Mahābhārata und seine Theile*, Kiel 1894, 3. Band, p. 71 f.

⁵ Cf. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, Poona 1930, vol. I, pp. 157, 708.

well-known commentary on the Manusmṛti, published by V. N. Mandlik.¹ The assumed identity of the two commentators at present rests, it is true, merely on the identity of the names, but can scarcely be regarded on that account as doubtful. It is hardly conceivable that there were two different Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇas, both commentators of well-known works on Dharmaśāstra like the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti.

The date of Sarvajña has been fixed on the basis of certain quotations.² Bühler cautiously remarks that Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa "cannot have written later than in the last half of the fourteenth century,"³ but the recent researches of Kane tend to show that Sarvajña flourished between A. D. 1100 and 1300.⁴

(ii) Arjunamiśra.⁵

Both Devabodha and Sarvajña are mentioned and cited several times by the Bengali commentator Arjunamiśra, the manner in which Arjunamiśra refers to Devabodha suggesting that in his time Devabodha's commentary possessed an established reputation. These references are as follows :

(a) In the foreword to his scholium (Bombay Govt. Coll. No. 30 of A 1879-80 = Da¹ of the Critical Edition), Arjuna pays homage to his predecessors, citing by name several of them. Devabodha, he mentions with special reverence, whose commentary (among others) he had carefully studied before writing his own commentary on the Mbh :

वेदव्यासवैशंपायनदेवबोधविमलबोधसर्वज्ञनारायणशाण्डिल्यमाधवविदुष्यो नमः ।

अर्जुनोपादादिमतमालोक्य प्लतः ।

क्रियतेऽर्जुनमित्रेण भारतार्थप्रदीपिका ॥

Worth noting is the fact that in the long series of names of Bhāratacāryas cited by Arjuna at the beginning of the above extract, the first four names Vyāsa and Vaiṣampayāna, Devabodha

¹ *Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra*, Bombay 1886.

² Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Skt. MSS. for 1883-84*, p. 62.

³ Bühler, *op. cit.* p. cxxix.

⁴ Kane, *op. cit.* p. 137.

⁵ See also my paper on Arjunamiśra in the Sir J. J. Modi Commemoration Volume, p. 565.

and Sarvajña have been recited in the correct order of precedence and chronology, a point to which we shall return in the sequel.

(b) Arjuna mentions the Ācāryas again in the list of his (immediate and remote) "Gurus", placing this time Devabodha at the head of the list, which ends with the name of his father, who (as we know from other sources) was a well-known reciter (*pāṭhaka*)¹ of the Mbh. :

श्रीदेवबोधविमलबोधशाण्डिल्यमाधवाः ।
नारायणश्च सर्वज्ञः पिता च एवमम ॥

(c) In the short introduction which prefaces his commentary on the Virāṭa,² Arjuna twice mentions Devabodha, once to give expression to the high esteem in which Arjuna holds him and again to record his gratefulness to his illustrious predecessor :

वेदव्यासमुखाभोजमलितं वाङ्मयाद्युतम् ।
संभोजयन्तं भुवनं देवबोधं भजामहे ॥
... ..
श्रीदेवबोधपादादितातोपदेशसेविना ।
क्रियतेऽर्जुनमिश्रेण विराटपर्वदोषिका ॥

(d) Finally, while commenting on 1. 143. 34 (a difficult stanza, giving a fanciful derivation of the name Ghaṭotkaca), Arjuna mentions two readings, which had both won the approval of Devabodha :

शेषपाठद्वयं देवबोधपादिनी (sic) संमतम् ।³

These two readings are *in fact* mentioned by Devabodha : vide fol. 37^b of the Baroda MS. of Devabodha's commentary on the Ādi.

The above extracts taken together indisputably prove that Arjunamiśra was posterior to both Devabodha and Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa. Adding the name of Arjunamiśra to Series 1, we get

Series 2: Devabodha-Sarvajña-Arjunamiśra.

Some faint light on the question of the age of Arjunamiśra is thrown by a dated MS. of Arjuna's commentary listed by the late MM. Haraprasada Sāstri in his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Second

¹ See my "Arjunamiśra," p. 566.

² Gujarati Printing Press edition, p. 1 (right column).

³ Read देवबोधपादानां संमतम् ?

Series, Vol. I (Calcutta 1900), p. 298 (MS. No. 295). The late Mahamahopadhyaya reported that it was a carefully written palm-leaf MS. of Arjuna's commentary on the Mokṣadharmā, called Mokṣadharmārthadīpikā, written in archaic Bengali characters and belonging, apparently, to Babu Saradaprasanna Ghose of Kelomal, Tamluk. The MS. gave the date of writing 'as Śaka 1456 (ca. A. D. 1534.)'¹

I may here draw attention to some stanzas added by the copyist, which are to the effect that already at the time when the copy was made, correct MSS. of Arjuna's commentary were a rarity even in Bengal, the home of the commentator, which can only be explained by assuming, as pointed out already by Mahadeva Shastri Bakre that there was a considerable interval of time between the two. The stanzas I am referring to are :

पितुः सदुपदेशेन विद्वद्भात्रतुरोपतः ।
 प्राद्वन्निबन्धस्य संशुद्धी कृता यन्नोऽधुना मया ॥
 अल्पार्धातीलिपिग्रन्थशुद्धाक्षरसमुच्चयः ।
 विदुषां हेलया प्राच्यग्रन्थो नाशमुपेयिवान् ॥

The date Śaka 1456 (ca. A. D. 1534) is then the lower limit of the age of Arjuna, but the date of Arjuna, if we rely on the information vouchsafed by the copyist, must be long prior to A. D. 1534.

(iii) Nilakanṭha.

We return to Nilakanṭha, who is the next great Mbh. commentator, and who cites or mentions Devabodha, Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa and Arjunamiśra, not indeed in the introduction to his commentary on the Mbh., where he mentions a number of his "Gurus", but elsewhere in the course of his well-known scholium. Here are the references.

(a) While commenting on 1. 158. 14, a stanza with numerous variants, Nilakanṭha cites an old variant of the entire stanza, mentioning Devabodha in that connection.

न नंदताः शुद्धिणो वा ने च देवाश्चनस्रजः ।
 कुर्येस्य यथोष्णीवं किं मां समुपमर्षय ॥

¹ The reference is given in the Gujarati Printing Press edition of the Virāṭaparvan, Introduction, p. 6.

इति प्राचीनः पाठो देवबोधादिभिर्व्याख्यातत्वात् ।¹

It is worthy of note that Nilakanṭha regards the variant as *ancient*, owing to its having been explained by "Devabodha and others". He must therefore consider Devabodha as an ancient authority.

What Nilakanṭha regards as ancient is of course a matter for speculation. Nevertheless, I do not think that Nilakanṭha would have used the word *prācīna* in connection with Devabodha unless the interval between them was at least three or four centuries.

In passing it may be mentioned that this reference to Devabodha by Nilakanṭha is yet another instance of the practice of mentioning names of Ācāryas *honoris causa* (pūjārtham),² because the reading cited by Nilakanṭha is probably not that of Devabodha at all, who to judge by the lemmata in his commentary must have had before him a stanza differing from the corresponding stanza of the Critical Edition, merely in reading *śakunāḥ* for *kuṇapāḥ* of the Critical Edition (l. 158. 14). The third pāda of the stanza as cited by Nilakanṭha is certainly the reading of the T G version, found otherwise only in three conflated N MSS., and in a fourth one written in the *margin*; while the last pāda was found by me only in four MSS. (K²B; M³. 5) of my critical apparatus, one of them (B³) having as a matter of fact the reading of our text in the *margin*! It is therefore most improbable that Devabodha had commented on the particular variant version cited by Nilakanṭha, and it is really doubtful to me whether Nilakanṭha had at all Devabodha's commentary before him. Devabodha is referred to by Nilakanṭha merely as one of the ancient Ācāryas.

(b) While commenting on B. 7. 82. 2, Nilakanṭha notices a variant interpretation of *madhuparkika* given by Devabodha :

मधुपर्किकाः मधुपर्कसमये पठन्तीति देवबोधः ।

(c) Nilakanṭha's reference to Sarvajña will be found in his comment on B. 5. 40. 10 (Gujarati Printing Press ed., p. 131) :

¹ This passage was already cited by me in the Critical Edition of the *Adiparvan*, p. 666.

² Cf. *ZDMG.* Vol. 66 (1912), p. 541 f.

विषं लोहमिति सर्वज्ञः । स्वर्णनाभः शालग्रामः । दक्षिणावर्तः शङ्ख इति नारायणः ।

and again in the same *adhyāya*, a few stanzas further on (B. 5. 40. 26), we find :

परिसंस्तीर्यग्नीन् परितरणेः । एतेनाग्निहोत्रमुपलक्षयतीति नारायणः । परिसंस्तीर्य
वितत्य । स्वे स्वे स्थाने आधायेत्यर्थः ।

A reference to Sarvajña's commentary printed in the same work (p. 131 f.) will show that all these explanations do *as a matter of fact* occur in the commentary of Sarvajña, while they are not met with in any of the three other commentaries printed there.

(d) For Nilakanṭha's mention of Arjunamiśra, I may draw attention to Nilakanṭha's comment on B. 3. 291. 70, a stanza at the end of the Rāmopākhyāna, where he mentions various explanations of the word *jā ūthya*, among them the one given by Arjunamiśra, whom he mentions by name:

जारुष्यान् त्रिगुणदक्षिणानिति अर्जुनमिश्रः ।

These various extracts establish the posteriority of Nilakanṭha to Devabodha, Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa and Arjunamiśra. Adding Nilakanṭha to Series 2, we get

Series 3 : Devabodha—Sarvajña—

Arjunamiśra—Nilakanṭha.

It will be remembered that as each member of this series of four names clearly *cites* one or more of his predecessors, this is a chronological sequence whose correctness is *absolutely* incontrovertible.

(iv) Vimalabodha.

There is moreover a subsidiary series connected with a Mbb. commentator called Vimalabodha,¹ to which we shall now turn our attention.

It will be recalled that in the excerpts given above from the commentary of Arjunamiśra, the commentator twice mentions Vimalabodha in close proximity to Devabodha. Therefore it is evident that Arjunamiśra is posterior to Vimalabodha, whose commentary (*ṭikā*) variously known as *Durghaṭārthaprakāśinī*

¹ See Holtzmann, *op. cit.* vol. 3 p. 72.

13 [*Annals. B. O. R. I.*]

or Viṣamaśloki has fortunately been preserved. In the introduction to this unpublished commentary, a copy of which is to be found in the Bombay Government Collection (No. 84 of 1869-0), while speaking of his predecessors, Vimalabodha says (fol. 1):

निघण्टुभाष्यनिगमनिरुक्तानि विशेषतः ।
वैशंपायनटीकादि देवस्वामिमतानि च ।
वीक्ष्य व्याख्या विरचिता दुर्घटार्थप्रकाशिनी ॥

Again while giving the etymologies of the name of the Sūta, Loma (or Roma)harsana, Vimalabodha observes (fol. 2):

पश्यतां मुनीनां अतिविस्मयमुत्पादितवान् इति लोमहर्षणनामाभ्युदिति देवयोधपादा
भाट्टः ।

Undoubtedly the Devasvāmin mentioned in the first excerpt is the same as the Devabodha (who in the colophons of his commentary is styled *paramahansa-parivrājakācārya*) in the second. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the etymology of Loma (or Roma)harsana mentioned by Vimalabodha is actually to be found in Devabodha's scholium. In the Baroda MS. (11372) of the unpublished commentary of Devabodha, we read (fol. 3 b, line 1 f.):

पश्यतां मुनीनामतिविस्मयात् रोमाश्चमुत्पादितवानिति लोमहर्षणनामाभ्युत् ।,
which substantially agrees with the excerpt in the commentary of Vimalabodha.

Since Arjunamiśra mentions Vimalabodha, and Vimalabodha cites Devabodha, we get a subsidiary series, namely,

Series 5: Devabodha-Vimalabodha-Arjunamiśra.

Thus far we have been treading on solid ground and the correctness of Series 1-4 is, as far as I can judge, absolutely unimpeachable.

In trying to combine Series 3 and 4, however, there arises the difficulty that no cross reference has hitherto been found in the works of Vimalabodha on the one hand and Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa on the other. Their relative chronological position is, therefore, a matter for speculation. It is possible, however, to combine the two series *tentatively*, on the equivocal testimony of Arjunamiśra, which we shall proceed to examine more closely.

In one of the lists of the Ācāryas cited by Arjunamiśra, we have the sequence: Veda-Vyāsa, Vaiśampāyana, Devabodha, Vimalabodha, Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa, Śaṇḍilya Mādhava. Here the first two pairs, as was pointed out above, have been named in the correct chronological order, the earlier author being placed first, in conformity with the rule governing the sequence of the members of a Dvandva compound (P. 2.2.34 Vā.). Devabodha is, as we have seen, prior to Vimalabodha as surely as Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Great Epic, is prior to Vaiśampāyana. Further in both lists the father of Arjunamiśra is mentioned last. These facts suggest the surmise that the whole series is arranged in the strict chronological sequence. If this surmise be correct, then Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa would be posterior to Vimalabodha, and we get, tentatively, the sequence: Vimalabodha-Sarvajña.

It may, however, be noted that such names are often found arranged on the diametrically opposite principle of *uttarottara-gariyastra*, i. e., naming the more important persons later, which is however not admissible in the particular instance; or even arranged on no principle at all; or at least on some principle which it is difficult for us to comprehend. In fact a subsequent enumeration of these same Ācāryas by the same Arjunamiśra is in partial conflict with the earlier list! There the sequence (already given above) is Devabodha, Vimalabodha, Śaṇḍilya Mādhava, Nārāyaṇa-Sarvajña. Here Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa has been placed *after* Śaṇḍilya Mādhava, while in the former list he is placed *before* them! This irregularity apart, the lists tally with each other.

It is not, however, impossible to resolve this contradiction and harmonize the data. There is a notable difference between the two lists. The first one is in prose, the second is an anuṣṭubh stanza. I am disposed to attach more importance to the sequence of the prose enumeration, and to regard the change of sequence in the other as due to the exigencies of metre. The first again is a formal expression of homage (*namaskriyā*), where the principle of priority has been, it seems, rigidly observed; on the other hand, the second is merely a collective metrical list of the author's "Gurus," where the consideration of rank and precedence did

not perhaps prevail so much. I may also point out that the first list is in the form of a Dvandva compound, while in the second the persons have been all *independently* mentioned. If these considerations have any value, then we may postulate, at least tentatively, another series,

*Series 5: Devabodha—Vimalabodha—
Sarvajña—Arjuna—Nilakantha,*

where the relative position of Vimalabodha and Sarvajña alone is open to doubt.

Of these five commentators, as was mentioned above, Sarvajña could not have lived later than the latter half of the fourteenth century and flourished probably between A. D. 1100 and 1300; while Arjunamīśra lived some time prior to A. D. 1534.¹ Moreover, if the position assigned in Series 5 to Sarvajña be correct, then both Devabodha and Vimalabodha must have lived long prior to A. D. 1300.²

* * *

§ 2. What was Devabodha's version of the Mahābhārata like ?

The only commentary of the Mahābhārata completely printed so far is the Bhāratabhāvadīpa by Nilakantha. The Gujarati Printing Press of Bombay has done, however, inestimable service to the cause of Mahābhārata studies by publishing other commentaries at least on the Virāṭa and Udyoga, edited by Mahadeva Shastri

¹ Since the above was written, two efforts have been made to fix the date of Arjunamīśra. Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh (*Indian Culture*, Vol. 1, p. 706 ff.), working on the data supplied by certain ancient pedigrees preserved in Bengal, arrives at the date ca. A. D. 1300 for Arjunamīśra; but it may be pointed out that the method of fixing precise dates on the basis of pedigrees alone never gives *entirely* reliable results. On the other hand, Mr. P. K. Gode of the Bhandarkar Institute (*Indian Culture*, Vol. 2, p. 141 ff.), relying on his identification of the Satya-Khāṇa, who was a patron of Arjunamīśra (see Sir J. J. Modi Commemoration Volume, p. 566), argues for a date between A. D. 1450 and A. D. 1500. There is thus a difference of about 200 years between the two computations. But the matter is still *sub judice*, and more light on the question may be expected from further investigation of the question which is being carried on by these two scholars.

² See further the Appendix at the end of this paper (below, p. 202).

Bakre. The Virāṭaparvan Volume (published in 1915) contains, besides (1) the Bhāratabhāvadīpa the commentaries of (2) Arjunamiśra, (3) Caturbhuja, (4) Vimalabodha, (5) Rāmakṛṣṇa, (6) Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa and (7) Vādirāja, as also a commentary called (8) the Viśamapadavivarāṇa of unknown authorship. The Udyogaparvan Volume (published in 1920) includes, on the other hand, besides (1) the Bhāratabhāvadīpa, the commentaries of (2) Arjunamiśra, (3) Vimalabodha, (4) Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa and (5) Vādirāja.¹ A commentary more important than any of these and one more neglected still is the Jñānadīpikā of Devabodha. Until recently nothing was in fact known about Devabodha or his commentary on the Mahābhārata save what is contained in perfunctory notices of Sanskrit MSS., which has been summarized in Holtzmann's meritorious work *Das Mahābhārata* (Vol. 3, section 14, para 3, p. 70 f.). A selection of Devabodha's readings and glosses was for the first time published by me in the critical notes of the Ādiparvan Volume.²

I have shown in the previous section that Devabodha is indubitably earlier than Nilakantha, Arjunamiśra, Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa or even Vimalabodha, and is therefore in all probability the earliest commentator of the Mahābhārata hitherto known. It is therefore needless to add that the commentary is most valuable and its evidence, both positive and negative, of supreme importance for the constitution of the text.

The MS. of the commentary (which is *unaccompanied* by the epic text) utilized by me for the Ādi belongs to the Baroda Central Library (Sanskrit Section) and was kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, Director of the Oriental Institute of Baroda, to whom my sincere thanks are due for the kind loan.³ This paper MS. which bears the identification No. 11372, contains the commentary on Ādi only and is written in

¹ Vādirāja's commentary on the Sabhā has been published by Prof. P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri as an Appendix to his edition of the Sabhā according to the Southern recension (Madras 1932). For Vādirāja's date see further below (pp. 201-210) the note on the subject by Mr. P. K. Gode.

² See also my Prolegomena, p. LXX.

³ There is another MS. of the commentary in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which was also consulted by me

Devanāgarī characters of about the seventeenth century. The bulk of the MS. is in a fair state of preservation, though in many places the text is extremely corrupt. In our MS. the name of the commentary is given as Jñānadīpikā; but, according to Holtzmann (*op. cit.* Vol. 3, p. 71), it is also known as Mahābhārata-tātparyatikā or tātparyadīpikā. MSS. of this commentary are rare, and no complete copy has yet been found.

In the colophon the author is described as *paramahansa-purī-vrājaka*. He must therefore have belonged to an order of Sannyāsins. The name of his Guru is given as Satyabodha. This is all the personal data we have at present about Devabodha.

The Jñānadīpikā is a concise *ṭikā*, that is, a running commentary paraphrasing the difficult words of the epic text and occasionally explaining the gist or purport (*tātparya*) of the original. The extent of the text of the commentary on the Ādi is given at the end of our MS. as 1400 *granthas*.

The homage which Arjuna pays to Devabodha in the Introduction to his scholium is by no means a matter of mere form. Arjuna appears to have made a very close study indeed of the scholium of Devabodha, and based his own commentary, on the Ādi at least, largely on that of his predecessor. He has copied very large portions of Devabodha's commentary, sometimes *verbatim*, sometimes in extracts. Moreover, even when the commentators differ, the influence of Devabodha is plainly discernible. In fact, Arjuna's Arthadīpikā may be considered, as I have remarked elsewhere,¹ as a revised and enlarged edition of Devabodha's Jñānadīpikā. Unlike the commentary of Nīlakaṇṭha, that of Devabodha is unaccompanied by the epic text. The question, therefore, naturally arises what was Devabodha's text like ?

When we read the commentary along with any of the old printed editions of the Mahābhārata, like the Calcutta or the Bombay or the Kumbhakonam editions, we are at once struck by the singular disparity between the text and the commentary. Not only does Devabodha's commentary contain many words or expressions which do not occur at all in the Vulgate, but it also cites, at times, verses or stanzas which read differently in the

¹ Ādiparvan, Prolegomena, p. LXX.

Vulgate. One also comes across passages and even adhyāyas of the Vulgate on which one expects some comment but which are left wholly uncommented by Devabodha.

The Southern recension may be categorically ignored in our search for the prototype of Devabodha's commentary, as this commentator does not know even a single one of the many passages peculiar to the Southern recension. He further does not show the typical Southern transposition of the Śakuntalā and Yayāti episodes, nor the characteristic position of the prose genealogical adhyāya (called *Pūruṣaśānukīrtana*), after the chapter containing the eulogy of the epic (*Bhūrataprasānsū*).

The vulgate (with the Bengālī) may likewise be excluded. It agrees with Devabodha's text up to a certain point ; but the divergences, which are numerous, remain inexplicable. There remain then only the Śāradā and the " K " versions. And with them, the version of Devabodha does, as a matter of fact, show very close affinity.

It is worthy of note that Devabodha has no commentary on any of the six adhyāyas of the Vulgate which are completely missing in the Śāradā and the K MSS. and which have also been completely omitted in the Critical Edition of the Ādi. They are the following adhyāyas of the *Vulgate* : (i) adhy. 22 (duplicate description of the ocean) ; (ii) adhy. 24 (Aruṇa is appointed charioteer of the Sun, an evident digression and interpolation) ; (iii) adhy. 116 (birth of Duṣśalā : a fairy tale of questionable authenticity) ; (iv) adhy. 139 (an absurd chapter describing further exploits of the Pāṇḍavas and containing a reference to Yavana kings) ; (v) adhy. 140 (*Kaṇikanṭi*) ; and finally, (vi) adhy. 149 (Pāṇḍavas' crossing of the Ganges, a passage of doubtful value).

But on principle, we cannot attach very great importance to such omissions, as a commentator is apt to skip in the Mahābhārata any adhyāya which he thinks too simple to need any comment. This explanation will apply to most of the omissions mentioned above, but will not hold good in the case of the *Kaṇikanṭi*, an adhy. of 140 stanzas, which has evoked lengthy comments from both Arjunamiśra and Nilkanṭha; we expect some comment on this adhyāya by a commentator like Devabodha.

Much more important from our point of view is an *addition* characteristic of the Kāśmīrī version. This version adds at the very end of the Ādi a supplementary (and entirely superfluous) *adhyāya*, which contains merely a *variant* version of the well-known Puranic tale of Śvetaki's sacrifice, occurring earlier in the course of this very parvan, and which was known to Kṣemendra. Curiously enough the king who is called Śvctaki in the first version is here called Śvetaketu ! That the version of Devabodha contained this interpolated (supplementary) *adhyāya* is proved by the concluding remark of Devabodha on this *adhyāya* (fol. 48) :

श्वेतकिरेव श्वेतकेतुरिति नाम ।

This remark, as I have pointed out elsewhere, will not apply to any version which did not have the supplementary *adhyāya* containing the story of Śvetaketu, which in fact is peculiar to the Śāradā and the K versions. These facts demonstrate that the version of Devabodha agrees with the Śāradā and K versions with respect to both addition and omission of whole *adhyāyas*.

The conclusion regarding the affinity between the two versions is fortified by many minor agreements in point of shorter passages and even readings of individual stanzas.

For example, Devabodha has no comment on any portion of the Brahmā-Ganeśa episode (40 stanzas in the Vulgate), which is missing in its *entirely* only in the Kāśmīrī and the Bengali versions. Again, for l. 105, 4-7 of the Critical Edition the Vulgate substitutes a lengthy passage of 56 lines, which is entirely ignored in the commentary of Devabodha, who on the other hand *cites* 7^{ab} (a line not known to the Vulgate), in exact agreement with the Śāradā and K versions (besides the Southern recension), but in direct opposition to the Bengali and the Devanāgarī versions. In connection with the omission of adhy. 139-140 of the Vulgate mentioned above, the Śāradā and K versions omit the first 19 stanzas of the following *adhyāya* (namely, adhy. 141 of the Vulgate). In conformity with that, the first 19 stanzas of adhy. 141 are ignored completely in the scholium of Devabodha. It may be noted that the omission of adhy. 139-140 together with the first 19 stanzas of adhy. 141 of the Vulgate

makes an aggregate and continuous omission of 139 (= 27 + 93 + 19) stanzas of the Vulgate, a not inconsiderable portion of the text. Likewise there is no commentary on nearly 70 stanzas of adhy. 128 and 129 of the Vulgate, which are omitted only in the Śāradā-K group and the Critical Edition.

This affinity is further borne out by agreements as regards minor readings too numerous to mention.

These considerations make it, in my opinion, perfectly clear that the version of Devabodha is closely allied to the Śāradā and the K versions.

Though the Śāradā version and what I have called the "K" version run for the most part parallel to each other, there are in fact minor discrepancies between the MSS. of these versions, which indicate different sources. But as, on the one hand, we have for the Ādi a solitary MS. (Ś') of the genuine Śāradā (or Kāśmīrī) version, and on the other hand we do not know the provenance of the Devanāgarī MSS. which I have denoted by the symbol "K" (on account of their affinity to the version of Kāśmīr), it is at this stage not easy to explain these discrepancies between Śāradā and K. It would be also premature to say whether Devabodha's version was more akin to Śāradā or the K version.

I may, however, draw attention to one instance which suggests to my mind an affinity with K rather than with the Śāradā version. In 1. 68, 72 the text reading is *asatyavacanā nūryaḥ* (nom. plu.), "women (are) perfidious," a general statement. Only K^{1,2} B¹ (m as in text) have, on the other hand, *asatyavacane 'nīrye* (voc. sing.), "O thou perfidious (and) dishonourable (woman)!" K^o. 4 appear to have corrupt forms of the same. The vocative appears to be, therefore, peculiar to the K version, which differs here from the Śāradā, and which latter has the nom. plu. as in all other MSS. Now in agreement with K, Devabodha has *anūrye=vakre*! One instance of an agreement like this is, I will readily admit, wholly inadequate to prove the point. It can only give an indication and may perchance give wrong indication. The question may, therefore, be left over for future investigation.

APPENDIX.

List of five major Mahābhārata commentators arranged according to the probable chronological sequence, with the names of their commentaries, approximate date, and sundry data about them.

No.	Commentator	Commentary	Age	Remarks
1	Devabodha	Jñānadīpikā, Mbh.-tātparyā- tikā, Tātparyadīpikā		Saṁnyāsīn; pupil of Satyabodha, mentioned or cited by Vimala, Arj., Nil.
2	Vimalabodha	Viśamaśloka- tikā, Durghatārtha- prakāśinī, Durbodhapa- dabhañjīnī		Mentions Vaisampāyana's Tīkā and cites Devabodha (once as 'svāmin').
3	Sarvajña Nārāyaṇa	Bhāratārtha- prakāśa	Ante 1300	Mentions Dev. and is cited by Arj. and Nil., as also by a lexicographer Rāyamukuta. (A. D. 1431).
4	Arjunamiśra	Mahābhāratār- tha(pra)dīpikā, Bhāratasam- grahadīpikā	Ante 1534	Mentions Dev., Vimala, S. Nārāyaṇa, Śāṇḍilya Mādhava. Belongs to Eastern (or Gauda) school. Cited by Nil. One MS. of his comm. dated Śaka 1456 (= ca. A. D. 1534). ¹
5	Nilakantha Caturdhara	Bhāratabhāva- dīpa.	ca. 1700	Maharāstra Brahmin Son of Govindasūri and Phullār ² resident of Kopargaon on the Godavari. Mentions Dev., S. Nārāyaṇa, Arj. Ratnagarbha, and others.

1 For Arjunamiśra's date, see also Mr. J. C. Ghosh's recent paper in *Indian Culture*, vol. 2 (1936), pp. 585 ff

Shreemati Nathibai Damodher Th
INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY, BOMBAY

CONVOCATION ADDRESS

DELIVERED ON 27TH JUNE 1936

BY

SIR MANUBHAI MEHTA, KT. C.S.I., M.A., LL.B.

Mr. Chancellor, Members of the Senate of the Indian Women's University, Ladies & Gentlemen,

I gratefully acknowledge the great honour you have done me in inviting me to address you at the Convocation gathering this year. I am at the same time equally conscious of the onerous responsibility undertaken by me; but I have been emboldened in this venture by the remembrance that over forty years ago I had myself been an humble Professor, worshipping at the Shrine of Sarasvati. If a legal maxim teaches us that once a mortgage always a mortgage, a similar legal fiction heartens me up with the fond belief that "once a Professor, always a Professor". I have therefore stood up before this distinguished gathering with the *sangfroid* of an exalted *pantoji* and equally frankly ask for your indulgence to bear with me in what I am going to inflict on you.

The importance of the Convocation this year has been specially heightened by the fact that the Indian Women's

University now enters on its twenty-first year. Born in 1916 the Shreemati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey Indian Women's University now attains its age of majority and I take this early opportunity of wishing it many happy returns and a bright and prosperous future. Standing on this thin border line which divides her tutelage of girlhood from her independence as a mature woman she is here ready to give an account of what she has achieved in the past and also what she aspires to accomplish in the future. It is a day of stocktaking and the balance sheet of her failures and triumphs has been duly laid before the public. To me the account reveals no reason for any despondency. Her past career has been free from grave blemish or blunders. There has been little to occasion any genuine regret; and the future is full of hope, as it opens up a clear prospect of perfectibility, of plenitude of power and of patriotic purpose. At the same time we cannot afford to shut our eyes to the immense magnitude of the task still awaiting attention. It is no doubt true that there has been an appreciable rise in the number of girls who appear at the Entrance Examination of the University and also of girls who pass and go out of its portals with a full fledged degree. For whereas only four girls were successful at the Entrance Examination in 1916, as many as 248 appeared in 1934, of whom 172 were declared successful. It was only in 1910 that

learn how woman was otherwise debarred from the study of the Vedas. A Shudra and a woman were ostracised and declared unauthorised to listen to the Sacred Mantras of the Vedas, chanted by the priests. Woman was under the perpetual tutelage of man. As laid down by the lawgiver Manu न स्त्री स्वातंत्र्यमर्हति. She has to depend upon the guardianship of her parents during childhood, of her husband during adolescence and maturity, and of her sons during old age. She had no rights of property, no right of disposing of her own possessions of land or houses, no right to the custody of her children and no right to stay away from her husband, however cruel or debauched. Like other goods and chattels a woman could be a proper object of gift and at the time of marriage the girl was either given away in pious gift or was bartered for value and gain. It is painful to contemplate the abysmal ignorance in which half of humanity in this country was allowed to lie steeped and rot in its own juice. The dark age that followed the foreign invasions only accentuated this insecurity of person and property and opened new channels of molestation to the life of a helpless Hindu female, that drove her behind the purdah. Shut off from all healthy concourse with Nature and the world her condition steadily degenerated till it was hardly distinguishable from that of a slave.

Happily we have now awakened to the dawn of a New Era. We are slowly getting relieved from the incubus of a crushing nightmare. A change is coming over the spirit of our dream. We now realise the futility of the prospect that "Man can ever become free while woman remains a slave." The old order is changing fast, rapidly giving place to new. Our women of today have aspired to equality with men in all spheres of activity, domestic, social, educational and political. They have asked for freedom to own and hold property and freedom to initiate and enter into contracts, marital and commercial. They have now been admitted also to an enlarged political franchise under the

Reforms. Our duty to advance the status of woman and elevate her educational qualifications and fitness to hold her own in the political life of the country has therefore assumed the sanctity of a Trust which we must scrupulously endeavour to discharge. With the birth of this new era we hope we see with Shelley.

"The World's great age begin anew
The Golden years return ;
The Earth doth like a snake renew
Her winter weeds outworn ;
Heaven smiles and Faiths & Empires gleam
Like wrecks of a dissolving Dream".

Light has come from the East as was but natural; and founded on the model of the Women's University in Japan we see at last a new structure of a University for Women in India rising up before our eyes. The Shrimati Nathibai Damodar Women's University is destined to play the part of a harbinger sounding its clarion call at the approaching Dawn, waking up the people of the Bombay Presidency to their duty towards their womenfolk, their wives and their daughters. There had been not a single separate college for girls in the Presidency. Bengal boasts of as many as 4 colleges reserved for women, while Madras provides 5 such colleges for the exclusive benefit of girls. The Bombay Government had incurred a reproach that they had not been keenly alive to the need for the education of girls. The blame was perhaps not quite justly apportioned; for the ultimate responsibility for allowing the mass of our womenfolk to remain steeped in ignorance and intellectual darkness must be traced to ourselves. Apathy to the benefits of education and the evils of early marriage and other baneful social customs and practices have wrought this havoc and still work as drags and heavy handicaps in the path of educational reform. Government cannot however be lightly absolved from the charge of having neglected the education

of the masses and especially of the womenfolk of the country. There was a very tardy response to the cry for legislation stopping the injurious custom of early marriages of girls and even when the necessary laws have been passed there is no keen desire to enforce the law and prevent the evil. Their avowed policy of religious neutrality has perhaps served long to cloak a multitude of sins of omission and commission. When education was being enforced as a compulsory duty on citizens in other countries there was no response to the popular demand to make education compulsory even in urban and specially selected rural areas. The difficulties of enforcing compulsion have been terribly accentuated by the poverty of the masses and their baneful social usages and customs. The snail-like pace at which the rate of literacy amongst women has been creeping up can only be remedied and accelerated by the combined efforts of the people as well as the Government. Under such discouraging circumstances it is a comfort to see the Nathibai Thakersey University for Women flourishing and I must utilise this opportunity to pay my humble tribute of admiration for the selfless and self-sacrificing activities and the devoted zeal of its celebrated founder—Dhondopanth Karve, whose good name is bound to go down to posterity as the Hermit of Hingne—the devout Tapasvi who conceived this noble ideal and spared no pain to bring it to life. He has roamed over the entire globe to collect alms sufficient to nourish his cherished offspring and it must give him not a little satisfaction to see how the tree he had planted has flourished and how it is digging its roots down so as to stand the ravages of time and abide its life of stress and storm in this struggling world. I well remember the day when my venerable friend had approached me for help at Baroda. I could not give him any funds as I wanted them all for my own work of pushing on Compulsory Education both for boys and girls in the Baroda territories. But I was struck with his life of service and sacrifice, his zeal and devotion and set apart some funds for

the Maharani Chimnabai Kanya Pathshala at Baroda which I got affiliated to this University. I cannot also allow this opportunity to pass without paying my tribute of homage to the memory of my friend, the late Sir Vithaldas Thakersey—a benevolent patron of learning, whose farseeing sagacity coupled with his patriotism and love for the country of his birth secured a munificent and princely endowment which has ensured the long-life and stability of this useful Institution. The lives of these two great men have taught us how we can make our lives sublime by contributing each in his or her own humble way towards this glorious structure of female education that must besides ultimately redounding to the glory of God, also add to the relief of man's estate.

The question that we sometimes hear being argued is whether such a separate University for Women is really needed? If we compare the large number of girls attending the ordinary mixed colleges in this Presidency where co-education is imparted to boys and girls together with the small numbers attending this separate Institution the conclusion drawn by some people is that this method of segregation of the sexes is not after the hearts of the people. An Institution that shelters and trains up about 85 girls distributed over the several colleges and seminaries affiliated to the Women's University as against over six hundred in colleges owing allegiance to the Bombay University, it is argued, must lack in the power of attraction and may not appeal to the imagination of the female population. Women throughout the civilized world, it is urged, would be averse to accept any situation savouring of inferiority as compared to their brothers of the sterner sex. They would not prefer to lag behind in the race and would hate to be segregated, where competition is confined to their own sex and a suspicion would be lurking behind the Institution that the standards of efficiency in colleges reserved for the softer sex must perforce be low and comparatively more indulgent. Women would long for opportunities to rub

shoulders with the mere man and show to the world that they are intellectually his equal if they do not excel. If the necessity of such separate colleges is likely to be discounted what is the justification for a federation of such colleges under a separate University for Women; especially it is urged in a Province like Bombay where there has been no purdah and women have so long rubbed shoulders with men in a sufficiently brisk and also brusque a manner.

The above arguments are not convincing and for an effective and adequate reply we must turn to the fundamental physical difference between the sexes which must always need separate and special treatment. Women may be quite justified in their demand for equality of rights and equality of opportunities with men in all fields of life—social as well as political; but let us beware that this healthy rivalry is never allowed to degenerate into cut throat competition or any warring scramble for the loaves and fishes of life. Man and Woman are physically counterparts of each other, fractions making up an integer and their rule of life should be co-operation and not competition. In the Western countries during the last generation when the Great War swallowed up a large part of the masculine population their place in the ordinary avocations and walks of life had perforce to be taken up by women. Factories including workshops for the manufacture of munitions had to be filled by an army of women and even the desks of clerks in Government offices had to be filled up by qualified girls. The advantage so gained by the softer sex during the war the women are not prepared to give up after the conclusion of Peace. The evils of this unnatural competition were scarcely felt so long as the ranks of able bodied men remained depleted by the terrible toll the scourge of war had taken from the numbers of the male population. With the disappearance of this disparity in the numbers of the two sexes the lot of the mere man has become unhappy. Female labour has been found to be

cheaper and yet equally if not more efficient and the disinclination among the girls to marry, fostered by their love of freedom, has permanently swelled the ranks of unemployment among the men. This has perhaps somewhat embittered the mutual regard between the sexes engaged in such hostile competition. The female franchise for instance had to be fought for by the English woman and was not won without a free fight.

Things need not be so unhappily circumstanced and have not been such in India. Here we are prepared to regard the co-operation of man and woman as a case of intelligent and economic division of labour and not of rival competition. We recognise that man and woman are only mutual counterfoils, each complementary and completing the isolated life of the other. Man is a social animal and abhors living in secluded isolation. Students of Plato may remember how humorously he has described in his symposium on Love, how man and woman were originally created. "The primeval man" he wrote "was round; his back and sides formed a circle. He could see both ways, with eyes in front and eyes behind; and like a ball he could roll up and fly out swiftly to the Heavens and challenge the Gods in their own celestial citadel. The Gods grew afraid of him; and at their request Zeus smote him asunder and cleft him into two halves; one half becoming a man and the other complementary half his mate, the woman. The number of sacrificial offerings to Gods was doubled in the bargain by this clever device and the power of man was crippled and rendered effete and innocuous. This accounts for the special characteristics of the male half and the distinguishing features of his female counterpart and their eternal desire to effect a reunion. Our system of education ought to be so designed on the one hand as in the schools for boys to lead to the full development of the special features of the male as on the other hand to the full perfection of the peculiar characteristics of the woman.

in the School reserved for girls. Physical training is as much necessary for the healthy development of the body of a woman as it is necessary for the full perfection of the masculine body and yet we hardly want our women to be all amazons. On the other hand aesthetic culture is as valuable in man as it is prized in a woman; but we would not care to see our men degenerate into effeminate sentimentalists. The word effeminate implies the loss of the masculine features distinguishing his manly estate. Curiously there is hardly any appropriate word that would with the same ease convey the sense of loss by the woman of her qualities of grace and emotional culture that all go to make up her woman's diadem. The concept of an unwomanly woman is inconceivable and has in consequence no name. The system of education for a University for women has to be specially adapted to their special needs and functions and ought to be calculated to preserve and enrich those priceless ornaments of a woman's mental and cultural equipment. This achievement cannot be within the reach of a University that has adopted co-education of boys and girls. The Nathibai Thakersey Indian Women's University has recognised this essential difference and has justified its existence by the adoption of a well-chosen and characteristic curriculum of studies for our girls. Only a handful of girls attend by choice schools for boys where co-education has been introduced. On the other hand where separate schools for girls have been provided they are being attended by girls in very large numbers that are seen increasing every year. Similarly girls attend the ordinary colleges for boys not because they prefer such colleges which provide for co-education. They are mostly driven to the boys' colleges out of sheer necessity. If there is a separate University that would cater to the needs of Female Education the number of girls likely to avail themselves of such a special University is likely to swell appreciably provided the quality of education imparted is by no means inferior in comparison.

According to Milton "a complete and generous education is that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of Peace and War". The same criterion may with advantage be applied to gauge the success of a system of education for the woman. The education she needs ought to make her a loving wife, a fond mother, an astute housewife and a capable citizen, able to defend her own rights and to stand the struggle of life even when undefended by her male friends and relatives. This object can more successfully be attained only by a special University reserved for women.

At the same time it must be recognised that the study of a particular subject may have quite different perspectives and may be approached from quite different angles according as the student is male or female: Physiology has been included in the curriculum of the Women's University as it is desirable for a woman, even though she may not be a medical student to know the organisation and functions of the human body.. Is the study of the human body less essential for the "mere man"? Domestic economy is rightly included in the curriculum of a girls' college. Is not knowledge of the family budget and servants' wages equally valuable for her brother? Music and painting are the best embodiments of culture, which is defined by an eminent authority as "the passion for sweetness and light" Are sweetness and light to be the sole monopoly of our women and denied to our men? The end of specialisation in view with each distinctive perspective can be best achieved only in Institutions specially reserved for each Sex.

It is also argued that if even this hazy line of partition between the studies fit for girls and for boys vanishes and evaporates into thin air, we have to seek further justification of a separate Women's University elsewhere. Co-education of boys and girls has certain advantages and its dangers hardly deserve serious consideration. Cloistered virtue

is scarcely worth the sentinel it needs to guard it from molestation. Co-education supplies a salutary mutual education of the sexes. Constant association wears off the charm of novelty and engenders mutual respect and the desire to be helpful. A close study of reciprocal merits and demerits inspires the associate with respect for the former and sympathy with the latter, with the result that a healthy companionship is formed to the benefit of both the parties. Co-education has not led to any grave degeneration or corruption of morals in our Province. At the same time we must acknowledge that prejudice dies hard. Even the old established sister Universities of Oxford and Cambridge still fight shy of this radical reform and do not admit girls into colleges reserved for boys. Girls are not even freely admitted to academic Degrees at Cambridge—one of the two hoary and venerated mother Universities. The Shrimati Nathibai Thakersey Indian Women's University will continue to cater to the needs of the generality of the people, who are still conservative and can not think of co-education of boys and girls with any equanimity. A separate university for women is absolutely necessary in our present state of Society. If we want to reach the masses it is only possible if we provide an Institution in which they can repose confidence. We have to expand laterally and must cater to the taste of the general public if we desire to educate the mass of our women.

The Indian University for Women can however hope to do so successfully only so long as it holds its banner aloft as an Institution of equal status and not tolerate its degrees to be marked by any stamp of inferiority. Its examinations ought to be conducted by independent men who should be more concerned with the sole object of upholding its Degrees as unadulterated and without even the suspicion of alloy than with the maintenance of its popularity as an easy going institution. Its Trustees ought jealously to guard the hall mark it would annually stamp on

the ware it sends out and not allow even the breath of any inferiority complex to be whispered about the capacity of its alumni to hold their own in the struggle for life. In this connection it is necessary here on this occasion to refer to the charge levelled against the Nathibai Thakersey University for Women that as it undertakes to teach every subject through the vernaculars the result must inevitably be a lowering in the quality of the goods turned out. The question of using the vernacular tongue as the medium of imparting instruction even in the academic and advanced stages of education is one on which it is possible to hear two opinions. It has now become almost a tenet of religion and an article of faith to avow that all education can best be imparted through the mother tongue of the student and that the use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction would effect much saving of time and energy. This doctrine has been so ingrained on the minds of the present day educationist that I shudder to utter what may sound as rant heresy. I fully endorse the view that some subjects like arithmetic and geography can be more effectively taught through the vernacular languages than through a foreign tongue. It is our vernacular language in which we have babbled and prattled as tiny babes in our cradle. It is the mother tongue which we have learnt in the lap of our mother; it is our mother tongue which we have been taught early at the feet of our father. It is the language in which we think our thoughts and the language in which we dream our dreams. To undertake to teach a growing infant its multiplication tables and the Rule of three through the English language is a senseless waste of time and effect. I am afraid however the same incongruity cannot be predicated of the teaching of advanced subjects like History or Political Economy, Psychology, Ethics or the Advanced Sciences. If their inherent spirit is to be caught the student must approach the author in the language in which he wrote the subject, which he can never do through a

translated version. I can well understand that the History of India can more appropriately be taught through the vernacular for capable authors have written useful works on the subject in the vernacular languages and the study entails no use of translations ; but I refuse to believe that the student can be made to appreciate the philosophy of history or to enjoy a chapter of the History of England or Rome through a translation of Macaulay or of Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. In the existing state of our vernacular literature with only a few suitable translations it is not consistent with efficiency to confine our studies in the advanced academic courses at present to mere translations and leave the girls unprepared to pursue their studies further with the originals, like Herbert Spencer, and Huxley or Mill, James or Keynes. Moreover education should not be confounded with or limited to mere instruction. I admit that mere instruction, which means the instilling or pouring in of knowledge can more effectively be carried out through the vernaculars ; however education does not end with such instruction or with your leaving the portals of your Alma Mater. True education consists not in the mere imparting of learning ; it ought to create rather a love of learning which would last throughout life. Education is akin to culture, the extraction from within—a development and growth of the intellectual faculties and the maturing of the latent potentialities which may be spread over one's entire life. The small volume of literature that can be made available through the vernacular translations is apt to be exhausted in the first five or seven years of study in High Schools ; and academic training would be reduced to an insipid and colourless repetition if the portals of the vast learning awaiting to be tenderly approached through the medium of a foreign tongue are to remain forever closed to your alumni. What would appear to be more fruitful would be to let the entire part of instruction to be carried on through the vernaculars, leaving higher and real education

to be pursued through the study of English and other foreign European languages. Education ought to secure an effective training for Life and Life in these days means holding communion with the whole course of thought and culture throughout the entire world. We have to maintain and develop this cultural contact with the rest of the world. We have outlived our past and cannot afford to treat our country as an isolated Jambudweep surrounded by seven seas of milk and honey. Contact with the outside world must drag us out of our parochial shell. National Education it is claimed is the only rational education. This is good rhyme, but hardly sound logic. Let us not mix up considerations of politics with deliberations about the success of academies. The imparting of all instruction through the vernaculars is likely to create a suspicion of inferiority attached to your Degree and it is the duty of the Trustees of this University for Women to see that their Degrees are not undervalued as tinsel. The imparting of education through the vernaculars is very useful as a means of quantitative expansion. You can reach the masses only through an enlarged use of the vernaculars; but along with quantitative broadening we need also a qualitative enrichment, a depth of culture that you may not be able to reach unless you call the aid of foreign implements. If academic education is to cultivate a love of research and investigation do not fight shy of a steady pursuit of the study through all channels indigenous as well as foreign. Let not the academy be a grave of all originality and all initiative.

I am anxious not to be misunderstood or to leave any room for misapprehension. I do not mean to say that Education through the vernaculars will ever remain impracticable. What is not achievable to-day may perhaps become attainable in the course of a few generations. When I was at the helm of affairs at Baroda, with the generous support and zealous impetus received from my gracious Master, His Highness the Maharaja Gaikwad we systema-

tically undertook to have a large number of standard works including works on science translated into our vernaculars, and a whole department was set on foot for coining technical terms and scientific nomenclature. Our languages have been much enriched by this addition to our technical phraseology and the increase in the wealth of our vernacular lore attempted at Baroda. I am sure the same work will be with steady perseverance advanced through other agencies as well. What I mean to urge is that what may be possible fifty years hence may not be prematurely twisted into our University curriculum of to-day, so as to impair the value of its teaching and the worth of the degrees conferred on its alumni, turned out to-day from its portals.

Moreover, this should be studiously avoided when our aim ought to be to secure due recognition of the Degrees we confer both at the hands of Government and also Inter-University recognition. We cannot expect to attract a larger number of girls to our colleges unless such mutual recognition is secured and we may not confidently hope to obtain such recognition unless we stiffen up the backbone of our educational system and remove every trace of suspicion that the examinations held by us are over indulgent and our Degrees cheap. If the imparting of all instruction through the vernaculars is likely to engender any prejudice capable of retarding such recognition our endeavour should be to leave absolutely no ground for any bias even if it is irrational. The history of the recognition of the medical degrees conferred by our Universities in India ought to serve as a warning against even unfair prejudice.

There are one or two other suggestions made by critics as eligible lines on which further growth of this University may be directed for the future. The addition of the medical faculty and the faculty of education are recommended by way of expansion. The first does not seem to me to be a proposition of practical politics. To run an efficient Medical College you will need very large funds which you are ill able

to afford. You may not have the necessary staff of capable Lady Physicians and Lady Surgeons, and you may not be able to command the necessary equipment and the necessary material either for the dissection table or for the operation theatre. Existing Medical Colleges will not close their doors to young ladies and unless your Medical College is better equipped, has more elaborate laboratories and commands a more capable staff it has little chance of maintaining its place in competition as against older colleges teaching medicine. A Medical College for women may collect a number of girl students as has been done at Delhi at the Lady Hardinge Medical College for women; but the Bombay girls have never been behind the purdah and they do not object to study subjects like even gynaecology and diseases of women at the feet of learned Professors of the other sex. and they may not be expected to be driven by any unction or sense of delicacy to seek admission in large numbers into a Medical College for Women staffed by Lady Doctors.

The second suggestion of adding to the existing Faculty of Arts the Faculty of Education and Training is more sensible and ought to engage the attention of the authorities at an early date. The ideal of a Model College ought to be to teach something of everything and everything of something; but in order to achieve such wide reaching results our Colleges and Schools ought to secure a larger number of more versatile and better equipped teachers. Trained on correct lines our teachers would make no pretence of omniscience, but would try to emulate the humility of Socrates and say that the only one thing they knew was that they know nothing. Their claim to be able to discharge the sacred functions they are charged with ought to be that they know nothing but that they would intently and eagerly interest themselves in knowing and finding out what has been written on the tender minds of their precious wards whom they have selected to train up. The Greek Philosopher Thales, when asked what was the

most difficult thing in the world and what the most easy is said to have replied that the most difficult thing is to learn to know oneself and the most easy thing is to find fault with others. A proper study of child psychology ought to enable the trained teacher to realise that the main spring of the child's mind is curiosity. Let the teacher encourage this instinctive desire of the child to enquire and learn; for curiosity is said to be the father of invention. Philosophy begins in wonder and infancy delights in miracles which inspire wonder. Let not the teacher smother this spirit of inquiry in the child but let him teach the child by allowing him freely to ask questions and by discussing all the possible explanations.

Our trained teachers have to realise that our ideas about education have undergone radical alterations and they have to adjust their own ideas into new orientation with the rapidly changing social conditions of a ceaselessly changing world. The education they have to impart to their girl pupils in the schools is to be such as in the words of Locke "would fit them for their life and not merely fit them to pass their University Examinations." A successful teacher knows how to eke out the best notes and most harmonious tunes from his pupil's mind. Let his behaviour towards his pupil be—

"And while in tones of sportive tenderness
He answered all its questions, and asked others
As simple as its own; yet wisely framed
To wake and prove an infant's faculties;
As though its mind were some sweet instrument
And he with breath and touch were finding out
What stops or keys would yield the richest Music."

Let our trained teachers realise that there are oceans of Truth yet unexplored and uncharted; and in all humility let them take up the task of navigation and set out on their

days dawn upon our world. It is in your hands to perpetuate the sovereignty of the softer sex both at Home and on the Forum by keeping yourself away from while and evil and not allowing your hands to be soiled by corrupt practices or gross intrigue. It is open of you to vindicate that the hand that rocks the cradle may equally rule the world. By purity and piety you can win more hearts than can man by his valour or his wisdom. A celebrated writer of great merit who died only last year has brought out this contrast most vividly in his excellent and characteristic style. He reminds us that while contact with the righteous deeds and noble thoughts of holy men exalt us to celestial heights and transplant us to those Elysian fields where joy for ever reigns, association with the piety and the purity of saintly women brings down that veritable Heaven itself to our own humble Home and spreads before us a divine feast to appease our hunger and fountains of nectarine sweet to slake our thirst. You must have read of the magic Orpheus' lyre spread all round over all things dead or alive, when he launched out within the argonauts on their expedition of mercy and adventure. As he sang his voice rose from the cave, above the crags and through the tree tops and glens of oak and pine. And the trees bowed their heads when they heard it and the grey rocks cracked and rang and the beasts of the forests crept near to listen and the birds forsook their nests and hovered over his head. When his wife Eurydice was being snatched away by the cruel hand of Death, Orpheus with his lyre followed the Angel of Death and by the charm of his music he succeeded in getting entry into the Hades; he however could not secure the surrender of her soul at the hands of Pluto. Savitri, the saintly Princess on the other hand with her divine music, her song of sorrow and poetry of piety could win the pity even of Yama and succeeded in redeeming the soul of her young lord Satyavan whom she could resuscitate and bring back to life by the force of her love and the purity

voyage for the quest of truth and the advancement of knowledge. It is best for us all to remember that knowledge is power; it is also pleasure. In the words of Bacon it would be well for us all to remember that our studies should be neither a Couch on which to rest; nor a cloister in which to promenade alone; nor a tower from which to look down on others; nor a fortress whence we may resist them; nor a workshop for gain and merchandise; but a rich armoury and treasury for the glory of the Creator and the ennoblement of Life".

I shall now conclude my lengthy address with a few words of congratulation and encouragement to my young friends who have just received their Degree and are about to leave the portals of the University. Let me wish you all a cordial bon voyage before you launch on your perilous journey. I would ask you to remember that your education does not end with your exit from your College. You now enter the vast stage of Life where you will need a sterner and a more serious type of education that will bode either success or failure in life. Remember the sacred duty you owe your alma mater. You have been charged ever in your life and conversation to prove yourself worthy of the Degree just now conferred on you. Place a higher value on your character much above your intellectual attainments. Integrity and reliability are sure pass-ports to success in life. Bear engraved on your hearts the golden advice offered to his son by Polonius. "Above all, to thyself be true, so thou canst not be false to any one." The law has now given you equality of rights and of opportunities with the sterner sex: If you enter politics let your watch word be service and self-sacrifice. By your selfless life of devotion and duty you will maintain your sway over the hearts of men whom you would lead rather than follow. Chivalry in man has taught him ever to own his proud submission to rank and sex. The claims of mere rank to respect or reverence may wear away as more degenerate

days dawn upon our world. It is in your hands to perpetuate the sovereignty of the softer sex both at Home and on the Forum by keeping yourself away from white and evil and not allowing your hands to be soiled by corrupt practices or gross intrigue. It is open of you to vindicate that the hand that rocks the cradle may equally rule the world. By purity and piety you can win more hearts than can man by his valour or his wisdom. A celebrated writer of great merit who died only last year has brought out this contrast most vividly in his excellent and characteristic style. He reminds us that while contact with the righteous deeds and noble thoughts of holy men exalt us to celestial heights and transplant us to those Elysian fields where joy for ever reigns, association with the piety and the purity of saintly women brings down that veritable Heaven itself to our own humble Home and spreads before us a divine feast to appease our hunger and fountains of nectarine sweet to slake our thirst. You must have read of the magic Orpheus' lyre spread all round over all things dead or alive, when he launched out within the argonauts on their expedition of mercy and adventure. As he sang his voice rose from the cave, above the crags and through the tree tops and glens of oak and pine. And the trees bowed their heads when they heard it and the grey rocks cracked and rang and the beasts of the forests crept near to listen and the birds forsook their nests and hovered over his head. When his wife Eurydice was being snatched away by the cruel hand of Death, Orpheus with his lyre followed the Angel of Death and by the charm of his music he succeeded in getting entry into the Hades; he however could not secure the surrender of her soul at the hands of Pluto. Savitri, the saintly Princess on the other hand with her divine music, her song of sorrow and poetry of piety could win the pity even of Yama and succeeded in redeeming the soul of her young lord Satyavan whom she could resuscitate and bring back to life by the force of her love and the purity

of her life. It will ever devolve on you to hold up and maintain this supremacy of your soul. Cultivate your love and taste for art for aesthetics will always remain the forte of the feminine world. If you have learnt the arts of painting and of music in your academy cultivate these charms till they become your richest possession. As a gifted artist cultivate your eye so that it may even touch and train up your hand so that it may even see. Live a life of Spirit; so that with your soul you may rise above your sensory limitations. If you have learnt music, cultivate it to a high pitch so that you may be able even to teach your guitar harmony and be able to hear the music of the spheres in the high vault of heaven. Transmit your enriched soul to your dear children so as permanently to uplift the human race and exalt it to a higher plane. Fulfill your Divine Mission and always deserve a first place in the worship of your children. मातृदेवो भव ।

Shreemati Nathibai Damodher Thackersey

INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY

**of text-books appointed for the
minations to be held in 1937**

Price—Six Annas.

N. B.—The list contains the books prescribed for the Entrance Examination in accordance with the old Regulations (Part I) and new Regulations (Part II).

Shreemati Nathibai Damodher Thackersey
Indian Women's University, Bombay

List of text-books appointed for the Examinations
to be held in 1937

EXAMINATION FOR THE DEGREE OF G. A.

COMPULSORY SUBJECTS

1. *Modern Indian Language* (Mother-Tongue)

Marathi

- (१) काव्यालोचन—द. के. केळकर.
- (२) साहित्यसंग्रह भाग २—शिवरामवंत परांजपे.
- (३) समाधि आणि इतर सहा गोष्टी—दिवाकर कृष्ण.

Special Note

(Candidates are expected to possess an adequate knowledge of Marathi grammar and of the elements of Rhetoric (Alankars) and Prosody; also a knowledge of the main outlines of the history of the Marathi Language and Literature).

The following books are recommended for the purpose—

- (१) महाराष्ट्र सारस्वत—वि. ल. भावे—भाग १, तृतीयावृत्ति; बाकी द्वितीयावृत्ति.
- (२) मराठी गद्याचा इंग्रजी अवतार—प्रो. द. वा. पोतदार.
- (३) भाषाशास्त्र आणि मराठी भाषा—कृ. पां. कुळकर्णी.
- (४) अलंकार-चंद्रिका—गोरे.
- (५) आधुनिक काव्यप्रकाश—प्रो. रा. श्री. जोग.

Gujarati

- (૧) કવિતા અને સાહિત્ય, ભાગ ૩, લેખાંક ૪, ૧-૧૩ Ramanbhai Nilkantha, Published by G. V. Society, Ahmedabad.
- (૨) કેઢવળીના પાયા.
 खंड १—लेखांक १-८, १६.
- (૨) खंड २—लेखांक ५, ७...by K. G. Mashruwala.
- (૩) સરસ્વતીચંદ્ર ભાગ ૪થા Chapters :—૩૪, ૩૫, ૩૬.

Sindhi

- (1) Maqadimah (introduction to Shah) by Dr. H. M. Gurubuxani.
- (2) Sri Yog-Darshan (selected pieces) by Dayaram Gidumal.
- (3) Shah-je-Akhanyan-ji-Samajhani by Jethmal Parsram.
- (4) Alif-be-ji-Tarikh—by Bharumai Mahirchand.
- (5) Maqadimah—Introduction to Sachal Sarmast—by Aga Safi.
- (6) Lobh-jo-Mahatum by Dayaram Gidumal.
- (7) Introduction to Sami-jo-salok by Dayaram Gidumal.

Candidates are recommended to study the following besides.

- 1 New Sindhi Grammar by Jhamatmal Narumal.
- 2 Akhar Dhatu—by Jhamatmal Narumal.
- 3 Shah-Muhibe-Vatan (appearing in the Sindhu of 1933) by L. A. Jagtiani.
- 4 A Note on Sindhi Dharma (Sindhi-Natak—(appearing in the Sindhu)—by D. K. Thadani.
- 5 Articles on the development of Sindhi literature the pen of Dr. M. D. Dandpota, Mr. Jethmal P: and Dr. H. M. Gurbuxani appearing in the Sindhu the Sind Collegiate Miscellany.

Bengali

- 1 Bāngālir Bal by Rajendralal Acharya.
- 2 Mahātma Rammohan Rāier Jivancharit
 by Nagendranath Chatterjee.
 (For Rapid Reading)
- 3 Nānā Kathā—by Pramatha Chaudhuri.

Candidates are expected to possess an adequate knowledge of Bengali grammar and elements of rhetoric and prosody and also of the knowledge of the main outline of the history of Bengali language and literature. The following books are recommended for the purpose:—

- 1 History of Bengali Language by Sir Suniti Chatterjee.
- 2 Linguistic Survey of India Vol. V., Part I.
- 3 Bangabani by Prof. Sasanka Mohan Sen.
- 4 New Essays in Criticism by Sir Brajendra Seal.
- 5 Bangabhāshā O Sāhitya by Rai Sahib Dines Chandra Sen.

Telugu

Malapalli:—By Vunnava Lakshmi Narayana Garu, Bar-at-Law.
Sarada Niketan, Guntur.

English

(For Detailed Study)

Prose:—1 Select Discourses from the Idea of a University; edited by May Yardley, (C. U. P.). Omit discourses VIII and IX.

- 2 Compromise by Morley (Macmillan.)

Poetry:—1 Fifty Poems from Tennyson—Edited by J. H. Lobban (C. U. P.). Omit Elaine.

- 2 Cymbeline by Shakespeare.

(For Rapid Reading)

- 1 Kipps by H. G. Wells.

- 2 Poets of our Time by Eric Gillett (Nelson).

Sociology

A. M. Tozzer :—Social origins and social continuities
(Macmillan and Co.)

H. Risley :—The People of India (Thacker.)

G. S. Ghurye :—Caste-System.

A. R. Wadia :—Feminism.

Psychology and Study of Child-Mind

- (1) Primer of Physiological Psychology by Mac Dugall.
- (2) Child-mind by Dumville (University Tutorial Press).
- (3) Psychology by Angell (For students desirous of further detailed knowledge.)
- (4) A New Primer of Psychology by Sahai (Macmillan).
- (५) शिक्षण आणि मानसशास्त्र—नेने (हायस्कूल, नागपूर). } For Marathi
- (६) मानस-मन्दिर—ना. सी. फडके. } knowing

students.

VOLUNTARY SUBJECTS

Sanskrit

- Paper I :—(a) Mac Donell's Vedic Reader (accent, metre and elementary notions of Mythology to be emphasised.) First 15 hymns only.
- (b) शांकर भाष्याच्या दुसऱ्या अध्यायाचा पहिला पाद.

- Paper II :—(a) काव्यप्रकाश X Definitions, differentiations and illustrations, only; संसृष्टि, संकर and काव्यदोष to be emphasized. (b) मालतीमाधव.

- Paper III :—1 Translation of unseen Passages.
- 2 Translation into Sanskrit.
- 3 History of Literature Macdonell.

English

(*Principles of Criticism.*)

- (1) Typical Forms of English Literature by Upham (Oxford.)
- (2) Literary History, The Period from 1798 to 1832.
- (3) The Epic :—(Illustrative Texts.)
 - (a) Spenser : Faerie Queen, Book I.
 - (b) Milton : Paradise Lost, Books I and II.
 - (c) Keats : Hyperion.
 - (d) Tennyson : Morte D'Arthur.

is recommended for reading on account
so far as dramatic criticism is concerned,
as regards the Sanskrit Authors and
dramatic technique is not expected from

‘ ‘ गट-कादम्बरी ’)

८, मायेवा बाजार, बंगलुरु, कर्नाटक, बंगाल—इ. न.

ना. श्री. कट्टे.

१—नाथनाथ.

नि गरला भोले—वा. न. जोशी.

Modern Poetry ; गट ‘ अर्धशतक कविता ’)

—रमाय—भाग १.

—ना. वि. कट्टे.

—कान्हेर.

—पेशकर.

—ना. श्री. कट्टे.

भाग १.

—ना. श्री. कट्टे.

—ना.

—ना.

—भाग १०

—ना.

—ना.

—ना.

—ना.

—ना.

rat Chandra

Madras—Jag

Madras VI

- (१) Poems by दयाराम, कृष्णराम, नरमेराम, रघुनाथदास, निरुद्धलंद
and भूखणभक्त as in बृहत्काव्यदोहन भाग १ लो.
(४) नर्मगय भाग १ सरकारी केलवणी खातुं—निबंध १-१२.

Marathi

Paper I:—Prose

- (१) दोन ध्रुव—वि. स. खांडेकर.
(२) गयगुच्छ—न. चिं. केळकर.
(३) धर्मपर व्याख्यान, पानें १-१००—भांडारकर.
(४) आगरकरांचे निबंध-भाग १.

Poetry :—

- (१) ज्ञानेश्वरी—अध्याय १२.
(२) चंद्रिका—चंद्रशेखर—शेवटली १०० पानें.
(३) कुशलवाह्यान—मोरोपंत.
(४) (महानुभावीय भास्कर कविकृत) उद्धवगीता—पहिल्या २०० ओव्या.

Paper II:—

- (१) हिंदुधर्म आणि सुधारणा—गोळे.
(२) महाराष्ट्राचा सांस्कृतिक इतिहास—प्रो. शं. दा. पेंडसे.
(३) काव्यचर्चा—पूर्वार्ध—चित्रशाळा छापखाना.
(४) कल्पवृक्षाच्या छायेत—लक्ष्मणराव सरदेसाई.

Paper III :—

‘(Group ‘Drama’; गट : ‘नाटकें’)’

- (१) चाव्हादत—भास.
(२) मृच्छकटिक—देवल.
(३) विद्याहरण—खाडिलकर.
(४) मूकनायक—कोल्हटकर.
(५) हाच मुलाचा बाप—बरेरकर.
(६) तोतयाचें घंड—केळकर.
(७) आंध्र्याची शाळा—वर्तक.
(८) तक्षशिला—वर्तक.
(९) भारतीय नाट्यशास्त्र—गोदूबाई केतकर.

('भारतीय नाट्यशास्त्र' is recommended for reading on account of its suggestiveness so far as dramatic criticism is concerned. Knowledge of the details as regards the Sanskrit Authors and their ideas about dramatic technique is not expected from the students).

(Group 'Novel' ; 'गट-कादम्बिनी')

- (१) माधुरी सिन्धि, माधेवा बाजार, चंद्रगुप्त, कर्मयोग, टाटा-बाल—इ. ना. भागटे.
- (२) दीनान—श्री. ना. श्री. पटवर्धन.
- (३) गांधीया ललित—नाथभाष्य.
- (४) ईशु बाटे आणि गरता भोटे—वा. म. जोशी.

(Group 'Modern Poetry' ; गट 'अधुनिकी कविता')

- (१) अभिनवराष्ट्रभाष्य—भाग १.
- (२) रत्नरत्न—ना. श्री. पटवर्धन.
- (३) चंद्रकाव्य—बागेश्वर.
- (४) दशमंथ—पेंडरकर.
- (५) विषयेवा वंदा—म. श्री. पेंडित.
- (६) भोगे—भाग १.
- (७) पुष्पंभी ओंकार—Bee.
- (८) फेरीवासी—रा. जयहान उपाध्ये, नागपुर दानी बेलेंडे.

(Group 'ज्ञानेश्वरी'—वाल्मीकि)

- (१) ज्ञानेश्वरी—अध्याय १८ वा—पटवर्धना १५० ओंका.
- (२) अष्टाध्यायी—पटवर्धना १० ओंका.
- (३) श्री ज्ञानेश्वरी—कर्म १११-१५८.
श्लोक १—कर्म १-५४ (दशमंथ व भेने).
१५८-१८० (पटवर्धन).
- (४) विष्णुत वर—महाभारतीय भाष्य व विष्णुत-पटवर्धना १०० ओंका.
- (५) महाभारतीय वर—महाभारतीय भाष्य व विष्णुत-पटवर्धना १०० ओंका.

Bengali

Page 1.

Author—Sarat Chandra Chatterjee—Charitra Min.
Ratna Prakash—Jog & Jog.
Ratna Prakash Vidyabhusan—Kallidasa.

Poetry :—Narendra Dey—Dipālī.

Navin Chandrasen—i. Raibatak Cantos I-VIII
ii. Prabhās.

Dwijendralal Rai—i. Durgadas.
ii. Bhishma.
iii. Sinhalbijal.

Paper II

Ramaprasad Chanda—Gauda Raj malā.

Vernacular Selections (Poetical)—Dines Chandra Sen
(Calcutta University.)

Sushil Kumar Chakravarti—Vaishnav Sahitya.
pp. 1-66, 182-267.

Paper III.

(Group No. 6).

A close and critical acquaintance with the following authors with special reference to works named below :—

Rabindranath—Sanchayita, Mahuyā.

Biharilal—Nisarga Sandarshan, Sangit-Shatak.

Banga Sundar.

Baul-Vingshati.

Govind Chandra Das—Vaijayanti.

Prem O Phul (whole).

Akshay Badāl—Akshay Giti Kavya—specialising in
Eshā, Kanakānjali and Shankha.

Devendranath Sen—Golap Guchchha.

Apurba Naibedya.

The following books are suggested as guides for criticism and suggestion :—

Ajit Chakrabarti—i. Bātāyan.

ii. Kabya Parikramā.

iii. Rabindranath.

E. J. Thompson—Tagore, Poet and Dramatist.

Rabindra Jayanti—A collection of Essays in Bengali
Published on the occasion of the
79th birthday of the poet.

Banga Bāni in two parts—by Prof. Sasanka Mohan Sen.

Geography

- Paper I—1. A Modern Geography by S. Evelyn Thomas, Volume II, Chapters from 12-20 (including both).
 2. Ground work of Modern Geography by Albert Wilmore, Chapters XI and XII from Section A and all Chapters from Section C and D.
 3. The Geographic Factor by R. H. Whitbeck and Olive J. Thomas.
- Paper II—1. Regional Geographies by Brooks.
 2. Regional Geographies by Reynolds.
 3. An Introduction to Commercial Geography by Dudley Stamp.
 4. A Modern Geography by S. Evelyn Thomas, Vol. II, Part II.
 5. General and Regional Geography by Unstead and Taylor.
- Paper III—1. A Class-Book of Physical Geography by Simmons and Stenhouse.
 2. The Groundwork of Modern Geography by A. Wilmore. The Chapter on Cartography.
 3. Map Projections by A. R. Hinks. Cambridge University.
 4. Exercises on Ordnance Maps by C. H. Cox, G. Bell & Sons.
 5. Maps and Survey by A. R. Hinks, Cambridge University Press.

Music

Books recommended :—

- (१) हिंदुस्तानी संगीत पद्धति—क्रमिक पुस्तक चौथे.
 (२) अभिनव तालमंजरी—पंडित अप्पा तुलसी.
 (३) अभिनव रागमंजरी—by Vishnu Sharma Pandit. The following Ragas are prescribed for this Examination :—(१) शुद्धकल्याण, (२) जयजयवंती, (३) रामकली, (४) पूरिया, (५) मियांकी मल्हार, (६) अढाणा, (७) मुलतानी.

Drawing

- (1) The Human Form and its use in Art by F. R. Yerbury and G. M. Ellwood.
- (2) Studies of Human Figure by G. M. Ellwood and F. R. Yerbury.
- (3) William's Art of Landscape-Painting in Water Colours.

History

Books recommended :—

- (1) Indian Economics by Jathar and Beri.
- (2) Politics :—(1) Gettel or Leaacock-Elements of Politics.
(2) J. S. Mill-Representative Government.
- (3) History of the World-A Sketch by H. G. Wells, omitting the first ten chapters

Ethics and Philosophy

- (1) Introduction to Philosophy ?
- (2) Six Sytems of Indian philosophy by Max-Muller.
(३) नीतिशास्त्रप्रवेश—वा. म. जोशी.
(४) नीतिशास्त्रविचार—वि. स. गोगटे.
(५) गीतारहस्य—वा. गं. टिळक.

SECOND YEAR EXAMINATION IN ARTS

COMPULSORY SUBJECTS

1. Modern Indian Language (Mother-Tongue)

Marathi

गद्य :—

- (१) प्रतिभासाधन—प्रो. ना. सी. फडके.
- (२) भाऊसाहेबांची चरित्र, पहिली ६० पाने.
- (३) विनोदसागर—कॅ. लिमये, (विहंगमावलोकनार्थ).

पद्य :—

- (१) ज्ञानेश्वरी—अध्याय १४ पहिल्या २५० ओव्या.
- (२) नलदमयंती—स्वयंवरस्थान—रघुनाथपंडित.
- (३) तांबे समग्र कविता—मा. त्रि. पटवर्धन.
- (४) आंबराई—गिरीश.

Gujarati

Prose:—(१) सरस्वतीचंद्र भाग १ ले by G. M. Tripathi.

(२) मेळनी मुद्रिका by K. H. Dhruva.

Poetry:—(१) मोमरं and भ्रमरपंचाशी by प्रेमानंद.

(२) ज्योतिरेखा by S. G. Betai.

Grammar &c:—मध्य व्याकरण (Ch. 16 to end)—K. P. Trivedi.

N. B. General knowledge of all the गण्य and of the analysis of मात्रामेळ छंदs in संधिs like दालदा etc. according to the method of D. B. K. H. Dhruva: Metrical composition of the following छंदs:—द्रुतविलंबित, हरिणी, मालिनी, शालिनी, गीति, दोहरा, चोपाई and general acquaintance of अर्थान्तरन्यास, अन्योक्ति and व्याजस्तुति alankaras.

Books recommended:—(१) विंगळ by दलपतराम.

(२) अलंकारप्रवेशिका by D. R. Mankad.

Kannada

Prose:—(1) Mahabharata Vachana; Virāta Parva (the whole) by M. D. Alasingacharya. To be had of the author, 59, Sannidhi Street, Triplicane, P. O. Madras.

(2) Buddha:—by C. K. Venkataramayya (the whole) To be had of Satya Shodhana Publishing House Bangalore.

Poetry:—(1) Pampa Ramayana, Canto 4 (the whole).

Published Separately by Karnataka Sahitya Parishad, Hardinge Road, Bangalore City.

(2) Harischandra Kāvya Sangraha:—

Sthalas 1-4 (Pages I-44) Mysore University Publication. To be had of the curator, Mysore Oriental Library, Mysore.

Drama:—Bhasa's Pāncharātra rendered into Kannada by P. Sundara Shastri. To be had of B. M. Nath & Co., Vepery, Madras.

Grammar & Rhetoric,—For Questions to be set in Grammar, Prosody and Simple Alankaras, Such as, Upamā, Rūpaka, Utprekshā Drishtānta and Arthantharnyāsa, bearing on the texts prescribed. K. R. Narasinhacharya's Vyakarana Sara, to be had of Chourappa & Co., Booksellers, Avenue Road, Bangalore City, is recommended for study.

Sindhi

Prose :—

- 1 Ruh Rihan—Dr. H. M. Gurbaxani.
- 2 Suhni Mehar—A Play by L. A. Jagtiani and D. K. Thadhani.

Rapid Reading

- 1 Dukhi Insan by M. M. Gidwani.

Poetry :—

- 1 Shah-Jo-Risalo Sur Suhni.
- 2 Sami-Ja-Salok, Part II, first half.
- 3 Diwan Gul (Part II. first half).

Telugu

(ii) Nabin Chandra Sen—(i) Amitābh, Pp. 1-61 and
Pp. 126 to end.

(ii) Kurukshetra (Cantos
I-IV).

(iii) Rabindranath Tagore

(i) Vidayer Abhishap

(ii) Karna Kuntir Sambad

English

(For Detailed Study)

Prose:—1 Kidnapped by Stevenson.

2 Selected Essays from Goldsmith. Edited by
J. H. Lobban, (C. U. P.)

Poetry:—1 Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan by
Toru Dutt, (Kegan Paul). Omit Pp. 127-134.

2 A Midsummer Night's Dream by Shakespeare.

3 Byron's the Vision of Judgment (C. U. P.)

(For Rapid Reading.)

1 Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde by Stevenson.

2 Modern One-Act Plays. Series I, (King's Treasuries)
Dent.

History

(1) The History of British Empire by

C. S. S. Hingham (Longmans.)

(2) Elements of English Constitutional History
by Montague.

Domestic Science

Books recommended:—

(1) Biology—Powell and Kohiyar.

(2) Physiology—Huxley's Elements of Physiology.

(3) Hygiene—Ghosh and Das.

(4) Ahar Shastra—Joglekar and Sant.

VOLUNTARY SUBJECTS

Sanskrit

Paper I. (a) याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति-आचाराध्याय (राजधर्म प्रकरण to be omitted)

(b) तर्कमंग्रह.

Paper II. (a) सुतराक्षत. (b) दशरूपक I and IV.

English

- (1) An Outline History of English Literature by
W. H. Hudson (Bell and Sons).
- (2) English Novel by H. G. Rawlinson (Longmans).
- (3) English Short Stories, II and III Series. Selected by
H. Walker and H. S. Milford (Oxford).

Bengali

(For Detailed Study)

PAPER I.

- Poetry :—i. Mukundram Chakrabarti—Sachitra Kavi Kankan
Chandi with introduction. pp. 116-314.
ii. Ramprasad Sen—Lyrical Works (Basumatil edition)
iii. Mrs. Kamini Rai—Alo O Chhaya.
- Prose :—i. Anurupa Debi—Mantra Shakti.
ii. Rabindranath Tagore—Atti Galpa.
iii. Swarna Kumari Debi—Chinna Mukul.

PAPER II.

SECTION A.

(For Rapid Reading)

- Poetry :—i. Satis Chandra Rai—Collected Works.
Poems : pp. 1-125
ii. Jogindranath Vasu—Prithviraj.
- Prose :—i. Chandranath Basu—Sakuntala Tattwa.
ii. Maharaja Jogindranath Ray—Nurjehan.
iii. Rai Saheb Dinesh Chandra Sen—Banga Bhāshā
O Sahitya, chapters I, II, IV-VIII.
iv. Rabindranath Tagore—Gorā.
v. Bankim Chandra Chatterjea—i. Bisha Brikkha
ii. Debi Chaudhurani.

SECTION B. (Group VI—Modern Poetry)

I. A close and critical acquaintance with the following authors with special reference to works mentioned of each :—

A. Rabindranath Tagore :—

- (i) Balaka
- (ii) Palataka

(iii) Gitanjali

(iv) Manasi

(v) Chitra.

B. Beharilal Chakrabarti :—

(i) Prem Pravāhini

(ii) Sadher Āsan

(iii) Sārada Mangal.

C. Akshay Kumar Badāl :—

(i) Eshā

(ii) Pradip

D. Devendranath Sen :—

(i) Ashok Guchchha

E. Govind Chandra Das :—

(i) Kunkum, pp. 1-62

(ii) Prem o Phul, pp. 49 to end.

II. The following books are suggested as a guide for criticism and appreciation :—

(i) Bātāyan

(ii) Kabya Parikramā

(iii) Rabindranāth

} by Ajit Chakrabarti

(iv) Tagore, Poet and Dramatist-by E. J. Thompson.

(v) Rabindra Jayanti-a collection of essays in Bengali published on the occasion of the 70th birth-day of the Poet.

(vi) Banga Bāni in two parts-by Prof. Sasanka Mohan Sen.

Marathi

PAPER I

Prose :—(१) 'नीति व कलोपासना'—'कवीश्वर' कृत, मंडलेश्वर.

(२) पुण्यप्रभाव—गडकरी.

(३) आधुनिक मराठी साहित्य—नेने, बडोदे

Poetry :—(१) वामन—द्वारका—विजय.

(२) रामदास—जुना दासबोध—पाहिले तीन समास.

(३) टिळकांची कविता, भाग १ला.

PAPER II

SECTION A

- (१) ज्ञानोपासना—वनहटी. ('अभिनव भारतमाला')
- (२) सुभाषित आणि विनोद—न. चिं. केळकर. (द्वितीयावृत्ति).
- (३) संशयकल्लोळ—गो. व. देवल.
- (४) संपूर्ण बालहराम—गडकरी.

SECTION B.—(Group 'Drama'; गट—'नाटक')

- (१) सत्तेचे गुलाम—चरेरकर.
- (२) मानाजीराव—शि. म. परांजपे.
- (३) विकारविलेंसित—आगरकर.
- (४) मानापमान—कृ. प्र. खाडीलकर.
- (५) घरावाहेर—अत्रे.
- (६) गुप्तमंजुष—कोल्हटकर.

(Group 'Novel'; गट—'कादंबरी')

- (१) कथासरित्सागर, भाग १ला पाने १००—(प्र. प्र. सं. व प्र. मंडळी—दा. सा. यंदे).
- (२) नारायणराव आणि गोदावरी—चित्रशाळा छापखाना.
- (३) पण लक्षांत कोण घेतो ?—हरी नारायण आपटे.
- (४) बलाघात—हरी नारायण आपटे.
- (५) आशावादी—श्री. व्यं. केतकर.
- (६) संगम—गुर्जर.
- (७) जन्माचा बंदिवास—वा. वि. जोशी.

The following books are recommended for guidance in critical study.

- (१) हरीभाऊंच्या कादंबऱ्या—वाग्मट नारायण देशपांडे.
- (२) कादंबऱ्यावरील निबंध (राजवाडे ग्रंथमाला—व्यवस्थापक, आनंद छापखाना, सातारा).
- (३) कादंबऱ्यांचे परीक्षण (विविधज्ञानविस्तार)—श्री. कृ. कोल्हटकर.

(Group 'Modern Poetry'; गट 'अर्ध्याचीन कविता')

- (१) अभिनवकाव्यमाला, भाग १ ला.
- (२) साधुदास—'वनविहार'—पहिले ५ सर्ग.

- (३) रे. टिळक—वनवासी फूल.
- (४) 'गोविंद' कवीचो कविता. (प्र. महाबळ, नाशिक).
- (५) गिरीश—अभागी कमल.
- (६) वा. गो. मायदेव—भावतरंग.
- (७) " काहोतरी " (रा. हरिभाऊ गोखलेकृत).

(Group. ' ज्ञानेश्वरी ' कालविभाग)

- (१) ज्ञानेश्वरी—अध्याय २, पहिल्या ३०० ओव्या.
- (२) ज्ञानेश्वरी गाथा—पहिले ५२ अर्भग—इंदिरा प्रेस.
- (३) ' महाराष्ट्रांतील आद्य कवयित्री ' वामन नारायण देशपांडे, संपादक.
(महानुभावीय).

शिफारस केलेली पुस्तकें:—

- (१) [अ] ज्ञानेश्वरी—चरित्र—प्रो. दांडेकर.
[आ] ज्ञानेश्वरवाद—भारद्वाज ऊर्फ भारदे वि. भिंगारकर.
- (२) महानुभावीय वाङ्मय—य. खु. देशपांडे.
- (३) महाराष्ट्र सारस्वत—ज्ञानदेव व महानुभाव यासंबंधी असलेला मजकूर.
- (४) भास्करभट्ट बोरीकर—प्रो. कोल्हते.

N. B. Candidates are expected to possess an adequate knowledge of the Marathi grammar and of the Elements of Rhetoric (Alankaras) and Prosody; also a knowledge of the main outlines of the History of the Marathi language and literature. The following books are recommended for general reading for all the Groups for S. Y. A. Examination.

- (१) सारस्वत—समीक्षा—आगाशे.
- (२) आधुनिक काव्यप्रकाश—जोग.

Gujarathi

Paper I.

- (१) फेटलांक विवेचनो by Navalram Trivedi. (Omit गुलाबसिंह).
- (२) स्वप्ननी सुंदरी by K. H. Dhruva.
- (३) हृदयरंग by Harihar Bhatt.
- (४) संदेशिका by Khabardar.

Paper II. A. *Rapid Reading.*

- (૧) સ્વૈરવિહાર by R. V. Pathak.
- (૨) ગંગોત્રી by Umashankar Joshi.
- (૩) મ્હારાં સોનેટ by B. K. Thakore.
- (૪) ગુજરાતી સાહિત્યમાં સોનેટ by S. G. Betai. (G. V. Society, Ahmedabad).

Paper II. B. Yuga.

Group i, Narsinh-Nanalal Periods.

- (૧) માલળ અને નાકરનાં જીવન અને કવન.
- (૨) ૧૯૦૮ થી ૧૯૩૦ સુધીનું ગદ્ય અને નાટ્ય સાહિત્ય.
- (૩) ચિત્રદર્શનો by N. D. Kavi.
- (૪) નવલિકા સંગ્રહ ભાગ ૨ જો.

Group ii. Premanand-Govardhanram Periods.

- (૧) શામળનું જીવન અને કવન.
- (૨) ૧૮૮૫ થી ૧૯૦૭ સુધીનું ગદ્ય અને નાટ્ય સાહિત્ય.
- (૩) નારીપ્રતિષ્ઠા by Manilal Dwivedi.
- (૪) નારીપ્રતિષ્ઠા એ વિષયનું ઐતિહાસિક દર્શન by A. B. Dhruva.
- (૫) ધર્મ અને સમાજ-પુસ્તક ૨ by Ramanbhai Nilkanth (G. V. Society, Ahmedabad.) સામાજિક લેખો Only—Pp 183-365.

Group iii. Dayaram-Narmad Dalpat Periods

- (૧) નર્મદાશંકર નું જીવન અને કવન.
- (૨) મટનું મોપાણું by Navalram.
- (૩) નવલજીવન by Govardhanram.
- (૪) Poems of ધીરો, મોજો and વ્રહ્માનંદ as in વૃહત્કાવ્યદોહ ભાગ ૨ જો.

Music

Books prescribed :—

- (૧) હિંદુસ્થાની સંગીત પદ્ધતિ ક્રમિક પુસ્તક ૪ થેં.

The following Ragas are prescribed :—(૧) હાયાન
(૨) હિંદોલ, (૩) શંકરા, (૪) વસંત, (૫) લલિત, (૬) વદન
(૭) દરબારી કાનડા.

Drawing

The same books as for the G. A.

History

- (1) Greece by Bury.
- (2) Rome by Pelham.
- (3) Principles of Political Economy by Gide.
- (4) Principles of Taxation by Alstono.

Ethics and Philosophy

Paper I:—Elements of Ethics, by Muirhead.

Paper II.—Cushman's Beginners' History of Philosophy.

Geography

Paper I:—१ भूगोलावरील वनस्पतीचे प्रदेश—मोडककृत.

2 A Junior Plant Geography—M. E. Hardy—
Clarendon Press, Oxford.

3 Marion I.—New Beginners' Animal Geography,
Clarendon Press, Oxford.

४ भूगोलावरील कांही विचित्र प्राणी—मोडककृत

Paper II:—1 A Modern Geography by S. Evelyn Thomas,
Vol. II (Economic and Regional), Chapters, 9, 10
and 11.

2 An Intermediate Commercial Geography, Part I,
by L. Dudley Stamp.

3 Man and His work by A. J. and F. D. Herbertson
(Latest edition).

FIRST YEAR EXAMINATION IN ARTS COMPULSORY SUBJECTS

1. Modern Indian Language (Mother-Tongue.)

Marathi

गद्यः—

- (१) भंगलेले देऊळ—माडखोलकर.
- (२) आझापत्र—अमात्य.
- (३) पाइमयात्मक निबंध—विष्णुशास्त्री चिपळूणकर-चित्रशाळा छापखाना.
- (४) स्मृति-चित्रे भाग २—लक्ष्मीवाई टिळक.

पद्यः—

- (१) छोककेका—मोरोपंत.
- (२) अभिनवकाव्यमाला, भाग २ रा.
- (३) मुक्तेश्वर, वनपर्व—पहिले तीन अध्याय.
- (४) 'केशवसुत' (सी. के. दामले यांनी संपादिलेला संग्रह, चित्रशाळा छापखाना (विहंगमावलोकनार्थ.))

Gujarathi

Prose:—(१) गुजरातनो नाथ by K. M. Munshi.

(२) उगती जुवानी by B. K. Thakore.

Poetry:—रणयज्ञ by प्रेमानंद.

काव्यसमुच्चय भाग १ लो. आश्रुति ३, काव्याकः १ थी ४० by R. V. Pathak.

Grammar:—मध्यव्यकरण by K. P. Trivedi, Chapters 1-15.

N. B.—General knowledge of अक्षरमेळ and मात्रामेळ Meters and Metrical Composition of तोटक, भुजंगी, शार्दूल, विकीर्णित, वसंततिलका, हरिगीत and भूलगा इंदवजा, उषेद्रवजा-उपजाति, शिखरिणी, मंदाक्रांता and अनुष्टुप् छंदs and general acquaintance of the उपमा, रूपक and उत्प्रेक्षा Alankaras.

Recommended books:—

- (१) पिंगळ by दलपतराम.
- (२) अलंकारप्रवेशिका by D. R. Mankad.

Kannada

Prose:—(1) Chānakya Tantra:—by Muliya Shanker Bhatta (the whole). To be had of Bala Sahitya Mandala, Kodial Bail, Mangalore.

(2) Akāsha Gamana Sāhasa:—(the whole). To be had of The P. T. I. Book Depot, Baswagudi, Bangalore.

(3) Antaranga by Devudu (the whole). To be had of Krishna and Co. Balepeth, Bangalore.

Poetry:—(1) Niti Manjari

Part 1 by R. Narasinhacharya, verses 101 to 200. To be had of the Author, Malleswaram, Bangalore.

(2) The following Selections from Padyasāra Part 2 which can be had of the Curator, Govt. Book Depot, Govt. Press, Bangalore.

No. 3 Sri Rama Pattabhisheka—Samudravarnane.

No. 24 Kabbigara Kavam—Nagara pravēsha.

No. 33 Vrishabhēndra Vijaya—Koluru Kodugūsina Kathe.

No. 35 Pampa Ramayana—Sita Swayamvara.

Grammar:—For Questions to be set in Grammar bearing on the texts prescribed. K. R. Narasinhacharya's Vyākaranā Sara, to be had of Chourappa and Co., Booksellers, Avenue Road, Bangalore city, is recommended.

Hindi

Prose:—(1) सत्य हरिश्चंद्र, by भारतेन्दु हरिश्चंद्र, published by the Sāhitya Ratna-Bhandār, Kināri Bazar, Agra.

(2) सतसुमन by Premchand, Published by Nandkishore and Bros. Book-sellers, Banares city.

Poetry:—(1) आत्मार्पण by द्वारिकाप्रसाद गुप्त "रसिकेंद्र", published by गंगा पुस्तक माला, Lucknow.

(2) हिन्दी काव्य की कोकिलाएं, by गिरिजादत्त, Published by the Sāhitya Mandir, Allahabad.

Grammar :—संक्षिप्त हिंदी व्याकरण ; by Kamtā Prasād Guru (for the first paper).

काव्य प्रवेश by Raghubar Dayālu Mishra, pp. 49-80 and 113-134. (For the Second Paper).

For General Reading :—

1. निबन्धादर्श, by Gokul Chandra Sharma.
2. अपठित भाषेन्दु by Ramā Shankar Shukla.

Sindhi

Prose :—

- 1 Sona Varnyun Dilyun by L. A. Jagtiani.
- 2 Vasand Lakshmi :—A Play by M. M. Gidwani.

Rapid Reading

- 1 Gharu Kifayat by Bherumal Mirchandani.
- 2 Piyu-ja-dhiya-de-Khata :—by Miss Guli R. Kirpalani.

Poetry :—

- 1 Shah-jo-Risalo-Sur-Sorath and Sur Kedaro.
- 2 Sami-ja-Salok (Part I). First half.
- 3 Shahano-Shah (An appreciation of Shah's Poetry).

Telugu

Poetry :—(1) Udyogaparvamu by Thikkana, Canto I, first 90 verses.

(2) Aranyaparvamu by Errapreggada Canto V, verse 346 to Canto VI, verse 146.

(3) Harischandropakhayanamu by Gaurana Mantri, from the beginning, Lines 477.

N. B. These three books are available with R. Venkateshwar & Co., Loane Square, Madras.

Prose :—(1) Kapalakundala by Bankimchandra (Translation) Vavilla Venkateswarasastrulu & Sons, G. T. Madras.

(2) Sanjayuni Rayabaramu by Devaraju Venkatakrishnarao, Vegu Jukka Printing Works, Berhampur.

Bengali

Prose:—

- (1) Bankim Chandra Chatterjee-Kapāla Kundalā.
- (2) Prachin Sahitya }
- (3) Swadesh } Rabindranath Tagore.
- (4) Shah Jehan-Dwijendralal Roy.

Poetry:—

- (1) Akshay Kumar Badāl : Eshā
- (2) Rajani Kanta Sen ; Bāni.
- (3) Vidyapati's Padāpali (Edited by Nagendranath Gupta with Introduction Pp. 1-36).

Urdu

Prose:—*Ibn-u'l-Waql*, by Nazir Ahmad.

Poetry:—*Chahār Gulzār* by Hāli.

English

(For Detailed Study)

- Prose:—1 The Threshold of English Prose by H. A. Treble.
 2 A Tale of Two cities, Edited by C. H. Russell
 (English Literature Series, Macmillan).

- Poetry:—1 Golden Treasury, Book III. Edited by Fowler.
 Macmillan.
 2 Milton's Sonnets (C. U. P.)

(For Rapid Reading)

- 1 Short Stories of Yesterday, edited by Pritchard (Harrap),
- 2 The Roll-Call of Honour by Sir Quiller-Couch (Nelson.)

History

(Recommended Books)

- (a) History of India (1785-1858).
 - (1) Oxford History of India by V. A. Smith.
 - (2) Marathi Riyasat by Sardesai. (Utter Vibhag II).
 - (b) Indian Administration.
 - (1) The growth of Indian Constitution and Administration by Prof. B. G. Sapre.
 - (2) Hindu Rajya Bandhārana by H. M. Bhatt.
- Indian Administration by K. T. Shah.

Domestic Science

Books Recommended :—

- (1) Applied Biology—Bigelow (Macmillan).
- (2) Hygiene—Ghosh and Das.

VOLUNTARY SUBJECTS

Sanskrit

Paper I. (a) मेघदूत (b) अन्योक्तिविलास.

(b) Some questions on grammar and syntax will be set in this paper.

Book recommended—Apte's Guide Part III.

Paper II. (a) आश्वलायन गृह्यसूत्र, भाग १.
(c) रत्नावलि.

English

- (1) A Primer of English Literature by Compton Rickett (Nelson).
- (2) Pattern Poetry, Part II, compiled by Richard Wilson (Nelson).
- (3) Pattern Prose, Part IV by Richard Wilson, (Nelson).

Marathi

PAPER I

Prose:—(१) आनंदीबाईंचें चरित्र (मनोरंजन).

(२) हरिवंशाची वखर—खरे.

(३) विदग्ध वाङ्मय—ह. ना. आपटे.

Poetry:—(१) मेरोपंत—उद्योगपर्व—अध्याय ९, १०, ११.

(२) सामराज—रुक्मिणी-स्वयंवर—सर्ग, १-२-३.

(३) शेंडूची फुले—अत्रे.

PAPER II

SECTION A

(१) रानज्यांचें चरित्र (न. र. फाटक,)

(२) आगरकरांचे निबंध, भाग २.

(३) मी—ह. ना. आपटे.

SECTION B

One group from among the following groups :—

Group No. 1 (Dnyaneshwar Period)

- (१) ज्ञानेश्वरी—अध्याय १ ला—पहिल्या ३०० ओंव्या.
- (२) ज्ञानेश्वरचरित्र—[अ] पांगारकर, [ब] दांडेकर.
- (३) महानुभावीय वाङ्मय—य. खु. देशपांडे.
- (४) महाराष्ट्र सारस्वत Portions bearing on ज्ञानदेव and the महानुभाव—) भावेकृत.
- (५) (महानुभाव) पंडित दामोदरकृत वच्छहरण—पहिल्या २०० ओंव्या.

Group No. 2 (Eknathi Period)

- (१) एकनाथी भागवत १० वा अध्याय.
- (२) } —एकनाथांचीं चरित्रें (पांगारकर आणि आजगांवकरकृत.)
- (३) }
- (४) एकनाथी अभंग—‘ महाराष्ट्रवेद ’ एकनाथ; पहिलीं ४० पानें, ‘ मनोरंजन ’ छापखाना मुंबई.

Group No. 3 (Mukteshwar Period)

- (१) रामदास—युद्धकांड, शतक ७ पासून अखेरपर्यंत.
- (२) वामन—द्वारकाविजय.
- (३) तुकाराम—‘ महाराष्ट्र वेद-तुकाराम ’ पहिलीं ३० पानें (‘ मनोरंजन ’ छा. मुंबई)
- (४) मुक्तेश्वर—वनपर्व—पहिले ४ अध्याय.
- (५) रामदास, तुकाराम, वामन and मुक्तेश्वर यांचीं चरित्रें from महाराष्ट्र सारस्वत and other sources.

Group No. 4 (Moropant and his Contemporaries)

- (१) सीतागीत, सावित्रीगीत—मोरोपंत.
- (२) कर्णपर्व—आरंभापासून ३०० आर्या—मोरोपंत.
- (३) कृष्णविजय—अध्याय ५३, ५४, ५५, व ५६.

Group No. 5 (Modern Poetry, 1830-1925)

- (१) ‘ यशोधन, ’—कवि यशवंत.
- (२) कृष्णशास्त्री चिपळूणकर—पद्यरत्नावली (चित्रशाळा छा. पुणे.)
- (३) राजा शिवाजी—कुंठे.
- (४) अमागी कमल—गिरीश.

Group No. 6 (Drama—1880-1925)

- (१) उत्तमराम-चरित्र—परशुरामपंत गोडबोले.
- (२) शाकुन्तल—किलोस्कर.
- (३) माधवराव पेशवे—कीर्तने.
- (४) झुंजारराव—गो. च. देवल.
- (५) संन्याश्याचा संसार—भा. वि. वरेरकर.

Group No. 7 (Marathi Novels 1830-1930)

- (१) पानिपतची मोहीम—नागेश विनायक बापट.
- (२) यशवंतराव खरे—ह. ना. आपटे.
- (३) आश्रमद्विणी—वा. म. जोशी.
- (४) नवलपूरचा संस्थानिक—वेळकर.
- (५) जादूगार—प्रो. फडके.

Group No. 8 (Marathi Grammar and Philology)

- (१) (अ) रा मि जोशी, (ब) कृष्णशास्त्री गोडबोले, (क) 'वाचयमी तंसा
by आगरकर, (ड) व्याकरणावरील निबंध—कृष्णशास्त्री चिपळूणकर.
- (२) भाषाशास्त्र—पहिली १०० पाने—कृ. पां. कुळकर्णी.

Group No. 9 (Marathi Prose before 1830 including Bakhars, Historical Documents)

- (१) ब्रह्मदेवस्वामीचें चरित्र—द. च. पारसनीस. (वि. का. राजवाडे व ना. रं. अळेकर यांच्या टीकांसह.)
- (२) पानिपतची वखत—का. ना. सोने.
- (३) इतिहासमंजरी—द. वि. आपटे.

Gujarathi

Paper I

- (१) सरस्वतीचंद्र—भाग २ जो.
- (२) काव्यसमुच्चय भाग १—काव्य, -४१ ते ९०.
- (३) पौराणिक नाटको-पुरंदर पराजय, अविभक्त आत्मा अने पुत्रस्मोवडी
by K. M. Munshi.

Paper II A Rapid Reading.

- (१) आपवीती by Dharmanand Kosambi.
- (२) दर्शनीय by B. K. Thakore.

(૩) કાવ્યસમુચ્ચય ભાગ ૧ લા—કાવ્ય ૧૧ to the end.

(૪) ડિંગલી by પ્રાણજીવન વિશ્વનાથ પાઠક.

Paper II B Yuga.

Group I Narsinh-Nanlal Period.

(૧) મીરાંવાઈનું જીવન અને કવન.

(૨) ઇ. સ. ૧૯૦૮ થી ૧૯૩૦ સુધીનું કાવ્ય સાહિત્ય.

(૩) આપણી કવિતાસમૃદ્ધિ—કાવ્યાંક ૧, ૧૦, ૧૫, ૧૯, ૨૩-૨૮, ૩૪, ૩૫, ૩૭-૩૯, ૪૯, ૫૬, ૬૦.

Group II Premanand-Govardhanram Period

(૧) પ્રેમાનંદનું જીવન અને કવન.

(૨) ૧૮૮૫ થી ૧૯૦૭ સુધીનું કાવ્યસાહિત્ય.

(૩) હૃદયવીણા by N. B. Diwatia.

Group III Dayaram-Narmad Dalpat Period.

(૧) દયારામનું આંતર જીવન પ્રકરણ ૧, આંક ૪, પ્રકરણ ૪, ૫, પ્રકરણ ૮, લેખાંક ૨, ૪, ૮, ૧૦ by J. G. Shah.

(૨) વીરનર્મદ by Vishwanath Bhatt.

(૩) નર્મદનું મંદિર by Vishwanath Bhatt.

(૪) કવિતા વિનોદ by H. G. Anjaria.

Bengali

PAPER I

(i) Meghnad bath by Michael Madhusudan Dutt. Cantos III-VI (Halder's Edition, pp. 82 et seq.)

(ii) Kavikankan Mukundram: Chandi with Introduction by Nayan Chandra Mukerjee (Indian Press Edition) pp. 1-115.

(iii) Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar : Sakuntala.

(iv) Rabindranath Tagore : Jogajog.

PAPER II

SECTION I

(For Rapid Reading)*

Poetry :—(i) Chandidas :—Padabali : Selections published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad.

(ii) Kasiram Das : Mahabharat (Charu Banerjee's edition—Adi Parva pp. 1-252.).

(iii) Jogindra Nath Vasu : Shivaji (pp. 1-92 first six cantos.)

Prose :—(i) Ramgati Nyayaratna : Banga Bhasha o Sahitya bisayak prastab (3rd Edition—1910—Edited by Girindranath Banerjee.)

(ii) Prof. Sasanka Mohan Sen : Banga bani :—Pratham Khanda : pp. 1-233.

(iii) Dinabandhu Mitra :—Granthabali : two plays
(a) Nabin Tapaswini.
(b) Sadhabar Ekadasi.

SECTION II.

The following groups have been prescribed :—

Group I Chandidas, Vidyapati and the Sahajia School.

„ II The Vaishnava Yuga.

„ III The Epics and “Chandi.”

„ IV Bengali Women Poets (of all ages).

„ V The Age of Shakta lyric.

„ VI Modern Poetry : With special reference to Rabindranath, Beharilal, Govind, Chandra, Akshaykumar and Devendranath Sen.

„ VII The Modern Novel : including the evolution of the short story.

„ VIII The Bengali Drama.

„ IX Bengali Philology and History and evolution of Bengali Language.

Persian

Prose :—*Akhlaq-i-Muhsini* by Mulla Husain Wa'iz Kāshif, first eleven chapters.

Poetry :—*Tayyibāt-i-Sa'di* by Sa'di, first 70 odes.

Music

1. हिंदुस्थानी संगीत पद्धति, क्रमिक पुस्तक चौथे.

The following Ragas are prescribed.

१. कामोद, २ गौडसारंग, ३ देसकार, ४ पुरियाधनाथी.
- ५ परज, ६ गौडमल्हार.

Drawing

Same books as for the G. A.

History

Recommended Books :—

Paper I Indian History—1707—1784.

- 1 Oxford History of India by V. A. Smith.
- 2 Mediæval India by Lane-Poole.
- 3 Marathi Riyasat by Sardesai

Madhya Vibhag I, II, III & IV and Uttar Vibhag I.

Paper II :—History of Europe 1715 A. D. to 1920 A. D.

Recommended Books.

- (1) The Enlightened Despot (Methuen).
- (2) Remaking of Modern Europe (Methuen).
- (3) Europe and Beyond (Methuen).

Ethics and Philosophy

Paper I :—

- 1 Mellone's Introductory Text book of Logic.
- 2 Logic in an Easy chair—A. K. Trivedi.

Paper II :—(A) Bhagwadgita, 16, 17 and 18 chapters.

(Recommended Text-books :—)

- 1 Commentaries on 16, 17, 18 chapters of Bhagwadgita by (a) Sankaracharya and (b) Dnyaneshwar.
- 2 Gita Rahasya by B. G. Tilak.
- 3 Indian Philosophy (Vol. I, chapter IX) by Sir Radhakrishnan, George, Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- (b) Selections from Plato (Vol. II, Republic, pp. 1-108) by Jowett and Knight, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

(Recommended Text-books).

- 1 Plato by A. E. Tayler, Philosophers' Ancient & Modern Series, Constable & Co., Ltd.
- 2 Plato's Republic by L. Campbell, John, Murray, London.
- 3 A Short History of Ethics (Introduction & Part I pp. 1-110) by R. A. P. Rogers, Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

Geography

- Paper I:—1 भूगर्भ भाग ४ था—रा. ज. गोखले.
 2 R. S. Tarr's New Physical Geography-
 Macmillan & Co.
 3 A class book of Physical Geography by
 Simmons and Stenhouse-Macmillan & Co
- Paper II:—1 Climate Control by Bonacina, A & E. Black
 Ltd., 4, 5, 6 Soho Square, London, W. 1.
 2 Climates of the Continents by W. G. Kendrew,
 Clarendon Press, Oxford.

PART I

ENTRANCE AND S. S. C. EXAMINATION

According to old Regulations

I. Modern Indian Language (Mother-Tongue)

Marathi

- गद्य:—१. बाह्यमयमाळा, भाग १ ला—प्रा. वा. म. जोशी, } यांनी
 (आवृत्ति २ री) प्रि. मा. म. पटवर्धन } संपादिलेली.
 पेट ३, ४, ६, १०, ११, १७, १८, २४, २९, ३२, ३८ आणि ४१.
 स्थूल अभ्यासाकरिता:—

- (१) बर्हिहर भटजी—टिपेकर.
 (२) तारानंदल-गरे.

- पद्य:—१ मोहरीरहण कविवर्यमद (विप्रमाळा.)
 २ गुणेश्वर, हरिधरारभ्यान (नवनीतालील).

Gujarathi

Prose:—(१) द्विरेतनी काले, भाग १ by R. V. Pathak.

Poetry:—(१) मनेरु मंदिर—पृष्ठ ४५ to ९० page to १५८.

(२) गुणममाया Diwan'a.

Grammar:—नवीन भाषा by मजूमदार.

- 2 Viramātē Kuntidevi :—(the whole) by Venkatrao Alur. To be had of Karnatak Sahitya Mandir, Sadhankeri, Dharwar.
- 3 Kavi Lakshmisa, Adhyaksharā bhāṣana, pages 1-34, [and Lakshmisānu Chitrisiruya Stri Patragalu by C. K. Venkatramayya, pages 141-174. To be had of Satyashodhana Publishing House, Bangalore city.

Poetry : (1) Jaimini Bharata Sandhi 9 and 19.

—(2) Bhartrihari Nitishataka :—by Basappa Shastri, verses 1-50. To be had of B. Mahadeva Shastri, P. O. Kerlapur (Hassan District).

Hindi

Prose :—(1) Selections No. 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 14 and 15 from the हिन्दी गद्य तरङ्गिणी, by Gokul Chandra Sharma, M. A., published by the Indian Press, Allahabad.

Poetry :—(1) Selections of the following 12 poets from गद्य समुच्चय, by Kāmṭā Prasād Guru, published by Indian Press, Allahabad, 3rd edition, 1934.
1. Kabir Dās; 2. Sūr Dās; 3. Tulsī Dās; 4. Rahīm; 5. Bibārī; 6. Bhūshan; 7. Girdhar Kavi; 8. Harishchandra; 9. Nāthūrām Shankar; 10. Mahāvīr Prasād; 11. Ayodhyā Singh; 12. Maithili Sharan Gupta.

Grammar :—सुबोध हिन्दी व्याकरण, by Rāma Deva, M.A., published by the Hindi Bhawan, Lahore. For figures of speech and Prose etc., pp. 123 to 151 of गद्य समुच्चय by Kāmṭā Prasād Guru, mentioned above may be studied.

Books recommended for general reading :—हिन्दी रचना by Kāmeshwar Nāth, B. A., published by Gayā Prasād & Sons, Agra.

Geography

Paper I:—1 भूवर्णन भाग ४ था—रा. ज. गोखले.

2 R. S. Tarr's New Physical Geography-
Macmillan & Co.

3 A class book of Physical Geography by
Simmons and Stenhouse-Macmillan & Co

Paper II:—1 Climate Control by Bonacina, A & E. Black
Ltd., 4, 5, 6 Soho Square, London, W. 1.

2 Climates of the Continents by W. G. Kendrew,
Clarendon Press, Oxford.

PART I

ENTRANCE AND S. S. C. EXAMINATION

According to old Regulations

1. Modern Indian Language (Mother-Tongue)

Marathi

गद्य:—१. वाङ्मयमाला, भाग १ ला-प्रा. वा. म. जोशी, } यांनी
(आवृत्ति २ री) प्रि. ना. म. पटवर्धन } संपादिलेली.
घडे ३, ४, ६, १०, ११, १७, १८, २४, २९, ३२, ३८ आणि ४१.
स्थूल अभ्यासाकरिता:—

(१) बार्दिकर भटजी—टिकेकर.

(२) तारामंडळ-खरे.

पद्य:—१ मोहरीरुद्ध कवितासंग्रह (चित्रशाळा.)

२ मुक्तेश्वर, हरिश्चंद्राख्यान (नवनीतांतील).

Gujarathi

Prose:—(१) द्विरेफ़नी वातो, भाग १ by R. V. Pathak.

Poetry:—(१) नमैदंतुं मंदिर—काव्य ४५ to ९० pages ६१ to १५८.

(२) कुसुममाला by N. B. Diwatia.

Grammar:—नवीन व्याकरण भाग ३ जो. by मुळजीभाई चौकसो.

Kannada

Prose:—1. Bhārata Vira Charite by S. G. Narasinhacharya
(the whole) to be had of the Curator, Govt. Book
Depot, Govt. Central Press, Bangalore.

(For Rapid Reading)

1. Modern Stories collected by John Buchan. (Nelson)

3 History

History of India

Recommended Books :

- Marathi Texts :—१ शालोपयोगी भारतवर्ष by G. S. Sardesai.
२ हिंदुस्थानचा इतिहास by Prin. Balkrishna and Mr. Kolhatkar.

Gujrati Text :—१ हिंदोनो इतिहास by G. N. Joshi.

(Macmillan and Co.)

Hindi Text :—History of India by Principal Balkrishna.

English Text :—The Oxford History of English by V. A. Smith.

History of England

Marathi Text :—Modern History of England by P. H. Barve
(Macmillan)

Gujarati Text :—Modern History of England by P. H. Barve,
(Macmillan)

English Text :—Oxford History of England by V. A. Smith.

Domestic Science

Recommended Books :—

- 1 Prapanch Shastra—by Luktuke.
- 2 Nirogi Kase Rahave—by Mr. Mule.
- 3 Grihavyavastha Ane Aurogya Shastra by Dr. Tribhovan-
das Shah (Gujrath Vernacular Society).
- 4 Grihaprabandha Shastra—by Pandit Janardan Joshi.
५. गृहजीवनशास्त्र—जोगळेकर आणि संत.

VOLUNTARY SUBJECTS

Sanskrit

- 1 Bhandarkar's Second Book omitting Lessons

XXII—XXV.

or हरि नारायण नेनेकृत संस्कृत दुसरे पुस्तक.

- 2 Apte's Guide—Lessons 1-11.
- 3 Devadhar and Suru's Reader, Part I, Pages 1-40.
- 4 Bhartṛhari's—Nīti and Vairāgya Śātakas.

Bengali

- Prose:—1 Bankim Chatterjee—Durgesh Nandini.
 2 Sarat Chandra Chatterjee—Birāj Bou.
- Poetry.—1 Michael Madhusudan Datta—Megnad Badh
 cantos 1-2 (G. N. Halder's edition.)
 2 Jotindra Mohan Bagchi Bandhur dān, pp. 1-62,
 (Published by Sachindralal Mitra).
 3 Rabindranath Tagore—Naibedya (Vishwa Bharati
 Society, Calcutta).

Sindhi

- Prose:—1 Sindh-jo-Sailani by Bherumal Mahirchand.
 2 Yusif Misiri by Parmanand Mewaram.
 3 Richh—Rusin Vidwa by Jethmal Parsram.

(Rapid Reading)

- 1 Nal Damayanti.
 - 2 Musafira-Jo-mazo Savia-jo-Rang.
 - 3 Vidya Vasant by H. V. Malani.
- Poetry:—1 Same as to be prescribed by the Bombay
 University.

Telugu

- I Prose:—1 Mitralabhamu by Chinnaiah Soori.
 2 Mitrabhedamu by Chinnaiah Soori.
- II Poetry:—1 Batasari by Adibhatta Narayandas, Principal
 Music College, Vizianagaram.

Urdu

- Prose:—Chapters Nos. I, III, IV, VII, and VIII,
 Poetry:—Chapters Nos. II, III, IV, V and VII. From the
 "*Khayābān-i-Urdu*" compiled by Ahmad 'Arif.
 Can be had of the Maktabah-i-Ibrāhīmīyyah,
 Station Road, Hyderabad, Deccan.

English

(For detailed study)

1. Silas Marner by George Eliot. Abridged by Mary
 Copsy (Macmillan).
2. The Land of Poetry—Wentworth Hill and Wood
 (Nisbet).

(For Rapid Reading)

1. Modern Stories collected by John Buchan. (Nelson)

3 History

History of India

Recommended Books :

Marathi Texts :—१ शालोपयोगी भारतवर्ष by G. S. Sardesai.
२ हिंदुस्थानचा इतिहास by Prin. Balkrishna and Mr. Kolhatkar.

Gujrati Text :—१ हिंदनो इतिहास by G. N. Joshi.

(Macmillan and Co.)

Hindi Text :—History of India by Principal Balkrishna.

English Text :—The Oxford History of English by V. A. Smith.

History of England

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Gujarati Text :—Modern History of England by P. H. Barve, (Macmillan)

English Text :—Oxford History of England by V. A. Smith.

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- 2 Nirogi Kase Rahave—by Mr. Mule.
- 3 Grihavyavastha Ane Aurogya Shastra by Dr. Tribhovan-das Shah (Gujrath Vernacular Society).
- 4 Grihaprabandha Shastra—by Pandit Janardan Joshi.
५. गृहजीवनशास्त्र—जोगळेकर आणि संत.

VOLUNTARY SUBJECTS

Sanskrit

- 1 Bhandarkar's Second Book omitting Lessons

XXII—XXV.

or हरि नारायण नेनेकृत संस्कृत दुसरे पुस्तक.

- 2 Apte's Guide—Lessons 1-11.
- 3 Devadhar and Suru's Reader, Part I, Pages 1-40.
- 4 Bhartrhari's—Niti and Vairāgya Śātakas.

Sewing and Needle-Work

Recommended Books:—

- 1 शिवणकाम by Mrs. Janakibai Pradhan.
- 2 Needle—Work and Cutting Out by Agnes Walker and Jane A. Strachen
- 3 Needle—Work for Students and Teachers by Amy K. Smith.
- 4 Longman's Complete Course of Needle-Work.
Knitting and Cutting Out by Y. M. James.

Geography

- १ जगाचे भूवर्णन अथवा भूवर्णन भाग ४ या-रा. ज. गोखले.
- २ नवीन भूवर्णन अथवा भूवर्णन भाग २ रा-रा. ज. गोखले.
- ३ “पृथ्वी”—पोपटलाल अंबाणी.
- ४ नवीन भूगोल भाग ३-मुळजीभाई हिरालाल चोक्सी.

Reference books:

- 1 Human Geographies by Fairgrieve and Young (G. Philip and Sons) Primary and Secondary Series.
- 2 Our World—A Human Geography
by C. Morrison (Macmillan.)

- ३ भूगोलावरील वनस्पतींचे प्रदेश—वि. आ. मोडक.

Drawing

Manual of Drawing P. I and II by W. W. Rawain,
(Longmans Green and Co.)

Music

हिंदुस्थानी संगीत पद्धति, पुस्तकमाला (पहिली तीन पुस्तकें.)

Hindi

- Prose:—1. भारत की धीर नारियाँ by श्री व्यथित हृदय, edited by श्रीमन्तराम, published by the Hindi Bhavan, Lahore.
2. हिन्दी गद्य नवनीत (first half) by हरि शंकर शर्मा (कविरत्न) published by the Shanti Press, Agra.

Poetry:—पद्य पारिजात by नरोत्तम शास्त्री, M.A., Published by the Nāgari Pracharini Sabhā, Kāshi.

Persian

Prose:—*Gulistān*, by Sa'di chapter VII.

Poetry:—*Bustān* by Sa'di, Chapter I.

प्रदेयागमा परीक्षा.

प्रश्नपत्र १ लें

गद्य

गुण १००

- १ द. वि. आपटे—इतिहासमंजरी, भाग १ ला. (चित्रशाळा, पुणे)
- २ कृ. प्र. खाडिलकर—सवाई माधवरावांचा मृत्यु.
- ३ न. चिं. केळकर—मराठे व इंग्रज.
- ४ श्री. कृ. कोल्हटकर—सुदाम्याचे पोहे.
- ५ प्रो. वा. म. जोशी—सुशीलेचा देव.
- ६ डोंगरीवरील आमचे १०१ दिवस—आगरकर.

प्रश्नपत्र २ रें

पद्य

- १ उद्भवगीता (महाभुभावीय)—भास्कर—कविकृत.
२. ज्ञानेश्वरी, अध्याय १८ वा—३०० ओव्या.
- ३ सुचेश्वर—आदिपर्व—पहिले ३ अध्याय.
- ४ सोरोपंत—कर्णपर्व.
- ५ रे. टिळक (अभंगांजली) संबंध.
- ६ तांबे—समग्र कविता.
- ७ विष्णुदासाची कविता—खरशीकर.

प्रश्नपत्रिका ३

गुण १००

- १ चिं. वि. वैद्य—निबंध व भाषणे.
- २ राजवाडे—ज्ञानेश्वरीचे व्याकरण.
- ३ मा. त्रि. पटवर्धन—छंदोरचना.
- ४ पां. दा. गुणे—Comparative Philology.
- ५ Grierson-Linguistic Survey of India, Volume VII
- ६ कृ. पां. कुळकर्णी—मराठी भाषा-उद्गम व विकास.
- ७ दामले यचिं शास्त्रीय मराठी व्याकरण.
- ८ कृष्णशास्त्री चिपळूणकर—व्याकरणावरील निबंध.
- ९ प्राकृत भाषेची विचिकित्सा—राजारामशास्त्री भागवत.

Paper IV.—100 Marks—Form of Literature for special study—
'Novel'—for candidates appearing in 1936 and 1937.

Drama :—for 1938, 1939.

Short Story—1940, 1941.

Recommended illustrative texts

- १ शुक्यहात्तरी.
- २ नारायणराव आणि गोदावरी (चित्रशाळा).
- ३ पानिपतची मोहीम—नागेश विनायक बापट.

- ४ रंगराव—श्री. काशीबाई कानिटकर.
- ५ हरि नारायण आपटे—(अ) मंथली स्थिति (आ) यशवंतराव खरे.
- ६ प्रो. वा. म. जोशी—इंदु काळे आणि सरला भोळे.
- ७ श्री. व्यं. केतकर—ब्राम्हण कन्या.
- ८ प्रो. ना. सी. फडके—निरंजन.
- ९ नाथमाधव—स्वराज्याचा श्रीगणेश.
- १० 'सहकारी कृष्ण'—शापित महाराष्ट्र.

Paper V :—100 Marks—one author for special study 'Eknath' for candidates appearing in 1936 and 1937.

- १ रुक्मिणी स्वयंवर—एकनाथ.
- २ एकनाथी भागवत—पहिले ७ अध्याय.
- ३ एकनाथी "भारूड".
- ४ भावार्थ रामायण—पहिले ५ अध्याय.

Paper VI—100 Marks—one Period for special study :—

Shake 900 to Shake 1215. (978-1293 A. D.) for the years 1936 and 1937.

- १ ऋद्धिपूर वर्णन—बहाळे नारो व्यासकृत.
- २ चक्रधरसूत्रे.
- ३ ज्ञानेश्वरी—अध्याय १३ वा.
- ४ विवेकसिंधु—मुकुंदराज.
- ५ जुने मराठी शिलालेख (from 'दक्षिण महाराष्ट्राच्या इतिहासाची साधने' यांतील—ग. ह. खेर.)
- ६ अमृतानुभव—पहिली दोन प्रकरणे—ज्ञानदेव.

Books recommended for general reading in regard to this period :—

- १ महानुभावी वाङ्मय—यशवंत छुशाल देशपांडे.
- २ महाराष्ट्र सारस्वत—(Relevant Portion).
- ३ ल. रा. पांगारकर—मराठी वाङ्मयाचा इतिहास, भाग १ ल. (Relevant Portion).
- ४ भारद्वाज (भारदे)—ज्ञानदेव व ज्ञानेश्वर. (गंगाधर गणेश दामोदकर, जहागिरदार, अकोळनेर यांनी प्रसिद्ध केलेले)
- ५ नामदेव, इंदिरा छा. " गार्हापंचकांतील भाग ३ रा "
- ६ ज्ञानेश्वरकालनिर्णय—(ह. म. प. भिंगारकरकृत).
- ७ श्रीज्ञानेश्वर—दर्शन.

ENTRANCE EXAMINATION

PART II

Text-books for Compulsory Subjects for examinations according to old and new Regulations are the same as are prescribed in Part I. The courses in the subsidiary subjects and voluntary subjects in accordance with the new Regulations are given below :—

SUBSIDIARY SUBJECTS

N. B.—The course in Subsidiary History is the same as it has been prescribed so far.

Sewing and Needlework

One Paper—Three Hours—100 Marks.

Candidates are expected to know the following :—

- (1) Plain Needlework :—
 - (a) Running, (b) Gathering, (c) Back-Stitching, (d) Top-Sewing, (e) Hemming, (f) Herring-Boning, (g) Buttonhole-Stitch, (h) Feather-Stitching, (i) Gathering and pleating, (j) Joining, (k) Flat-Seaming, (l) Double-Seaming.
- (2) Patching and Darning.
- (3) Cutting Out :—

Pair of Drawers, झबलें, सदरा, shirt and जाकीट.
- (4) A Front opening of a shirt. Gusset. Gathering into a band or pleating into a band.
- (5) Sampler-Book :—A Sampler-Book shall contain samples of all the items mentioned from 1 to 4. Nothing should be shown in a Sampler-Book which is not shown in the Syllabus.

Arithmetic

One Paper—Three Hours—100 Marks

STANDARD I

- (i) Vulgar fractions and simple illustrative examples.
- (ii) Simple Interest involving problems in which the unknown quantity is interest or amount.
- (iii) Time, Work and Speed, Problems as are given in मराठी पाठ्य पुस्तके (मराठी) प्रो. नाईक यांनी सुधारिलेला भाग २. Or

Gokhale's Arithmetic revised by Prof. Naik in Sections I and II.

STANDARD II

(i) Decimal Fractions (Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication and Division).

(ii) Simple Interest involving problems in which the unknown quantity is time or rate of interest,

(iii) Profit and Loss. Problems as are given in the Book referred to above. (Section I)

STANDARD III

(i) Compound interest involving problems in which the unknown quantity is interest or amount. (Rate of interest should be integral).

STANDARD IV

(i) Proportional Parts. Problems as are given in the Book referred to above. (Sections I and II)

STANDARD V

Information regarding Shares etc. as is given in Chapter XXIV.

Geography

One paper—Three Hours—100 Marks.

Note:—During the First Year's Course in Geography the prominent facts as they are found in different geographical units or Regions of the six chief continents are to be learnt, of course, in some detail and with description. Types of people living under different environments are to be studied and observations of certain geographical phenomena are to be carried out and reduced to charts or maps or readings in table-forms with a view to collect data for the scientific study of Geography in higher standards.

In the course of following two years, different regions of vegetation and animals with people living therein, their occupations, commerce and transport and political divisions are to be studied; so also physical and astronomical aspects of Geography, which were studied as mere facts in lower standards, are to be broadly explained and given a scientific

treatment. *But the fact that the Earth is the abode of human beings must be predominant throughout.*

Geography

(English First Standard)

(I) India complete with a special study of the following types of people :—

(i) A Kashmiri and a Nepali, (ii) A Punjabi and a Hindi, (iii) A Bengali and an Asami, (iv) A Sindhi and a Rajput, (v) A Gujrati and a Berari, (vi) A Maratha and a Mysorean and a Kanari (A Deccani), (vii) A Konkani, a Malabari (Malyali) and a Madrasi along the Coromandel Coast.

(II) Asia in general with a special study of Siamese, Manchurian, an Arab or a Khirghiz and a Siberian.

(III) Observations of temperature, rainfall with wind-directions, lengths of days and nights in different seasons of the year. Chief seasonal crops. Maps to be filled in and charts to be kept.

Geography

(English Second Standard)

(I) Asia and Australasia complete with a special study of the following types of people :—

(i) A Burman (A Siamese), a China-man, (ii) A Ceylonese, a Java-man (a Malayan)—As inhabitants of the Equatorial Region, (iii) An Arab, a Turkman, an Afgan, (iv) A Khirghiz, a Mongolian, a Tibetan, (v) A Japanese, a Manchurian, (vi) A Siberian and a Tundra-man, (vii) An Australian Farmer, Shepherd and Miner, (viii) A New-Zealander.

(II) Latitudes, Longitudes and Zones; Wind Systems and Pressure-belts of the World. Monsoons and distribution of rain thereby and chief seasonal crops and vegetation.

(III) (A) Indian Explorers in Ceylon, Java, Sumatra etc.

(B) Marco-Polo across the continent of Asia.

Geography

(English Third Standard)

(I) Europe and Africa complete with a special study of the following types of people and countries :—

(i) An Egyptian, a Sudanese, (ii) People living in Morocco, Algeria and Tripoli, (iii) A Sahara-man, (iv) A Congo-bushman and Negroes along the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, (v) People living in the 'Union of South Africa' such as Farmers, Shepherds, Miners and their hunting-grounds. (vi) People living in :—

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|------------|
| (a) Mediterranean countries | } | of Europe. |
| (b) Alpine countries | | |
| (c) The Western and Central Countries | | |
| (d) Lapland and Finland | | |

(II) Rotation and revolution of the Earth and the seasons caused thereby. Factors of climate. Revision of Observation-Work in Standard I.

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|-----------------------------|---|------------|
| (III) (A) Bartho Lomew Diaz | } | Explorers. |
| AND | | |
| (B) Vasco da Gama | | |

Geography

(English Fourth Standard)

(I) Americas and West Indies complete with a special study of the following regions :—

(i) Greenland, Labrador and Tundras (Alaska), (ii) Coniferous Forests, (iii) Decidious Forests, (iv) Wheat Lands (Prairies), (v) Deserts and Semi-Deserts, (vi) Lands with Monsoon type of rain, (vii) Lands with winter-rain, (viii) Lands with convectional type of rain with dense forests, (ix) High lands such as Rocky and Andes mountains and Mexican and Equador plateaus.

(II) Physical features of land and its movements and physical features of water and its movements.

- | | | |
|--------------------|---|------------|
| (III) (A) Colombus | } | Explorers. |
| and | | |
| (B) Magellan | | |

Geography

(English Fifth Standard)

(I) Man and the world (Man—conquering Nature and hampered by Nature).

(i) Farms and Crops, (ii) Orchards and Fruits, (iii) Forests and lumbering, (iv) Other vegetation and their products, (v) Oceans and their fisheries, (vi) Cattle, sheep, goat and other animals, (vii) Mines and minerals.

(II) Industries, Manufactures and Trade-routes.

(III) Race for the Poles:—North-West and North-East passage. Dr. Nansen, Captain Peary, Captain Scott, Captain Amundsen etc.

Geography

(English Sixth Standard)

(I) Only a broad Knowledge of :—

(A) Main facts about Solar System:—The Earth as a heavenly Body—Its shape and size—Its rotation and time—Greenwich time and Standard Time—its yearly revolutions and the seasons—Latitudes and Longitudes—How months and years are calculated in the Hindu and Christian calendars.

(B) Climate—Temperature—Atmospheric Pressure. Land and Sea-Breezes. World—Winds—Trades, the Westerlies, Seasonal Winds, the Monsoons; Rainfall and factors of climate.

(C) Land and Water. The work of rain and rivers. Plains, mountains, table-lands, volcanoes, geysers.

(D) Vegetation and animal life—regions of vegetation—distribution of animal-life on the earth:—in forests, grassy lands, deserts and tundras.

(E) Natural regions of the world—Physical influence on economical development, Position, coast, natural formation, climate, soil, climate, soil and minerals as affecting plants and animal-life. Human occupation, settlements and means of communication. Conditions of Agriculture, Manufacture and Commerce. Growth of Towns.

(II) (A) *Detailed study of India and those parts of the British Empire with which India is concerned.*—The study to include the build, climate and its influence on natural products and life of the inhabitants, natural resources i. principal vegetation and animal-products and mineral principal industries, characteristic exports and imports chief ocean routes, political divisions. Chief cities.

(B) General study of the world on the above lines.

(III) Broad knowledge of the main exploration and discoveries as affecting our knowledge of the world i.e. those of Magellan, Columbus, Captain Cook, Marco-Polo. Vasco-d Gama, Bartho Lomew Diaz, Arctic and Antarctic explorers.

Geography

One Paper—(Three Hours)—100 marks

The Paper will contain very broad questions on portions prescribed for various standards as given above.

A Candidate must obtain 30 per cent. marks in Geography to pass the examination.

Books recommended for general use :—

- (1) The World by Dudley Stamp or Morrison or both.
- (2) Adventures of exploration published by George Philip & Son.
- (3) मोखले छत भूगणन भाग २ रा व ३ रा.
- (4) मोडककृत भूगोलावरील साहसी प्रवासी.
- (5) मोडककृत भूगोलावरील वनस्पतीचे प्रदेश.

VOLUNTARY SUBJECTS

The following are the draft courses. They are to be finally sanctioned by the Senate. But the studies may be continued on the lines given in the following courses. The courses finally passed will be circulated shortly.

Drawing

Two Papers—(Three Hours each)—100 marks each

Paper First will contain questions on Nature-Drawing and Colouring and Model or Object—Drawing.

Paper I:—(1) *Nature-Drawing and Colouring*

Any sort of flowering plant, butterflies, birds etc. to be drawn in pencil and painted in water colour.

(2) *Model or Object-Drawing* .

Group of Geometrical Objects (Cube, Cylinder, Cone, Prism etc.) with natural objects to be executed in pencil in shade and light or in water-colour.

Paper Second will contain questions on Freehand—Drawing and Design.

Paper II:—(3) *Freehand-Drawing*

To be drawn from simple ornamental printed chart in a little smaller or bigger scale in pencil.

(4) *Design*

To be based upon leaves, flowers, butterflies, birds, in decorative treatment of natural forms, these forms should be filled in a given shape or shapes which should be for some particular purpose and finished in colour or in black and white.

A candidate must obtain 33 per cent marks in Drawing in both the Papers to pass the examination.

French

Two Papers—3 Hours each—100 Marks each

PAPER I

Text-books:—*Voltaire*: "Zadig and Autres Contes" (Oxford University Press).

Labiche and Martin:—"La Poudre Aux Yeux" (Oxford University Press).

PAPER II

Translation (Unseen Passages) and Grammar.

Books recommended

(1) Heath's Practical French Grammar.

(2) Siepmann's Primary French Course, Part III.

B. In Paper II, 75 marks should be allotted to translation and 25 to Grammar.

A candidate must obtain 33 % marks in French to pass the examination.

Physics and Chemistry

N. B. In teaching the course deriving of formulæ Mathematically be avoided except in the case of very easy Mathematical formulations.

Two Papers—Two Hours each—70 Marks each

Practical Examination—60 Marks—Three Hours

To pass the examination candidates must obtain 25 per cent marks out of the 60 marks set apart for the practical and 33 per cent in the total.

The Syllabus is to be taught in three academic year devoting three periods of 45 minutes each during the first year and four periods of 45 minutes each during the next two years.

The Syllabus is tentatively divided in three parts to be taught in the last three standards of the high school as a guide to teachers. But teachers are at liberty to have their own scheme of division provided the work is spread almost equally over three academic years.

Practical work should be so arranged that it follows closely the portion in theory done in the class. As far as practicable individual experiment should be finished in half an hour and its record written in the 15 minutes following. Thus it will be possible to finish two practical exercises a week.

Students are expected to keep a record of the exercises done and such record should be submitted for inspection to the examiner at the time of the practical examination.

Candidates are expected to have sufficient knowledge of elementary Algebra and Geometry necessary for the proper understanding of the theoretical portions in Physics.

STANDARD V

Physics

Two periods of theory and one practical exercise per week.

1. Measurement of length, area, volume, density and angles in degrees and radians.

2. Measurement of time, Isochronism of the Pendulum control of clocks by pendulum. Toothed wheel and escapement in clocks.

3. Elementary idea about force, work, power, energy and its conservation, friction.
4. Archimedes, Pressure in liquids, upward pressure of water, floating bodies, specific gravity and relative density, use of hydrostatic balance and variable immersion hydrometer and lactometer.
5. Liquids in communicating vessels, fountains, water-supply of cities, surface—tension and related phenomena treated qualitatively only, capillary-action, Bramah's press.
6. Galileo and Toricelli and Pascal, Pressure of air, mercury barometer, aneroid barometer, pressure of air at high altitudes.
7. Ink filler, syringe. suction-pump, kerosine oil-pump and cycle-pump.
8. Von Guericke, air-pump (simple type only), Magdeburg hemispheres, effects of reduction of pressure on a barometer placed in vacuum.
9. Boyle, relation between pressure and volume of a gas at constant temperature.
10. Air cushions, pneumatic tyres, vacuum post, foot-ball, siphon vacuum fountain, Hero's fountain, compressed air and its uses.
11. Elasticity, spring balance, buffers, bending beams.
12. Temperature, Fahrenheit, Centigrade and Reaumur scale, clinical thermometers, thermograph, maximum and minimum thermometers.
13. Expansion due to heat and its effects. Fixing tyres on wheels. Bursting of pneumatic tyres by heat. Unequal expansion of different solids and liquids. Expansion of gases. Coefficient of expansions. The exceptional behaviour of water. sudden heating and cooling of glass vessels. Effect of heat on the pendulum and on the densities of substances.
14. Capacity of substances for heat, specific heat, measurement of calories. Heat used up when substances melt or vaporise called latent heat. Evaporation and consequent lowering of temperature. Change of volume when ice melts. Boiling point. Effect of pressure on boiling point. Pressure cookers.

15. Slow evaporation, water vapour in atmosphere, formation of dew and dew-point. Hair hygrometer. Wet and dry bulb hygrometer.

16. Conduction, convection and radiation. Davy and Safety lamp. Land and sea breezes. Ventilation. Use of Chimneys for lamps and factories. Radiation from rough and polished surfaces and from white and black surfaces.

17. Watt and Stephenson, Steam engine, petrol engine and oil engine. The exhaust valve, the crank and excentric, the fly wheel, the governor in engines.

18. Joule and rumford. Heat produced by friction or mechanical work. Heat a kind of energy, transformation and conservation of energy.

Practical Exercises

I. To find the areas of regular and irregular plane-figures.

II. To show by means of a spring or rubber cord that the elongation varies as the load. Use of the spring balance.

III. Use of vernier callipers in measuring internal and external diameters.

IV. Use of micrometer screw guage in measuring thickness of a thin sheet or the diameter of thin wires.

V. Relation between the length and period of oscillation of a pendulum. T^2/L is constant.

VI. Density of a regular solid by determination of its weight and volume.

XIII. To observe the lowering in the melting point of a solid like ice when salt is added to it.

XIV. To find the specific heat of a liquid like kerosine by the method of mixtures. The water equivalent of the calorimeter being determined by calculation by the student.

XV. To find the latent heat of fusion of ice.

STANDARD VI

Theoretical Physics

Three periods of theory and one practical exercise per week.

19. Reflection of light from plane mirrors, multiple images, calidoscope; parallel mirrors; periscope. Reflection of light from spherical mirrors, relation between the distances and the sizes of images and objects to be demonstrated and experimentally proved, principal focus; use of spherical mirrors in search-light and reflectors.

20. Refraction of light. Sine law and refractive index, Refraction through a block of glass with parallel sides. Critical angle and total internal reflection to be demonstrated. Refraction due to a prism, Lenses. Relation between the distances of the object and its image and the size of the object and image to be demonstrated. Decomposition of white light by the prism, formation of the rainbow.

21. The simple microscope or magnifying lens; simple telescope. Optical lanterns. The photographic camera, the human eye, long and short sight. Cinematograph (treated in popular way).

22. Lode stone, magnetic needle, earth as a magnet. Mariner's Compass. Like and unlike poles; attraction and repulsion between poles; magnetic induction.

23. Permanent and temporary magnets; electro magnets. Lines of force due to a magnet.

24. Electricity produced by friction. Attraction and repulsion. Conductors and non-conductors. Electroscope; Electric induction, electricity resides on the surface. Action of points; sparking and lightening. Condensers. Electrophorus.

25. Current Electricity; Difference of electric levels; simple cell, Leclanche Cell, Dry cell, electric accumulator.

15. Slow evaporation, water vapour in atmosphere, formation of dew and dew-point. Hair hygrometer. Wet and dry bulb hygrometer.

16. Conduction, convection and radiation. Davy and Safety lamp. Land and sea breezes. Ventilation. Use of Chimneys for lamps and factories. Radiation from rough and polished surfaces and from white and black surfaces.

17. Watt and Stephenson, Steam engine, petrol engine and oil engine. The exhaust valve, the crank and excentric, the fly wheel, the governor in engines.

18. Joule and rumford. Heat produced by friction or mechanical work. Heat a kind of energy, transformation and conservation of energy.

Practical Exercises

I. To find the areas of regular and irregular plane-figures.

II. To show by means of a spring or rubber cord that the elongation varies as the load. Use of the spring balance.

III. Use of vernier callipers in measuring internal and external diameters.

IV. Use of micrometer screw guage in measuring thickness of a thin sheet or the diameter of thin wires.

V. Relation between the length and period of oscillation of a pendulum. T^2/L is constant.

VI. Density of a regular solid by determination of its weight and volume.

VII. Determination of density of an irregular solid by finding its volume and weight.

VIII. Specific gravity of a solid using the principle of Archimedes.

IX. Specific gravity of liquids using the S. G. bottle.

X. Specific gravity of liquids using a variable immersion hydrometer and construction of one such with a test tube and lead shot.

XI. Specific gravity of liquids with the "U" tube.

XII. To observe the rise in the boiling point of a liquid when a substance like common salt is added to it.

XIII. To observe the lowering in the melting point of a solid like ice when salt is added to it.

XIV. To find the specific heat of a liquid like kerosine by the method of mixtures. The water equivalent of the calorimeter being determined by calculation by the student.

XV. To find the latent heat of fusion of ice.

STANDARD VI

Theoretical Physics

Three periods of theory and one practical exercise per week.

19. Reflection of light from plane mirrors, multiple images, calidoscope; parallel mirrors; periscope. Reflection of light from spherical mirrors, relation between the distances and the sizes of images and objects to be demonstrated and experimentally proved, principal focus; use of spherical mirrors in search-light and reflectors.

20. Refraction of light. Sine law and refractive index, Refraction through a block of glass with parallel sides. Critical angle and total internal reflection to be demonstrated. Refraction due to a prism, Lenses. Relation between the distances of the object and its image and the size of the object and image to be demonstrated. Decomposition of white light by the prism, formation of the rainbow.

21. The simple microscope or magnifying lens; simple telescope. Optical lanterns. The photographic camera, the human eye, long and short sight. Cinematograph (treated in a popular way).

22. Lode stone, magnetic needle, earth as a magnet. Mariner's Compass. Like and unlike poles; attraction and repulsion between poles; magnetic induction.

23. Permanent and temporary magnets; electro magnets. Lines of force due to a magnet.

24. Electricity produced by friction. Attraction and repulsion. Conductors and non-conductors. Electroscope; Electric induction, electricity resides on the surface. Action of points; sparking and lightening. Condensers. Electrophorus.

25. Current Electricity; Difference of electric levels; simple cell, Leclanche Cell, Dry cell, electric accumulator.

Electric circuit. Supply of energy for the flow. Current detectors, Galvanometer, Ammeter and Voltmeter. Ohms Law. Resistance and its measurement by substitution.

26. Effects of electric current. Electric kettles, hot-plate and iron. Incandecent lamp. Electrolysis and electro-plating.

27. Magnetic properties of a coil carrying a current; induced currents. Transformers. Simple Dynamo, simple motor; electric bell. Electric telegraph as illustrated by a simple model. Bell's telephone, Microphone and electric gramophone pick up treated in a popular way.

28. Elementary theory of sound-waves as illustrated by wave motion on a water surface, reflection of sound-waves as seen from echoes.

29. Count Zeppeline and Wright Brothers, Balloons, Aeroplanes, Cartesian Divers, Submarines, Parachutes, Diver's Dress. (The treatment should be elementary and popular).

30. Newton, Motion, Average speed, Velocity, Composition of Velocities.

31. Acceleration, Momentum, Force, Inertia, Parallelogram of forces; Action and re-action are equal and opposite. Work, Power, Energy. Law of conservation of energy, Friction, Brakes.

32. Centre of gravity, Tower of Pisa, Rocking Ragoda, Rope-walker, heavy bottom hydrometer Ballast in ships, Rocking toys.

Practical Work

1. Verification of Boyle's Law.
2. To verify simple laws of static friction with a wooden block.
3. To verify the principle of the lever.
4. To find the centre of gravity of a few regular plane figures.
5. To find the relation between the weight and the power applied in the case of the inclined plane.
6. The above relation in the case of a block of pulleys.

7. Reflection in a plane mirror to prove the laws of reflection.
8. Images in a plane mirror by parallax method.
9. Refraction through a glass slab, Refractive index for a glass.
10. To trace the path of a ray of light through a glass prism by pin method and thus determine the deviation produced.
11. To find the focal length of a concave mirror using a lamp as the object.
12. To find the focal length of a convex lens by using a lamp as the object.
13. To trace the map of magnetic field due to a bar magnet iron filing method, and blue print paper.
14. Distribution of magnetism along a bar magnet by means of elongation produced in a spiral spring or attaching nails to a bar magnet.
15. Magnetic field due to an electric current passing through coils of different numbers of turns.
16. Charging by induction and otherwise an electroscope. Using of working of the Electrophorus in production of electricity.
17. Current induction. Principle and construction of a Dynamo, and Electric motor to be studied with the help of a model.
18. To study the construction of the Electric Bell. Installing an electric bell.

Chemistry

Standard VII.

Three periods for theory and one for practical per week.

N. B.—It is expected that one period a week is devoted for revision of Physics.

1. Solutions, filtration, crystallisation, sublimation, vaporisation and distillation.
2. Difference between Physical and Chemical changes; Law of conservation of mass.
3. Elements, compounds and mixtures. Atoms and molecules; formulae and equations.

4. Composition of air, preparation of oxygen from Mercury oxide, and Potassium chlorate, its properties and uses; Combustion, oxidation and reduction as illustrated by formation of ironoxide and copperoxide, and their reduction to metallic conditions.

5. Formation to Basic and Acidic oxides.

6. Acids and Bases; neutralization, formation of salts. Uses of indicators in neutralization.

7. Composition of water by weight and volume. Electrolysis, hard and soft water, water of crystallisation, efflorescent and deliquescent salts.

8. Gay Lussac's law of gaseous combination; law of constant reciprocal and multiple proportion.

9. Preparation of Hydrogen from metals and acids, by reduction of water vapour by copper; properties and uses.

10. Carbon, different forms of carbon and their properties; allotropy, flame, carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide and its role in plant and animal life, carbonates (sodium carbonate and bicarbonate).

11. Preparation of Nitrogen, from air by elimination of oxygen and carbon dioxide. Properties, NH_3 , HNO_3 , nitrates, nitrogen cycle in nature.

12. Preparation of Chlorine from HCl , and MnO_2 ; its properties and uses as a bleaching and disinfecting agent. Bleaching powder, Hydrochloric Acid Gas, Chlorides.

13. Sulphur and its properties, sulphur dioxide, sulphur trioxide, sulphuric acid; sulphates, sulphuretted hydrogen, sulphides.

14. Phosphorus, its occurrences in different forms and their properties, lucifer and safety matches.

15. Properties of cast iron, wrought iron and steel, rusting of iron, tinned and galvanized iron.

16. Copper, its properties and uses, properties of brass, Bronze, German Silver, Copper sulphide.

17. Properties and uses of Aluminium and common alum.

18. Properties and uses of magnesium and magnesium sulphate.

19. Proportion and uses of mercury, and mercury oxide and calomel.

20. Properties and uses of quick lime, slaked lime, calcium carbonate, plaster of Paris, calcium phosphate, calcium carbide.

21. Properties and uses of (a) Borax, potassium chloride, Silver halides, (b) Starch, sugar, alcohol, iodoform, acetic acid, citria and tartaric acids.

Chemistry (Practical)

1. Purification of common salt by crystallisation.

2. Separation of the constituents of a mixture of soluble and insoluble substances like copper sulphate and chalk or sand, salt etc.

3. Purification of water by distillation.

4. Separation of Alum and Copper sulphate by crystallisation.

5. The differences between mixtures and compounds as illustrated by studying the properties of a mixture of iron filings and sulphur, formation of iron sulphide and its properties.

6. Burning of phosphorus under a bell-jar and to study the remaining nitrogen, testing of the water bellow for acidity.

7. To prepare and study the properties of oxygen by heating a mixture of Potassium chlorate and Manganese dioxide, formation of acidic oxides, like sulphur dioxide, Carbon dioxide and phosphorus pentoxide and their actions on water.

8. To prepare salts like sodium chloride, sodium sulphate by neutralisation, using a burette by titration with an alkali.

9. To prepare Carbon dioxide from calcium carbonate and hydrochloride acid and studying its properties.

10. Hard and Soft water, removal of temporary hardness by boiling or by addition of lime water.

11. To study the effect of heating in an open crucible the fillings of Zink, Sulphur, Zinc carbonate and calcium carbonate.

12. To examine the flame of a candle and to note its different parts.

13. Bleaching of a coloured piece of cloth by bleaching powder, and coloured flower with a solution of sulphur dioxide.

Classical Language (Sanskrit)

Two Papers—(Each of 3 Hours)—100 Marks each.

Paper I:—The first Paper will contain questions on Grammar, (carrying not more than 30 percent of marks) translation and explanation of passages from Prose and Poetry.

N.B.—All questions in the first paper will be strictly from the prescribed texts,

Paper II:—The Second Paper will be of general nature. It will contain *questions on Grammar in General*;

Questions on Grammar :—

Forms of frequentatives (पङ्क्तुगन्त) and desideratives (सन्नन्त) and all unusual forms of nouns and verbs should be omitted.

(Carrying not more than 30 percent of marks).

Translation :—

Translation into Sanskrit—the passage to be set in Mother-tongue (Carrying not more than 20 percent of marks.) and translation into Vernaculars (Mother-tongues) of unseen passages and from the texts prescribed for the Rapid-reading.

N.B.—A Candidate must obtain at least 25 percent marks in each Paper and 33 percent of the total marks to pass the Entrance Examination.

The Standard in Sanskrit Expected for the Entrance

The Standard of Grammar will be as in the two books of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (Omitting the lessons 22-25).

OR

In any other book equivalent to the same.

The students shall be expected to have a good knowledge of:—

- (a) Declension and Conjugation.
- (b) Uses of tenses and moods.
- (c) Rules of Syntax.
- (d) Uses of Cases.
- (e) Compounds (their simplification and formation)

N.B.—All questions on Grammar shall be strictly from the text.

Literature

Prose of the standard of Kadambari-Sara of Mr. Apte.
Poetry of standard of Ramayana—Sundar Kanda, Story of Nala in Mahabharata and easier portions of Raghuvansha.

Translation

Passages for translation from and into Sanskrit.

LIST OF TEXT-BOOKS

1. Bhandarkar's Second Book omitting lessons XXII-XXV
OR

H. N. Nene's Sanskrit Second Book.

2. Apte's Guide lessons I-XI.

The Board of studies does not prescribe a particular book, but recommends a selection of the following passages.

1. हितोपदेश one story about 5 pages
 1. The vulture and the Cat, Pages 2, 3.
 2. A Jackal fallen into an indigo vat. 73-74
 3. The hare, and the lion; The crane and the crab 147-150

} कुसुममाला.

2. दशकुमारचरित three pages.

1. A foundling, page 18
2. Another foundling, pages 56-58
3. An old woman's tale, pages 82, 83

} कुसुममाला.

3. कदंबरी one page. (advice of शुकनास to चंद्रापीड) pages 36-38

N.B.—The above passages will be found in Kusum-mala, 20th edition printed in 1929.

12. To examine the flame of a candle and to note its different parts.

13. Bleaching of a coloured piece of cloth by bleaching powder, and coloured flower with a solution of sulphur dioxide.

Classical Language (Sanskrit)

Two Papers—(Each of 3 Hours)—100 Marks each.

Paper I:—The first Paper will contain questions on Grammar, (carrying not more than 30 percent of marks) translation and explanation of passages from Prose and Poetry.

N.B.—All questions in the first paper will be strictly from the prescribed texts,

Paper II:—The Second Paper will be of general nature. It will contain questions on Grammar in General;

Questions on Grammar:—

Forms of frequentatives (यङ्लुगन्त) and desideratives (सन्नन्त) and all unusual forms of nouns and verbs should be omitted.

(Carrying not more than 30 percent of marks).

Translation:—

Translation into Sanskrit—the passage to be set in Mother-tongue (Carrying not more than 20 percent of marks.) and translation into Vernaculars (Mother-tongues) of unseen passages and from the texts prescribed for the Rapid-reading.

N.B.:—A Candidate must obtain at least 25 percent marks in each Paper and 33 percent of the total marks to pass the Entrance Examination.

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N.B.—The above passages will be found in Kusum-mala.
20th edition printed in 1929.

The pages which are mentioned against the names of the stories are of Kusum-mala. 20th edition printed in 1929.

(4) रघुवंश Canto 14th. 31-79 verses.

(5) शाकुंतल Act IV

(6) Hymns from Rigveda.

पुरुषसूक्त X. 90, मण्डूकसूक्त VII. 103, नासदीयसूक्त X. 123, अक्षसूक्त X. 34.

(7) सुन्दरकाण्ड (for Rapid-Reading) from the Ramayana of Valmiki. Abridged by C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B.

(8) Books recommended for extra-reading.

(१) पुष्पोद्यानम् भाग १ व २ }
(२) वाग्बिलसितम् } by R. V. GOKHALE

Hindi

(For those whose mother-tongue is not Hindi.)

Two Papers—Three Hours each—100 marks each

Prose:—(Paper I)

1. Prose portion (i. e., pp. 1-119) from the साहित्य-रत्न-मञ्जूषा by पाण्डेय यदुनंदन प्रसाद M.A., published by the Saraswati Bhandār, Patna.
2. नारी-रत्न-माला by गिरिजा कुमार घोष, published by Gandhi Hindi Pustak Bhandār, Prayāg.

Poetry:—(Paper II)

1. Poetry Portion (i. e. pp. 119-173) from the साहित्य-रत्न-मञ्जूषा mentioned above.
2. सुन्दरकाण्ड by तुलसीदास (first half), published by the Indian Press, Allahabad.

A candidate must obtain 33% marks in Hindi voluntary to pass the Examination.

Persian

Two Papers—Three Hours each—100 marks each.

Prose:—(Paper I)—*Bahūristūn*—by Jāmi, omitting Rawzahs 1, 5 and 6.

Poetry:—(Paper II)—*Būstān* by Sa'di, Chapters II and VII.

A candidate must obtain 33% marks in Persian to pass the Examination.

Music

One Paper—3 Hours—100 Marks.

Practical Examination—100 Marks.

Paper First, of Theory, is divided into two sections and carries 50 marks each. Section I deals with the theory portion given in the text-books prescribed for the examination. Section II deals with the general information and historical information regarding Music and other details, such as the origin of 'Prabandha', 'Khyal', 'Dhrupa-pada', 'Dhamar', 'Thumbri' etc. The general and historical development of these different sorts of songs, the well-known singers etc., so that it should prepare a good grounding for the development for higher and detailed study of such and other allied problems of Music. The following 20 Rages should be studied:—

- I. 'Bilaval', 'Bihag', 'Kalyan', 'Bhupali', 'Hamir', 'Kedar', 'Khamaj', 'Des', 'Tilak-Kamod', 'Bhairav', 'Marva', 'Sohani', 'Kafi', 'Bageshri', 'Bhimpalasi', 'Brindavani-Sarang', 'Pilu', 'Asavari', 'Bhairavi', 'Malkaunsa'.
 - II. 'Dhamar', songs be omitted from the Entrance Course and 'Tarana' (where available) be added.
- A candidate must obtain 33% in theory, 33% in Practical and 33% in grand total to pass the Examination in Music.

ALGEBRA AND GEOMETRY

ALGEBRA

One Paper—(Three Hours)—100 marks.

Simple equations, easy factors, simple fractions, simultaneous equations of the first degree in two unknowns (with numerical coefficients), easy numerical quadratic equations (by factorisation), easy problems leading to the above types of equations, highest common factor and least common multiple (both as far as obtainable by easy factorisation), square root, use of squared paper for drawing graphs from tabular data, graphs of $y=ax+b$ and $y=kx^2$ (a, b, k to be given numerical values), graphical solution of simultaneous equations of the first degree. Ratio, proportion, variation.

Note.—Questions of a complicated nature shall not be set. Teachers are recommended to explain the ideas of (i) a variable (ii) function and (iii) the slope of a straight line, while teaching graphs.

GEOMETRY

One Paper—(Three Hours)—100 marks.

The questions in Practical Geometry shall be set on the constructions contained in Schedule (A) together with easy extensions of them as riders if desired. A candidate should provide himself with a ruler graduated in inches and tenths of an inch and in centimetres and millimetres, set squares, a protractor, and a pair of compasses.

The questions of Theoretical Geometry shall consist of theorems contained in Schedule (B) together with easy deductions from them and arithmetical illustrations. THE ORDER IN WHICH THE THEOREMS ARE STATED IN SCHEDULE (B) IS NOT IMPOSED AS THE SEQUENCE OF THE TREATMENT. Any proof of a proposition shall be accepted which forms a part of any systematic treatment of the subject.

Note.—The use of intelligible abbreviations is recommended.

SCHEDULE—A.

Note.—All figures should be drawn accurately. Unless specifically required, students will not be expected to prove a construction, but they must give a short explanation of the same wherever necessary.

Bisection of angles, of straight lines and of arcs of circles.

Construction of perpendiculars to straight lines.

Construction of an angle equal to a given angle.

Construction of parallels to a given straight line.

Simple cases of construction of triangles from sufficient data.

Division of straight lines into a number of equal parts.

Construction of tangents to a circle.

Construction of regular figures of 3, 4, 6, 8 sides in or about a given circle.

Description of a circle in or about (i) a triangle and (ii) a square.

Description of a segment of a circle on a given straight line containing a given angle.

SCHEDULE—B.

Angles at a Point.

If a straight line stands on another straight line, the sum of the two adjacent angles so formed is equal to two right angles ; and the converse.

If two straight lines intersect, the vertically opposite angles are equal.

Parallel Straight Lines.

Assuming that when a straight line cuts a pair of parallel straight lines, the corresponding angles are equal, and its converse, prove that when a straight line cuts two other straight lines, if

(i) a pair of alternate angles are equal, or

(ii) a pair of interior angles on the same side of the cutting line are together equal to two right angles,

then the two straight lines are parallel ; and their converses.

Straight lines which are parallel to the same straight line are parallel to one another.

Triangles and Rectilinear Figures.

The sum of the angles of a triangle is equal to two right angles.

If the sides of a convex polygon are produced in order, the sum of the angles so formed is equal to four right angles.

If two triangles have two sides of the one equal to two sides of the other, each to each, and also the angles contained by these sides equal, the triangles are congruent.

If two triangles have two angles of the one equal to two angles of the other, each to each, and also one side of the one equal to the corresponding side of the other, the triangles are congruent.

If two sides of a triangle are equal, the angles opposite to these sides are equal ; and the converse.

If two triangles have the three sides of the one equal to the three sides of the other, each to each, the triangles are congruent.

If two right-angled triangles have their hypotenuses equal, and one side of the one equal to one side of the other, the triangles are congruent.

If two sides of a triangle are unequal, the greater side has the greater angle opposite to it ; and the converse.

Any two sides of a triangle are together greater than the third.

Of all the straight lines that can be drawn to a given straight line from a given point outside it, the perpendicular is the shortest.

The opposite sides of a parallelogram are equal; the opposite angles of a parallelogram are equal; the diagonals of a parallelogram bisect each other; and their converses.

If there are three or more parallel straight lines, and the intercepts made by them on any straight line that cuts them are equal, then the corresponding intercepts made by them on any other straight line that cuts them are also equal.

The locus of a point which is equidistant from two fixed points is the perpendicular bisector of the straight line joining the two fixed points.

The locus of a point which is equidistant from two intersecting straight lines consists of the pair of straight lines which bisect the angles between the two given lines.

Areas.

Parallelograms on the same or equal bases and of equal altitude are equal in area.

Triangles on the same or equal bases and of equal altitude are equal in area.

Equal triangles on the same or equal bases are of equal altitude.

The square on a side of a triangle is greater than, equal to, or less than the sum of the squares on the other two sides, according as the angle contained by those sides is obtuse, right, or acute. The difference in the cases of inequality is twice the rectangle contained by one of the two sides and the projection on it of the other.

In any triangle the sum of the squares on the two sides is equal to twice the square on half the base together with twice the square on the median which bisects the base.

Similar Triangles. Idea of similar Figures.

If a straight line is drawn parallel to one side of a triangle, the other two sides are divided proportionally; and the converse.

If two triangles are equiangular, their corresponding sides are proportional; and the converse.

If two triangles have one angle of the one equal to one angle of the other and the sides about these equal angles proportional, the triangles are similar.

The ratio of the areas of similar triangles is equal to the ratio of the squares on corresponding sides.

Definition of Sine, Cosine, and Tangent of an acute angle.

Proof of $\sin^2 A + \cos^2 A = 1$.

Solution of right-angled triangles by the use of the formulæ:—

$$\left. \begin{aligned} a &= c \sin A \\ b &= c \cos A \\ a &= b \tan A \end{aligned} \right\} \quad \text{where } \angle C = 90^\circ$$

Circles.

A straight line drawn from the centre of a circle to bisect a chord which is not a diameter is at right angles to the chord.

The perpendicular to a chord from the centre bisects the chord.

The perpendicular bisector of a chord of a circle passes through the centre of the circle.

The tangent at any point of a circle and the radius through the point are perpendicular to one another.

There is one circle, and one only, which passes through three given points not in a straight line.

In equal circles (or in the same circle) (i) if two arcs subtend equal angles at the centres, they are equal; (ii) conversely, if two arcs are equal, they subtend equal angles at the centres.

In equal circles (or in the same circle) (i) if two chords are equal, they cut off equal arcs; (ii) conversely, if two arcs are equal, the chords of the arcs are equal.

Equal chords of a circle are equidistant from the centre; and the converse.

If two tangents are drawn to a circle from an external point,

- (i) the tangents are equal;
- (ii) they subtend equal angles at the centre of the circle;
- (iii) they make equal angles with the straight line joining the given point to the centre.

If two circles touch, the point of contact lies on the straight line through the centres.

The angle which an arc of a circle subtends at the centre is double that which it subtends at any point on the remaining part of the circumference.

Angles in the same segment of a circle are equal; and if the line joining two points subtends equal angles at two other points on the same side of it, the four points lie on a circle.

The angle in a semi-circle is a right angle; the angle in a segment greater than a semi-circle is less than a right angle; and the angle in a segment less than a semi-circle is greater than a right angle.

The opposite angles of a quadrilateral inscribed in a circle are supplementary; and the converse.

If a straight line touch a circle, and from the point of contact a chord be drawn, the angles which this chord makes with the tangent are equal to the angles in the alternate segments.

If two chords of a circle intersect either inside or outside the circle, the rectangle contained by the parts of the one is equal to the rectangle contained by the parts of the other; and the converse.

The medians of a triangle meet in a point (*centroid*).

The internal bisectors of the angles of a triangle meet in a point (*incentre*).

The perpendicular bisectors of the sides of a triangle meet in a point (*circumcentre*).

The altitudes of a triangle meet in a point (*orthocentre*).

A candidate must obtain 33 % marks in Algebra and Geometry to pass the examination.

NOTICE

In connection with the Subsidiary Subjects, the students are requested to note the following points:—

- (1) The students who wish to appear in Subsidiary Subjects, according to rule No. 7, before taking the Entrance Examination, will have to pay a fee of Rs. 5/- whether they appear in one or more Subsidiary Subjects. The examination in Subsidiary Subjects will be held every year, the dates for which will be notified in due course.
- (2) The Course in the subject of History, though a Subsidiary Subject, is the same as the old one.
- (3) The Course in the subject of Arithmetic is divided in five standards in order to enable the students to appear in that subject after they pass their Fifth English Standard.
- (4) The Courses in other Subsidiary Subjects i. e. History, Geography, and Sewing, though prescribed up to the Entrance, may be so studied as to be completed in the Fifth Standard, if possible, so that the students can appear in all the Subsidiary Subjects, if they like, after they pass their Fifth English Standard.
- (5) Parallel examinations for the Entrance according to old and new Regulations will be held in the years 1937, and 1938. From 1939 onwards, examinations will be held according to the New Regulations only.

I. KARVE

Registrar.

Printed by S. V. Parulekar, at the Bombay Vaibhav Press, Serv.
of India Society's Building, Sandhurst Road, Girgaum, Bombay

आयुर्वेद-शास्त्रम्

OR

"SUSHRUTIC ANATOMY"

AT A GLANCE

BEING

A COMPLETE TABLE

of all Sanskrit terms in the Sushrūtīc Text with
original quotations, English Equivalents and
a Translation or Explanation in English.

POONA

Published under the Authority of the

मुंबई-प्रांतीय-आयुर्वेद-संशोधक-मंडळ.

Price—Rupee one.]

1932

[मूल्यम्—एको रूप्यकः]

Printed by Mr. Anant Vinayak Patvardhan at the Aryabhushan Press
House No. 936/2 Bhamburda Peth, Poona City, and
published by

Dr. Moreswar Narayan Natu, B.Sc., M. B. B. S.
and

Dr. Madhav Purushottam Joshi, L. C. P. S.
Secretaries, Ayurved-Samshodhak-Mandal, Bombay
Presidency at Sadashiv Peth 912, Poona City.

॥ अर्पणपत्रिका ॥

० भिक्षुपि:—पटवर्धन इत्युपावहः रामचंद्रात्मजः
(अर्पणासाहेब इत्यपरनामधेयः)

विनायकरायो विजयतेतराम्.



जनमकालः—देशास पय चतुर्थी, मोमवासः १७६१ शाकाब्दे.
ता. ४ मे १८४७ सनाब्दे.

निर्याणकालः—माघ शुद्ध एकादशी, शुक्रवासरः १८३८ शाकाब्दे.
ता. २ फेब्रुवारी १९१७ सनाब्दे.

स्वजनुपा, विद्यया, तपसा, वयसा, सर्वभारतालंकरणभूतेषु, स्वनामधन्यपटवर्धन-
कुलावतंसेषु, स्थापत्य-व्यवहार-पाश्चात्यपौरस्त्यायुर्वेदादिशास्त्रनिपुणेषु, स्वीयेन गरिष्ठतपसा
प्राचीनपवित्रकृपिवृंदं स्मारयत्सु, योगशास्त्राभ्यसनपवित्रकायेषु, नैकलक्षसंख्याकाभ्यधिकार्त-
वृंदपरित्राणचणेषु, विशेषतः आयुर्वेदशास्त्रे बद्धादरेषु, आयुर्वेदीयामेव चिकित्सां विनामूल्यमेव
प्रत्यहं कुर्वत्सु, एल, एम्, एस्; एल्. सी. ई; एल्. एल्. बी; इत्यादि-पदवीः अभिभूययत्सु
श्रीपटवर्धनकुलकमलेंद्रेषु रामचंद्रतनुजन्मसु श्री विनायकराय-महोदयपदकंजेषु मिलिंदा-
यितस्वांतेन “मोहमयीप्रांतीय-आयुर्वेद-संशोधक-मंडलेन” आयुर्वेदीयशरीरस्य याथातथ्यं
प्रस्थापयितुं लिखितः “आयुर्वेदीयं शरीरं” इत्याख्यः प्रबंधः सादरं, सानुरागं,
सनतिततिपुरःसरं च समर्प्यते.

FOREWORD.

Truth is now dawning upon Ayurvedic practitioners that the progress of Ayurveda is bound up with fresh researches in the physiological action of those Ayurvedic drugs and herbs, the knowledge of which is almost lost to us. Such researches are, however, hopeless without a profound acquaintance with Ayurvedic physiology and anatomy. But no ancient work on Ayurvedic anatomy is extant except that of Sushruta which in many places is apparently unintelligible. This may be due, as the Vaidyas affirm, to the lack of a close, continuous and systematic study. A portion of the 'Sharira' of Sushruta appears confused, contradictory and opposed to facts. But the fault may not lie with Sushruta. Such a deplorable state of things may result as much from the ignorance of redactors and the negligence of the traditional custodians of Ayurveda, as from the attitude of skippers and hasty investigators who relying on their own fanciful interpretation of a few stray sentences, unconsciously pervert the true significance of the text, and cause a considerable portion of Sushruta to appear inconsistent with demonstrable facts. A silver lining, however, emerges from the horizon, and the controversies that have been raging round Sushruta for a few years past, have at least established that the anatomy of Sushruta though brief, is on the whole far from being obscure or absurd; so that, barring a very few exceptions, it may be said to be correct and systematic. The difficulties in the interpretation of the text hover round only six technical terms viz. कला, पेशी, र्मायु, धमनी, शिग and स्नेह to which two more terms हृदय and नाभि may also be added. The exponents of the Sharira of Sushruta assert that if we but patiently and diligently follow the thread of ancient thought, and steadily try to unravel the tangle imposed by the exigencies of brevity, we shall find that distortions and contradictions rapidly melt away, giving place to an elementary and concise but systematic treatise on Ayurvedic anatomy, which has been the object of our quest and the aim of our study, but the attainment of which we had almost despaired of.

In the year 1930 the whole subject under discussion was debated at several sittings of medical men held under the auspices of the Indian Medical Association—Poona Branch, at which Pandit

Gangadhar Shastri explained his interpretations. They are evidently based on the principle that Sushruti anatomy so far as it goes, must be capable of being demonstrated by dissection before students in Ayurvedic schools. This principle obviously involves the condition that throughout the text of Sushruta the same term must, as far as possible, bear the same significance.

To our mind it appears quite reasonable that the principle advocated by Pandit Gangadhar Shastri should be given a fair trial. The test of the truth of interpretation of the text should, therefore, be *its agreement with realities* as disclosed by dissection which Sushruta himself had adopted as the standard of true knowledge, and had enjoined on all Ayurvedic physicians. It is the application of this universal test and the adherence to the acknowledged methods of scientific inquiry, that ought to sustain our endeavours and strengthen our faith. We may not have easily and quickly arrived at the end of our self-imposed task ; but we may have advanced enough to enable us to render an account of our modest progress. It is, therefore, proposed to present here the main features of Sushruti anatomy at a glance. The following tabulated summary has been prepared by several eminent Vaidyas of Maharashtra who have made the anatomy of Sushruta their special study. Their summary not only sets forth the few inherent difficulties in the text inviting suggestions or corrections, but it will also stimulate cooperation, and it is hoped, our endeavour will arouse a keen interest in this branch of Ayurvedic studies.

We do not for a moment pretend that the Sharira of Sushruta can compare with and replace any text-book on modern anatomy ; it would be presumptuous to put forth even such a suggestion. But we make bold to say that in Ayurvedic literature there is no other text-book of anatomy at present available which is so systematic and so correct as that of Sushruta. The present text of Sushruta has to be supplemented by passages extracted from Charaka also, and when all such passages are read and construed together, it may be claimed that the Ayurvedic Sharira as handed down to us is fairly accurate and methodical in its treatment of the principal aspects of the subject.

The celebrated Tridosha Theory has an anatomical as well as a physiological aspect ; but the subject is yet under the consideration.

of Ayurvedic experts. It is being thoroughly thrashed out by them, and it has been thought advisable to postpone its incorporation to some future occasion.

The original arrangement of the contents in the text will show that in the anatomy of Sushruta the subject matter has been dealt with much in the same order in which it is treated by western authors; but in the following pages it is presented in a tabular form, because such method has been found convenient for ready reference and quick comprehension of the subject.

As regards English equivalents the Vaidyas have accepted our view which alone it is possible under the present circumstances to adopt. We ought not to forget the fact that we are interpreting a work the principal features of which were determined about 2500 years back, and although the chances of a satisfactory identification of a number of external and internal parts of the human body may exist, it by no means follows that in cases of minute and intricate structures, a complete identification can immediately be established. Our present aim should, therefore, be to explain how far the views and descriptions in Sushruta are consistent with observed facts. The present is only a spade-work; further construction may be left to other hands.

We now place the results so far achieved by the eminent compilers into the hands of critics. But we must invite their attention to the new feature in the controversy. It is assumed that the critics do not wish to discard Sushruta, but want to put a rational interpretation upon his text. Consequently, those who may be holding views different from the compilers of the present Tables cannot now set aside their interpretations merely by adducing stray and apparently contradictory passages. They can do so only by interpreting all the relevant passages in Sushruta in their own way, but at the same time showing that their views alone are conformable to actual facts.

We have approached the subject with an open mind and we still maintain that position. We are closely studying the arguments put forward by Pandit Gangadhar Shastri and his supporters and also of their most prominent opponents. But to make a declaration one way or the other just now is not a slight task; we hope, how-

ever, to find a solution of the controversy which is fast approaching its final stage.

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A Personal Request.

We express our heartfelt thanks to the learned Doctors and Ayurvedists who have taken the troubles of examining the tables we have formulated. We have accepted their decisions and suggestions and have amended the tables accordingly.

We have also carefully considered the objections raised by the severest among our critics, but much of the criticism is illogical and out of place; nevertheless in some respects at least we have profited by it; because it is in the wildest efforts of these critics to overthrow the ancient edifice of Sushruta, that we have discovered places where defences have to be set up or strengthened.

In presenting this tabular outline to the Ayurvedic public our object is to facilitate a correct interpretation of the Ayurvedic anatomical terms in such a way that :—

- (i) the originality of plan and method of expression adopted by the ancients may not be disturbed.
- (ii) the few apparent contradictions be explained.

- (iii) their utility as works capable of demonstration by actual dissection may be enhanced ; and lastly,
- (iv) a proper foundation may be laid for a more detailed anatomical work that may be written to meet the requirements of Ayurvedic students without coming into conflict with the ancient works.

We therefore sincerely request all our Ayurvedic friends to help our attempt by their co-operation; and at the same time we invite our critics also to assist the cause with their criticism which however bitter should at least be logical and well informed.

‘ । आर्षसंप्रदायानुयायिभिर्गवराणां प्रार्थना । ’



अधिप्रेष्ठश्रेष्ठाः— अद्य वयमायुर्वेदीयशारीरसंबन्धिनो महिष्ठान्कतिपयान्विषयानन्तरेण किमपि वक्तुकामाः स्मः । तत्र भवदीयमवधानं अपेक्षामहे । अयि लोकवार्ता-विज्ञानचतुराः—अधिगतचरमेवेदं श्रीमद्भिर्यत् गते वर्षदशात्मकेऽस्मिन् मोहमयीविभागे तत्रतत्रासीत् महानूहापोहात्मको वादः आयुर्वेदीयशारीरविषये । तथैव बहूनि व्याख्यानानि प्रभूताश्च निबन्धा न्यबध्यन्त मुद्रापिताश्च प्रकृतविषये । तान्सर्वान्समालोच्य विमर्शशालिनां भवतां विचारार्थं तद्विषयकं निखिलमितिवृत्तं समुपहरामः ।

आस्माकीनप्राचीनायुर्वेदपरंपरायां शारीरविषये सुश्रुत एव महामान्यः प्रामाण्य-कोटिमाटीकते च । यतः स एवैकः शारीरे शस्त्रक्रियायां च यथातथ्यतोऽर्थान्प्रति-पादयति । अत एव सर्वत्र शिक्षणालयेषु पाठ्यत्वेन तस्यैव नियोगो दरीदृश्यते ।

आयुर्वेदाध्ययनपरिपाट्ट्यामधुना साधनदौर्लभ्याद्राजनियमप्रतिबन्धाद्वा शारीरं प्रत्यक्षतया शवच्छेदनादिद्वारा नाध्याप्यते । केवलं ग्रन्थत एव पाठ्यते । तेन परोक्ष-ज्ञानेन बहवः सन्देहाः प्रादुर्भवन्ति अध्याप्यानामध्यापकानां च चेतसि । ततश्चाधीत-मपि शास्त्रं सन्देहवारकं निर्णयजनकं च न भवति । किंचानेनान्यदप्यनिष्टं संपद्यते । तथाहि केचनानधिगतशास्त्रार्थाः कथमपि अक्षरार्थज्ञानेन कृतकृत्यमन्याः प्रवक्तारो भवन्ति यत्—सुश्रुतस्थं सर्वं शारीरवर्णनं प्रत्यक्षविरोधित्वादयुक्तं तत्रतत्रानिश्चितपद-घटितं परस्परविरोधिग्रन्थबहुलं चैतावता सर्वथा सामंजस्याभावाच्चाज्यं तदिति । एत-न्मतानुयायिनोऽन्येऽपि बहवोऽनधीतशास्त्राः समुपलभ्यन्ते । वस्तुतस्तु पूर्वोक्तं मतं विरोधप्रदर्शनादिकं च वक्तृणामनध्ययनजप्रमादविलसितं हेत्वाभासात्मकं च । यतः

मीमांस्यमाने तत्तद्रूपेण सुश्रुतादिमतमेव सारगर्भतया ग्राह्यत्वेन प्रतीतिपथमवतरति । कुतार्किकमतानि च सिकताकूपवद्विदीर्यन्ते । केचित्तु आत्मन्यनसूयां प्रतिपादयन्तः प्रवक्तुं धृष्णुवन्ति यत् — सुश्रुतादिभिः प्रतिपादितं तच्चेः शास्त्रस्य बाल्यावस्थायां साधनानिशिताविचाराभावे च प्रतिपादितत्वात्प्रशस्यतरम् । अधुना तु न कस्यापि संमतं भवेदिति । एतदपि मतं पूर्ववदेवापास्तं भवति ।

अयि कालविदः—सुश्रुतसमये यज्ञीयकर्मकाण्डं प्रयोगशास्त्रसहितं सविस्तरं वरीवर्तते स्म । तदा च पाशुकेषु कर्मसु पशुहननसमये पशुशरीरं सावयवं साङ्क्षोपाङ्गं बहुभिः प्रत्यक्षीक्रियते स्म । पशुशरीरादतिरिच्यमाने मनुष्यशरीरे विद्यमानावयव-विशेषास्तत्संस्थितिर्वा पृथक्परिपाठ्या तैः प्रत्यक्षीक्रियते स्म । सा च परिपाठिरित्यम्—सहसा मृतस्य संपूर्णावयवस्य मनुजस्य शवं जले कोथयित्वा कूर्चिकया तत्तदवयव-विभजनम्, यत्र च कूर्चिकया विभजनं न घटते तत्र शस्त्रेणापि तत्तद्विच्छेदनमासीत् । यतस्तदानीं विविधानि वृद्धिपत्रकर्तारिकादीनि उपयोज्यन्ते स्म । अद्यत्वे तु सुश्रुतो-त्तरकाले यज्ञकर्मलोपप्रसङ्गात् प्रत्यक्षशरीरविभजनपूर्विका पठनपाठनपरंपरा लुप्ता इति प्रतीमः । तेन शरीरस्य प्रत्यक्षत्वं दुर्लभम् । अयमेव शरीरविषये सन्देहावतारसमयः । किंच सुश्रुतशरीरे संक्षेपतो वर्णनमपि सन्देहद्वारा दुर्बोधतावहम् ।

एवं सन्देहप्रवृत्तौ प्रमादात्कैश्चिद्धमनीसिरासदृक्षाः प्रकरणात्मकशब्दाः विपरी-तार्थतया रूढिमापादिताः । न केवलं धमनीसिराशब्दयोरेवायं प्रमादः किंतु धमनी-सिरास्नायुपेशीकलास्रोतांसि चैतेषु पट्सु शब्देषु प्रमादघटिता रूढिः सर्वत्र प्रसृता दृश्यते । अतएव साञ्जलिबन्धमभ्यर्च्यन्ते श्रीमन्तः । यत्सर्वत्र पूर्वोक्तेषु पट्सु शब्देषु प्रवृत्ति-निमित्ततां, प्राकरणिकत्वम्, प्रत्यक्षानुभूतिघटितत्वम्, ग्रंथसमन्वयं चालोच्य सर्वमान्यवैयाकरणादिग्रन्थार्थशास्त्रीयप्रवृत्तिरुरीकरणीया, तथा च सुश्रुतशरीरं मीमां-सनीयम् । एवं मीमांस्यमानेऽधुनोपलभ्यमानं संक्षिप्तमपि सुश्रुतशरीरं प्रत्यक्षानुकूल-तयाऽनुभवपदवीं अवश्यमेवाटीकेत इत्युक्त्वाऽपि नात्मानं अत्युक्तिभाजं कुर्म इति प्रतीमः ।

पूर्वोक्तार्थं विवरितुं विपर्यस्तार्थकान् कांश्चिच्छब्दान् समुपाक्षिप्य विवेचयामः । अधुनातनाः सर्वेऽपि निबन्धकृतः आयुर्वेदनिबन्धस्थं धमनीशब्दं शरीरगतशुद्धरक्त-वाहिनीनां सिराणामर्थे योजयन्ति । परंतु तदेतत्प्रमादघटितम् । यतः शरीरस्थशुद्ध-रक्तवाहिनीगुणधर्माः तत्कार्याणि च सुश्रुतोक्त्या विरुध्यन्ते । सुश्रुते धमनीव्याकरणा-ध्याये एतद्वैपरीत्येन वर्णनात् । अयि श्रेष्ठाः—धमनीव्याकरणस्थं वर्णनमल्पमपि पूर्वो-क्तेन सह न संगच्छते । किं च शरीरस्थशुद्धरक्तवहनकार्यं रोहिणीसिराद्वारा भवती-

त्यायुर्वेदे प्रसिद्धम् । तथा च तत्रैव धमनीव्याकरणाध्याये सर्वाः शारीरक्रियाः पञ्चेन्द्रियजानि सर्वज्ञानानि धमनीद्वौरव भवन्ति इति स्पष्टमेवोक्तम् । प्रत्यक्षत आलोच्यमाने प्राणिशरीरेष्वपि संज्ञाचेतनादायिन्यः शुद्धरक्तवाहिन्यतिरिक्ता अन्याः स्वतन्त्रप्रणाल्यः प्रभवन्तीति शवविच्छेदनकालेऽनुभूयते । धमनीतः शुद्धं रक्तं प्रवहतीति-वैद्यकनिबन्धेष्वदृष्टचरम् । प्रत्युत ‘धमानादनिलपूरणाद्धमन्यः’ एवं व्युत्पाद्य प्रवर्तितत्वात् ज्ञानजनक-सर्वक्रियाप्रेरक-त्रिदोषान्तर्गत-शरीरस्थवात-पुरिकाः प्रणाल्य एव धमनीशब्दवाच्या इति सुस्पष्टं प्रतीयते । एवं चेत्थं निष्पद्यते—

- (१) शुद्धरक्तवाहिनीनां धमनीत्यपरपर्याय इति मतं शास्त्रविरुद्धम् ।
- (२) यदि पूर्वोक्तार्थः स्वीक्रियेत तर्हि धमनीव्याकरणाख्यः संपूर्णाध्याय उपहासास्पदतां प्रत्यक्षविरोधित्वं च यायात् ।
- (३) तथा स्वीकृते धमनीशब्दस्य व्युत्पात्तिप्रतिपाद्यमानोऽर्थः परिहापितो भवेत् ।
- (४) ततश्चायुर्वेदे ज्ञानतन्तुवर्णनमेव नास्तीत्यध्यारोपः केषांचित्कृतपदः स्यात् ।

अत एवायुर्वेदस्य याथातथ्यं रिरक्षुभिः पूर्वोक्तप्रमादानां निराकरणं नियतं कर्तव्यम् । एवमेव सिरास्त्रायुपेशीप्रभृतीनां संज्ञानां प्रमादजन्यार्थज्ञानाविपर्ययात् सुश्रुतादिप्राचीनग्रन्थाः प्रत्यक्षविरोधिनो विसङ्गताश्चेति ये दोषाः प्रभवन्ति तान्दोषान्निराकर्तुं तद्विषयकविवेचनं स्वतन्त्रतया ग्रन्थान्तरेण प्रतिपादयिष्याम इति निवेद्यते ।

आयुर्वेदाध्यापनविषये संज्ञानिश्चिती पाश्चात्यशारीरवर्णनपद्धतिरेवास्माभिस्तुलनयाऽङ्गीकृता । अन्यस्या अनुपलभ्यमानत्वात् । एवं वक्तुं धृष्ट्युमो वयं—यदस्मदङ्गीकृतपद्धत्या प्रायः सर्वाण्यपि शङ्कास्थलानि प्रत्यक्षानुसारीणि सुसङ्गतानि च भवन्ति । लौकिकमापयैवं कथयितुं शक्यते यत्राते पञ्चनवतिपर्यन्तं प्राचीनग्रन्थस्थवर्णितार्थाः प्रत्यक्षानुसारिणः सुसङ्गताश्च भवन्ति । अवशिष्टानां पद्यानां शङ्कास्थलगतानां ग्रन्थस्थपदानां वर्णनानि विसङ्गतानीव भासन्ते । तत्कारणं चास्मन्मते गतसहस्राब्द्यां जायमानस्तत्तल्लिपिकृतां प्रक्षेपादिप्रमाद एव । यथा ग्रन्थातरे प्रादुरभूवन् केचित्प्रक्षेपास्तथा सुश्रुतेऽपि । एवं प्रक्षेपाङ्गीकरणं सर्वसमतं न भवेदिति वयं जानीमः । तत्रेदमुच्यते—यदि केनचिद्भिद्भद्रेण्येन शास्त्रानुकूलतया प्रत्यक्षानुरोधिस्तरण्या तान्यपि अवशिष्टानि

पञ्च शङ्कास्थलानि लाप्यन्ते चेत् महदेतत् प्रमोदस्थानं मन्यामहे । न तद्विषयेऽस्माकं विवादलेशोऽपि ।

अस्माभिरादृता शारीरलापनसंरणिर्धैर्डीकटरमहाभागेः संसमानमादृता, तत्र तत्र च विशिष्टसूचनाः संसूचितास्त्वं तेषामनुग्रहभरानूद्वाऽस्माभिः तत्सूचनानुसारं अस्मत्पद्धतौ संवर्धनवियोजनादिकं च कृतम् ।

अग्रिमग्रंथेऽस्माभिस्तथा प्रयतितं यथायुर्वेदीयशारीरेऽद्ययावत्समुद्भावितानामा-
क्षेपाणां निराकरणं यथाशास्त्रं क्रियेत । एतच्च अस्माभिर्बहुवारमन्वभावि यदुद्भावि-
तेष्वक्षेपेषु बहवो निःसाराः युक्त्यपेक्ष्यतर्कानवलम्बनाश्रासन्निति । तथापि 'विप्रकृतः
पन्नगः फणां कुरुते' इति न्यायेन तैराक्षेपैरस्माकं लाभ एव समजनि । स चेत्यम्-
पूर्वोक्ताक्षेपैः संबोधिता वयं सुश्रुतशारीरमत्तिसंक्षिप्तमपि आवश्यकमहत्त्वपूर्णसर्वशारीर-
विषयान् शास्त्रीयपद्धत्या सुसंगत्या च बोधयितुमलमिति विद्वद्दृष्टिपथमानेतुमवसरः
सम्प्राप्तः । तथा आक्षेपनिराकरणविषयकविविधमार्गसंप्राप्तिरप्यासीदिति ।

अधुना—अस्मदादृतप्रमाणघटितपारिभाषापद्धतेरुद्दिष्टहेतुन्दरीयामः ।

- (१) प्राचीनग्रंथकृच्छाशारीरविषयवर्णनं तद्वत्सुसंगतविचारसराणिर्यथा बाधिता
न भवेत् प्रत्यक्षसंगता च भवेत् ।
- (२) अद्ययावत् आयुर्वेदीयशारीरविषयाध्यारोपाः कारणान्तरेणोत्पाद्यमानाः
प्राचीनविषयकाक्षेपाश्च यावच्छक्यं निराकृता भवेयुः ।
- (३) सुश्रुतादयः प्राचीनग्रंथाः पाठनसमये प्रत्यक्षानुसारितया सुसङ्गततया
पाठ्यैर्विद्यार्थिभिः सुगृहीता भवेयुः ।
- (४) अतःपरं निबध्यमाना आयुर्वेदीयशारीरविस्तृतग्रन्थाः सुविरूढमूलाः
प्राचीनग्रंथसंवर्धकाश्च भवेयुः ।

सर्वे पाश्चात्यपौरस्त्यमिषग्वराः साञ्जलिबन्धं संप्रार्थ्यन्ते यत्तैरस्मत्प्रणीतनि-
बन्धे गुणदोषसमालोचनपूर्वकं समानकार्यकारित्वबुद्ध्याऽस्मत्साहाय्यमनुष्ठेयमिति शम् ।

विद्वद्दशंवदाः

मिषग्वर्यः— साने इत्युपाव्हो हरिशर्मा.
(पुण्यपत्तनम्)

मिषग्वर्यो— डेग्वेकरोपाव्हो भिकाजी
शर्मा.

M. A., M. Sc., L. L. B.

आयुर्वेदसेवकः— पटवर्धनकुलोत्पन्नो
विनायकात्मजो रामचंद्रशर्मा.

(जबलपुरम्)

B. A L L B. (पुण्यपत्तनम्)

वैद्यभूषणो— दातारोपाव्हो वामनशर्मा
(जनस्थानम्)

मिश्रवर्यः— पुराणिकोपाह् दत्तात्रेय-
शर्मा. (पुण्यपत्तनम्)

मिश्रग्रन्थो— जोशीत्युपाह् गंगाधर
शर्मा. टिळक—महाविद्यालयीनायु-
र्वेदाध्यापकः (पुण्यपत्तनम्)

आयुर्वेदविशारदो— जोशीत्युपाह्
वेणीमाधवशर्मा सत्तर्पिपुर-आर्या-
ग्लवैद्यकपाठशालाध्यापकः
(सत्तर्पिपुरम्)

आयुर्वेदचिकित्सकः— रानडे इत्युपाह्
सिताराम शर्मा. आर्याग्लवैद्यक-
पाठशालाध्यापकः (सत्तर्पिपुरम्)

वैद्यतीर्थः— साठे इत्युपाह् अप्पाशा-
स्त्रिणः (मोहमयी)

वैद्यपंचाननो— गुणे इत्युपाह् गंगा-
धरशर्मा. अहमदनगरीयायुर्वेदपाठ-
शालाध्यापकः (अहमदनगरम्)

आयुर्वेदाचार्यो— नानलोपाह् पुरु-
षोत्तम शर्मा. टिळकमहाविद्या-
लयीनायुर्वेदाध्यापकः
(पुण्यपत्तनम्)

आयुर्वेदीयं शारीरम्

सुश्रुतचरकाष्टांगसंग्रहाणां यथानुक्रमेण शारीरस्थानीया अध्यायाः प्रकरणानि च.

A Comparative Table of Subjects described in the *Sarira* of Susruta, Charaka and Ashtanaga-Saṅgraha.
सुश्रुतसंहिता. Chapter of modern English Equivalents. चरकसंहिता. अध्यायाः अष्टांगसंग्रहः.

१. सर्वभूतचिन्ता शारीरम्	Theory of Creation.	Nil	१. कतिधा पुरुषीयं शारीरम्	अध्यायाः	१. पुत्रकामीयं शारीरम्
२. शुक्रशोणितक्षुद्धि शारीरम्	Theory of Reproduction.	Nil	२. अतुल्यगोत्रीयं शारीरम्		
३. गर्भावकांति शारीरम्	Development of the foetus.	Embryology*	३. छुट्टिका गर्भावकांतिशारीरम्		२. गर्भावकांति शारीरम्
४. गर्भव्याकरणं शारीरम्			४. महती गर्भावकांति शारीरम्		३. गर्भोपचरणं शारीरम्
					४. गर्भव्यापदं शारीरम्

कला-प्रकरणम्— Formative Elements.

	Nil
५. पुरुषविचयं शारीरम्	
६. शरीरविचयं शारीरम्	
७. शरीरसंख्या शारीरम्	
	५. अंगविभागं शारीरम्

५. शरीरसंख्याव्याकरणम्

आस्थि-प्रकरणम्	Bones.	Osteology.
संधि "	Joints.	Syndesmology.
स्नायु "	{ Ligaments and Muscles.	Myology.
वेदी "	{ Fasciae, sheaths & Membranous coverings.	Nil

६. ग्रन्थैरुक्तमनिर्दिष्टं शारीरम्—

७. सिरावर्णविभक्तिं शारीरम्—

रोहिणी

नीला

गौरी

अरुणा

८. सिराव्यापकीषु शारीरम्

९. धमनीव्याकरणं शारीरम्

पद्मनी —

१०. स्रोतोऽधिकरणम्—

Vital Spots.

Artery. }
Vein. }
Lymphatic. }
(Not Identified)

Nerves generally
& cerebro-, spinal
nerves particularly.

Selective and
Secretive Structures.

Nil

Angiology.

Nil

Neurology.

Nil

Nil

[स्रोतोविमानः]

Nil

७. मर्मविभागं शारीरम्

६. सिराविभागं शारीरम्

८. प्रकृतिभेदीयं,
९. विकृतोन्मादविज्ञानीयं,
१०. विकृतहाविज्ञानीयं,
११. विकृतव्यापेविज्ञानीयं,
१२. दूतादिविज्ञानीयम्.

८. जातिस्वरूपं शारीरम्

* From the reference to the corresponding chapters of modern Anatomy (e. g. Osteology, Myology &c.) it is by no means to be understood that the description in Sushruta is as extensive, accurate and detailed as that given in the modern text books of Gray and other standard authors. It is claimed, however, that the Ayurvedic description is fairly correct, and is on the lines similar to the short general observations that occur at the commencement of chapters in English anatomical works.

THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION.

In our interpretation of technical terms we have been guided by the following considerations :—

- (1) The occasion and reason of the introduction [*i. e.* प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं] of the term in relation to its ordinary usage and derivation.
- (2) The special sense, if any, ascribed to it in the chapter or passage in which such term has been particularly described.
- (3) The sense which is suggested by such a particular description.
- (4) Whether the suggested sense is compatible with observable facts.
- (5) And whether the signification demanded by anatomical considerations is also consistent with the references to the same term occurring elsewhere in the text.

The Sharira of Sushruta has a unique importance, because as is well known, it is the only ancient-text-book on Ayurvedic anatomy, now available. Besides, it may be found to contain, concisely though it may be, almost all the rudiments of human anatomy—presented not as a group of isolated facts, but as a Systematic treatise.

The words हृदय and नाभि which occur here and there in Ayurvedic literature are likely to lead to a good deal of confusion unless we keep in mind their special meaning as found in the Upanishads and in the Yoga and the Tantra literature.

From the ancient Upanishads, it would appear, that हृदय was used to designate that part of the brain which was regarded as the seat of मन, बुद्धि, चित्त and अहंकार. The word नाभि also means a part of the brain and the spinal cord. The term नाभि, is used by Sushruta to denote the origin of the धमनी's in the same manner as that in which the word has been used in later yogic literature to describe the source of the नाडी's. And it is obvious that the yogic नाडी's and the anatomical धमनी's represent the same system of nervous mechanism, the only difference being that the term धमनी connotes that it is the vehicles of वात while the word नाडी connotes motion or movement.*

In Ayurvedic literature this special meaning of हृदय and नाभि is adopted in some important places; while in other places they indicate their usual meaning which is "the heart" and the "umbilicus" respectively.

* Some writers have suggested the use of the word नाडी to express a nerve. But when we see that Sushruta has devoted separate paragraphs and chapters to describe important parts in the body—such as मर्म, देशी, स्नायु, शिरा etc, and that he has nowhere described नाडी as an important part or a vehicle in the human body, we must discard that word as leading to a hopeless confusion of thought.

आयुर्वेदीयं शारीरम्

१ षडङ्गं शारीरम्*

“तत्र शरीरं नाम चेतनाधिष्ठानभूतं पञ्चभूत-विकारसमुदायात्मकम् ॥ शरीरविचयः शरीरोपकारार्थमिष्यते भिषाविद्यायाम् ॥ तस्मात् शरीरविचयं प्रशंसन्ति कुशलाः ॥” (चरक. शा. ६)

Our so-called body is the seat of vital activity and is composed of a number of varieties of the five Essentials. A knowledge of Anatomy is necessary for the maintenance of health (lit. for the benefit of the body); and hence it is that experts have always praised the knowledge of Anatomy as a branch of the science of medicine.

“तस्य शरीरस्य शाखाश्चतस्रो, मध्यं पञ्चमं, षष्ठं शिरः” (सु. शा. ५)

“द्वौ बाहु, द्वे सक्थिनी, शिरोग्रीवमन्तराधिरिति षडङ्गम्” ॥ (चरक शा. ७).

There are six principal divisions in the body,—4 appendicular parts (two upper and two lower extremities), 5th the trunk, and 6th the head.

No quotations are necessary in the case of the following four terms as to the interpretation of which there is no dispute.

१ आकृति-विज्ञानं शारीरम् (Anatomy), २ प्रकृतिविज्ञानं शारीरम् (Physiology), ३ विकृतिविज्ञानं शारीरम् (Pathology) ४ “गर्भव्याकरणं शारीरम्” “गर्भावक्रांति शारीरं च” (Embryology).

२ कला-प्रकरणम्

Kalās (Formative Elements)

Susruta has described the Kalās in his गर्भव्याकरणं—chapter on Embryology; and although they form a part of that subject it is not to be

* Herein are quoted the original passages in Sanskrit from Sushruta and Charaka accompanied by their English rendering which will make it possible to test the accuracy of the interpretation of the anatomical terms used by the ancient Ayurvedic writers. But there is no presumption whatever in favour of any interpretation; and suggestions proposing any other English equivalents more appropriately expressive of the Ayurvedic terms will be thankfully accepted.

supposed that their existence is confined to the embryonic stage only. The *Kalās* in fact are active throughout our life; they are exceedingly minute particles in the body, and are engaged in the formation of tissues. Absence of microscope must have greatly handicapped the ancient anatomists, but this obstacle seems to have been surmounted by their acute powers of observation and rigorous logical reasoning. The seven *Dhātus* or the elementary tissues in the body which are engendered by the *Kalās*, are declared to be the constituents of all organs and limbs (" ते एते शरीरधारणाद् धातवः इत्युच्यन्ते." सु. सूत्र १४).

The *Dhātus* themselves together with the *मल*'s are formed by the *smallest* particles called the *Kalās* which as stated above are minute and *invisible* (अव्यक्तमेव कलानां अस्तित्वम्), and their activity results in the production of the several *Dhātus*. (तद् च पृथक् धातुपलम्भकार्येण साधितं भवति.)

The proper denotation of the word *Kalā* must be determined only after a thorough consideration of such *सूत्र*s as follow :—

- (1) "अल्पत्वाद् कलासंज्ञः" (अष्टांग संप्रह शारीर. अ. ५)
 "स्वल्पत्वात्कलासंज्ञः" (इंदुटीका)
 "अव्यक्तमेव कलानामस्तित्वं साधितं भवेत्" (सुश्रुत शारीर अध्याय ४ इल्हणटीका)
 "सौक्ष्म्यान्मांसांतर्गता न सहसा चक्षुर्विपयी भवति" (सुश्रुत हरणचंद्रटीका).

It is therefore obvious that the *Kalās* must be exceedingly minute and invisible to the naked eye, as are the various cells in the human body. Charaka also has clearly stated that "शरीरावयवास्तु परमाणुमेदेन अपरिसंख्येया भवन्ति, अतिषुल्कात्, अतिसौक्ष्म्यात्, अतीन्द्रियत्वाच्च" (चरक शा. ७).

- (2) "धातुरसविशेषः" (अष्टांगसंप्रह), "धातुसारशेषः" (सुश्रुतशारीर अध्याय ४ इल्हणटीका), "काष्ठ इव सारो धातुसारः" (अष्टांगसंप्रह शारीर अध्याय ५), "स तु क्लेदो धातुसारः" (अष्टांगसंप्रह इंदुटीका.) From all this we must conclude that *Kalās* are the essential ingredients of the *Dhātus* or tissues which consist of two substances *प्रसाद* and *किट्ट*—the latter being the constituent of the *मल*s.

(3) "रनायुभिश्च प्रतिच्छन्नान् संततांश्च जरायुणा । श्लेष्मणा वेष्टितांश्चापि कलाभागांस्तु तान्विदुः" (सु. शा. अध्याय ४). Such is their description given in *सुश्रुत*. It is clear therefore, that *Kalās* are screened by a muscular layer or by a thin film spread over them, and they are protected by a layer of mucous coat. It is not, of course, to be supposed that all the three conditions must be present in each case. One or two or even all the three are found existing in different cases.

- (4) "धात्वाशयांतरमर्पादाः" (सुश्रुतशारीर, अध्या. ४ अनुक्रमांक ५); "धात्वाशयांतरेषु क्लेदः" (अष्टांगसंप्रह शा. अ. ५), "आशया अवस्थानप्रदेशाः" (इल्हणटीका); "आशया पानि स्रोतांसि" (अष्टांगसंप्रह इंदुटीका.)

It appears from these quotations that the Kalās are situated inside the receptacles in which the Dhatus and the पित्त, श्लेष्मा, and पुरीष are located. It will be clear from the next para that the organs suggested therein do satisfy this condition.

(5) "विशेषतस्तु यकृतं प्लीहोः सिरासु" (सुश्रु. शारी. अध्या. ५); "विशेषतस्तु [शुक्रं] मज्जमुष्कस्तनेह" (अष्टांगसंग्रह शारी. अध्या. १), (श्लेष्मा) "सर्वसंघिषु प्राणभृतां," (सुश्रु. शारी. अध्या. ५), "यकृतसमंतात् कोष्ठं च तथात्राणि समाश्रिता" (सुश्रु. शारी. ५)

From these sentences we evidently see that the place of रक्तपरा कला is in the liver and the spleen; that of शुक्रपरा is in the testes; that of श्लेष्मपरा is in the joints of bones; and that of पुरीषपरा is in the regions of the stomach and the intestines. From modern researches also, we know that the several substances viz. blood, semen, synovial fluid and excreta are formed in the very regions by the action of certain microscopic bodies.

(6) "कलासाधितानपृथग्धातूपलंभकार्येण" (सुश्रुत इहलक्षण टीका), "(तत्तु शुक्रं) शुक्रपरां कलामाश्रित्याऽऽप्नुतं प्रवर्तते" (अष्टांगसंग्रह शारी. अ० १), "तस्यां (सत्यां) शोणितं विशेषतश्च सिरासु यकृतप्लीहोश्च भवति" (सुश्रुत शारी. अ० ५), "यस्यां (सत्यां) मांसं सिरा० प्रताना भवन्ति" (सुश्रुत शारी. अ० ५), "यस्यां सिरास्रोतांसि च प्ररोहन्ति" (अरुणदत्त), "याऽन्तःकोष्ठे मलं विभजते" (सुश्रु. शारी. अ० ५), "पाकाद्ये-मन्नं धारयति पचति च" (सुश्रु. शारी. अ० ५.)

These quotations show that the Kalās do the function of transforming रस into tissues and into पित्त, श्लेष्मा etc.

It follows therefore, that the Kalās are *formative Elements* and consequently, may occupy a place analogous to that of the "cell" in modern Anatomy.

The Seven Kalās.

*कलानामानि.	तासां कार्यविषयकाण्यवतरणानि.	Explanation in English.
१. मांसपरा —	"यस्यां (सत्यां) सिरास्त्रायुधमनीस्रोतसां प्रताना भवन्ति"	Formative Elements of the flesh.
२. रक्तपरा —	"तस्यां (सत्यां) शोणितं विशेषतः सिरासु (स्रोतःसु) यकृतप्लीहोश्च भवति"	Formative Elements of the blood (in the liver and spleen.)
३. मेदोपरा —	"उदरे मेदः, अण्वस्थिषु सरकं मेदः, स्थूलास्थिषु मज्जा, तदेव च शिरसि कपालप्रतिच्छिन्नं मस्तिष्काख्यं."	Formative Elements of fat (which lies underneath the abdominal skin), and of the bone-marrow red as well as yellow.

* अस्थिपरा Kalā is not mentioned in the text, while रसपरा is included under पुरीषपरा, and मज्जपरा is included under मेदोपरा.

४. श्लेष्मधरा—	“सर्वसंधिषु श्लेष्मा (श्लेष्मकाः) भवति”	Minute bodies which secrete the synovial fluid in the joints.
५. पुरीषधरा—	“या अंतःक्रोष्ठे मलं विभजते चंडुकस्था”	Minute bodies (i. e. the epithelial cells lining the mucous membrane of the caecum and colon) which help to form the faeces into a solid form in caecum as well as in colon.
६. पित्तधरा—	“अन्ने धारयति पचति च”	Minute bodies which secrete the bile and other digestive juices.
७. शुक्रधरा—	“मज्जमुष्कस्तनेषु शुक्रधरां कलामा- श्रित्याऽऽमुतं प्रवर्तते”	The invisible bodies which secrete the seminal fluid.

३ सप्तधातवः

The Tissues.

धातुनामानि.	तत्त्वदितपदार्थाः	Tissues. - Their Products.
NIL	...	{ (1) Epithelial Tissues. (2) Connective Tissues.
१. रसधातुः—		1 Lymphoid T.
१. आहारपरिणामः आयो रसः—		1 The Chyle.
२. लसिकाख्यो रसः—		2 The Lymph.
३. तेजसो अणिष्ठो वा रसः—		3* The Cerebro-spinal fluid
२. रक्तधातुः—		2 Blood tissue.
१ रक्तम्—		1 Blood.
३. मांसधातुः—		
१ शणतंतुवन्मांसम्	{ 3 Fibrous T. 4 Yellow Elastic T. 5 Areolar T. } Flesh.
२. तरुसं-मांसम्	(3) Muscular tissue
४. मेदोधातुः—		6 The adipose T. 1 Fat.
५. अस्थिधातुः—		7 Bone tissue.
१ अस्थीनि, नस्तानि, दन्ताः		1 Bones.
२ तरुणास्थीनि—		2 Cartilage

६. मज्जाधातुः-

१ अस्थ्यंतर्गतं मज्जा-

२ मस्तिष्कांतर्गतं मज्जा-

(4) Nervous Tissue

1 The Bone-marrow.

2 Brain.

1 The Semen.

७. शुक्रधातुः-

४ अस्थिप्रकरणम् (Osteology)

१. नलकास्थीनि-	"हस्तपादांगुलितलनलकानि"	Long and short bones:
२. कपालास्थीनि-	"जानुनितंभ्रांसगंडतालुभांसांशिरस्सु"	Flat bones.
३. रुचकास्थीनि-	"दंताः"	Teeth.
४. वलयास्थीनि-	"पार्श्वपृष्ठोदरोस्सु"	The Ribs and the Vertebrae
५. तरुणास्थीनि-	"घ्राणकर्णसीवाक्षिकोशेषु"	Cartilages.
६. अस्थिजालानि-	"मणिवंशगुल्फसंश्रितानि"	Groups of Carpal and Tarsal bones.

अस्थिकायाणि-

"अभ्यन्तरगतैः सरिर्यथा तिष्ठन्ति भूरुहाः

अस्थिसरिस्तथा देहा धियन्ते देहिनां ध्रुवम्" ॥

(सुसुत-शा. ५।२१)

Functions of bones:-

Just as trees stand firm and erect owing to the strong pith in their interior, so are the bodies (of men) sustained by their stiff bones.

५ संधिप्रकरणम् (Syndesmology)

†१ स्थिराः संधयः-

Immoveable joints

१. तुलसीवन्यः-"शिरः कटिकपालेषु"

The sutures in the flat bones of the cranial and the pelvic regions.

२. दन्तोद्वखलानि.

The tooth sockets.

१. नलकास्थीनि- Long compact bones:- As those of the arms, legs and feet, and of fingers and toes.

२. कपालास्थीनि- Plate bones:- Such as those of knee and the haunches; the shoulder blade, the temporal bones, and the bones of the palate and the skull.

३. रुचकास्थीनि- Enamelled bones : e. g. the teeth.

४. वलयास्थीनि- Curved bones:- As those of the ribs and the vertebrae.

५. तरुणास्थीनि- Cartilages:- As the nasal cartilage, the pinna of the ear and the larynx.

६. अस्थिजालानि- Bone groups:- As those of the wrist and the ankle.

†1. Synarthrosis.

1. Sutura.

2. Gomphosis.

*२ चेट्ठाव्रतःसंधयः—

३ प्रतराः—“शीवाष्टवशयीः”

४ सामुद्राः—“अंसपीठगुदभग्नितंयेषु”

५ कोराः—“अंगुलिमणिवंधगुल्फजानुकूर्पादि”

६ उद्वखलाः—“कक्षावंक्षणेपु”

७ वायसतुंडाः—“हृन्वोरुभयतः”

८ शंखावर्ताः—“श्रोत्रशृंगादकेषु”

९ मंडलाः—“कंठहृदयक्लोमनाडीषु”

Moveable joints

Partial joints : as those in the nape and the spine.

Cavity joints : such as those of shoulder-blade and of the pelvic region.

Freely moveable joints as those of fingers, wrist, ankle, knee, and the elbow.

Ball-and-socket joints : as the hip-joint, and the arm-pit-joint.

(Crow-beak-joints) : the temporo-mandibular joint.

(not identified) perhaps this may refer to the spiral tube of the cochlea.

Annular joints : this might refer to the joints of the trachea.

*अस्थिसंघाताः—“गुल्फजानुवंक्षणेपु द्वौ द्वौ, त्रिकशिरसोरैकैकः एवं चतुर्दश”—(अस्थिसंघातो नाम-त्रयाणां अस्थीनां संधिः)

Group joints :—There are two such joints in each ankle, knee, and groin ; and one each in the skull as well as the pelvis.

* According to Sushruta a group joint consists of three or more bones.

६ स्नायुप्रकरणम् (Myology.)

In the chapter on स्नायुः Sushruta treats chiefly of muscles. He has included the description of ligaments in the same chapter under the title सन्धिबन्धनानि. In Western Anatomy the ligaments are described in Syndesmology.

स्नायुप्रकाराः—

†१ प्रतानवत्यः—“प्रतानवत्यः शास्त्रासु”

Muscles ending in numerous tendons, as those of the forearm and leg.

*2 } Amphiarthrosis. } 3. Symphysis.
Diarthrosis. } 4. Syndesmosis.

5. Ginglymus Trochoid
(pivot joint.)

6. Ball and Socket joint.

†१ प्रतानवत्यः—Extensor-Digitorum—

- २ सुषिराः—“आमपक्काशयतिषु चस्तौ च सुषिराः” Sphincter muscles as those of the pyloric orifice and the anus and bladder.
- ३ पृथुलाः—“पार्श्वोर्षी तथा पृष्ठे पृथुलाश्च शिरासि” Flat muscles such as those of the costae and the chest; the dorsal muscles and the great muscles of the scalp.
- ४ वृत्ताः—“वृत्तास्तु कंडराः सर्वाः”— Round-bellied muscles generally.
- ५ कंडराः—“महास्नायवः”— Stout muscles as those of the arms and legs.
- तासामग्रप्ररोहाः—“हस्तपादगतानां कंडराणां नसाः अग्रप्ररोहाः” In the muscles of hands and feet the tendinous extremities of insertion lie in the direction of the nails.
- तासां आदिप्ररोहाः—“हस्तपादगतानां कंडराणां उर्वसर्चिमानि आदिप्ररोहाः” The extremities of origin lie near the hip and the shoulder joints.
- ६ पिंडिका— Belly of the muscle.
- ७ प्रतानाः— Tendons.
- ८ कूर्चाः—“हस्तपादपार्श्वार्धेषु पट्टे,” कूर्चश्च कूर्चाः— A Fibrous aponeurosis of palms and soles.
- ९ मांसरज्जवः— “चतस्रो मांसरज्जवः पृष्ठवंशमुभयतः” Fleishy cords. There are four such cords-like ligaments one on each side of the spine.
- १० संधिवंधनानि— Ligaments.

स्नायुकार्याणि—उत्क्षेपणापक्षेपण-प्रसारणाकुञ्चनानि, भारतहृत् ॥

“कौटिल्यं शरीरावयवावसादः क्रियास्वशक्तिस्तुमुला रुजश्च ॥

चिराद्भ्रमणो रोहति यस्य चापि तं स्नायुविद्धं मनुजं व्यवस्पेद्”

सुश्रु. सूत्र. अ. २५

क्रियास्वशक्तिसिति—क्रियाश्चात्र उत्क्षेपणापक्षेपण-प्रसारणाकुञ्चनलक्षणाः

[३२८ पृष्ठा]

For Example

२ सुषिराः—Sphincter muscles

३ पृथुलाः—Pectoralis major, Trapezius, Occipito-frontalis, Obliquus-externus,

Latissimus Dorsal.

४ वृत्ताः—“Teres” muscles.

८ कूर्चाः—Palmar & Plantar aponeurosis. ९ मांसरज्जवः Longitudinal ligaments.

११ मज्जपेशीः—

The meninges of the Brain.

“तद्दि (नस्यं) उत्तमांगमनुप्रविश्य मज्जपेशिकासकं दोषं विकारकरमपकर्षति” (चरक)

The मज्जपेशी. has been referred to in the passage where snuff is said to indirectly enter the head, and dispel the fault which sticks to the membranes of the brain.

१२ सीमंताः—“संघाताः (अस्थिसंघाताः) संचिता येस्तु सीमंतास्तान् प्रचक्षते”—Bursæ.

The pads or cushions which allow the bone-joints to rest on them are called the Simantas.

पेशीस्वरूपाणि—“तासां (पेशीनां) बहल-लेलव-क्षूल-अणु-वृधु-वृत्त-ह्रस्व-दीर्घ-स्थिर-मृदु-श्लक्ष्ण-ककंशमावाः” ॥

These membranous coverings are thick or slender, big, or minute, broad or round, short, or extended, stiff or soft, and delicate or coarse.

पेशीनां कार्याणि—“प्रच्छादकत्वं, संवरकत्वं, आवरकत्वं च”

Their functions are to cover, envelop or overspread the internal stuff

८ शरीरांतर्गताः पंचप्रकारकाः प्रणाल्यः

The Five Vehicles in the Body.

(The Sirās and the Dhamanis.)

Preliminary.

According to Suśruta there are five kinds of (प्रणाली) vehicles or carriers in the human body. Three of them are tubular, and the fourth and fifth consist of cord-like or thread-like fibres. The first three carry liquid substances, the fourth अरुणा carries the controlling Vāyu, and the fifth which is (चित्तंतनुसदृश) or similar to a lotus stalk conveys afferent and efferent impulses. Western anatomists describe the three tubular vessels under Angiology, and the cord-like or thread-like fibres called the “nerves” under Neurology. Sushruta also describes the arteries, the veins and the lymphatics under the title Siras, but he includes the Vayu-carrying अरुणा-vehicles also in the Sira-group. The description of the Siras is given in chapter vii of his शरीर called सिरावर्ण-विमर्श, and that of the nerves which Sushruta has named Dhamanis, is given in his धमनी-व्याकरणम्. The varieties grouped under Sirās are based on the lines of the four-fold division adopted by Suśruta.

१ रोहिण्यः—रक्तवहाः

Vessels carrying oxygenated or pure red-blood.

२ नीलाः—चित्तवहाः

Vessels carrying carbonised or impure bluish blood.

३ गौर्यः—रक्तवहाः

The Lymphatics and lacteals.

When muscles are affected or injured they produce crookedness of the body, the drooping of the limbs, incapacity for action or movement, and intense pain.

The muscles are necessarily employed in the acts of elevating and depressing the limbs, and also in those of extending, flexing and abducting them.

“ पवमेव शरीरिऽस्मिन् यावन्तः संधयः स्मृताः ।

स्नायुभिर्बहुभिर्बद्धाः तेन भारसहा नराः ” ॥

सुश्रुत शरीर अ. ५

Joints are knit together by the muscles and ligaments which enable men to lift heavy weights.

७ पेशीप्रकरणम् (Coverings.)

(Fascias, Sheaths, and Serous membranes.)

Membranous sacs or coverings such as fasciæ, Pericardium, peritoneum and others, are not treated separately in Western anatomy. These membranes are noticed in the description of the organs themselves, but the fact that all the internal organs are enclosed in some kind of membranous covering was sufficient for Ayurvedic Anatomists to have a separate chapter for such membranes.

१ आमाशयपेशी } “ हृदयमाशययोर्द्वे ”
२ हृदयपेशी

The Peritoneal coat of the stomach and the pericardium of the heart.

३ यकृतप्लीहोदुक्पेशयः—“ यकृतप्लीहोदुकेषु पट् ”

These are altogether six in number and cover the liver, the spleen and the cœcum.

४ वृषणपेशी } ‘ पुंसां पेशयः पुरः लक्षणमुष्कजाः
५ फलपेशी } स्त्रीणामावृत्य तिष्ठन्ति फलमंतर्गतं हि ताः ’

The tough membrane of the testes and the covering of ovaries.

६ आस्थिपेशी } “ सिरास्नायवस्थिपर्वाणि संध-
७ स्नायुपेशी } यश्च शरीरिणाम् ॥ पेशीभिः
८ संधिपेशी } संवृतानि ”
९ सिरापेशी
१० पर्वपेशी

Blood-vessels, muscles, bones, and joints are all enveloped in membranous coverings.

११ मज्जपेशीः—

The meninges of the Brain.

"तद्धि (नस्यं) उत्तमांगमनुप्रविश्य मज्जपेशिकास्तकं दोषं विकारकरमपकर्षति" (चरक)

The मज्जपेशी has been referred to in the passage where snuff is said to indirectly enter the head, and dispel the fault which sticks to the membranes of the brain.

१२ सीमंताः—“संघाताः (अस्थिसंघाताः) संचिता येस्तु सीमंतास्तान् प्रचक्षते”—Bursæ.

The pads or cushions which allow the bone-joints to rest on them are called the Simantas.

पेशीस्वरूपाणि—“तासां (पेशीनां) बहल-वेलव-स्थूल-अणु-वृधु-वृत्त-ह्रस्व-दीर्घ-स्थिर-मृदु-भलक्ष्ण-कर्कशमावाः” ॥

These membranous coverings are thick or slender, big, or minute, broad or round, short, or extended, stiff or soft, and delicate or coarse.

पेशीनां कार्याणि—“प्रच्छादकत्वं, संवरकत्वं, आवरकत्वं च”

Their functions are to cover, 'envelop' or overspread the internal stuff

८ शरीरांतर्गताः पंचप्रकारकाः प्रणाल्यः

The Five Vehicles in the Body.

(The Sirās and the Dhamanis.)

Preliminary.

According to Suśruta there are five kinds of (प्रणाली) vehicles or carriers in the human body. Three of them are tubular, and the fourth and fifth consist of cord-like or thread-like fibres. The first three carry liquid substances, the fourth अरुणा carries the controlling Vāyu, and the fifth which is (विसर्तनुसृष्ट) or similar to a lotus stalk conveys afferent and efferent impulses. Western anatomists describe the three tubular vessels under Angiology, and the cord-like or thread-like fibres called the 'nerves' under Neurology. Sushruta also describes the arteries, the veins and the lymphatics under the title Siras, but he includes the Vayu-carrying अरुणा-vehicles also in the Sira-group. The description of the Siras is given in chapter vii of his शरीर called सिरावर्ण-विमर्क, and that of the nerves which Sushruta has named Dhamanis, is given in his धमनी-व्याकरणम्. The varieties grouped under Sirās are based on the lines of the four-fold division adopted by Suśruta.

१ रोहिण्यः—रक्तवहाः

Vessels carrying oxygenated or pure red-blood.

२ नीलाः—पित्तवहाः

Vessels carrying carbonised or impure bluish blood.

३ गोप्यः—रक्तवहाः

The Lymphatics and lacteals.

४ अरुणा :—वातवहाः

(not identified.)

५ धमन्यः—

Nerves.

१ सिरावर्णविभक्तिः (Angiology.)

सिराप्रकाराः—

†१. रोहिण्यः—(Arteries),—These convey the bright red blood, and are neither hot nor cold to the touch.

‡२. नीलाः—(Veins),—These convey the hot and blue-red blood.

३. गौर्यः—(Lymphatics),—These convey a milk-white fluid and the lymph.

४. अरुणाः—(Not identified),—These conduct Vata which controls all vital movements of the organs.

सिराकार्यम्—“यामिरिदं शरीरं आराम इव जलहारीणीभिः, केदा इव कुल्याभिरुपलस्यते.”

Like a garden which is watered by a conduit, or a field drenched by channels, the body is moistened and nourished by tubular vessels called the Rohinis, Neelas and Gouris.

अरुणसिराणां कार्यम्—“अनुगृह्यते च आकुंचनप्रसारणादिभिर्विशेषैः.”

* “तत्रारुणा वातवहा” इत्यनेन अरुणासिराणां वातवाहकत्वं शास्त्रकारैः प्रत्यपादि ॥ तथा च “ध्मानात् अनिलपूरणात् धमन्यः” इति व्युत्पत्त्या धमनीनामपि वातवाहकत्वं स्पष्टतया भवति ॥ एवं सति अरुणसिराणां धमनीनां को भेदः इति प्राप्ते—

१. तमसा लीने चाप्यलीने वा मनसि तत्साक्षित्वाहिव्येनैव प्रवर्तमानानां नेसर्गिकीणां शारीरक्रियाणां प्रेरकाः प्रणाल्यो वातवाहिन्योऽरुणाः ॥

२. नियतशब्दादिविषयकज्ञानदाय्यस्तथा च मनोबुद्धिपुरःसरणां शारीरक्रियाणां प्रेरकाः प्रणाल्यो धमन्यः ॥

शब्दच्छिन्नपूर्वकं मानुषशारीरसम्बन्धतः मुख्यस्य दृष्टिधर्मावाप्त्यवस्थां विशिष्टशारीरक्रियाप्रयोजिकाः प्रणाल्यः ॥ एतासां वर्णनमांशशारीरसाख्येऽपीदृशमेव ॥ धमनीव्याकरणाध्यायनिर्दिष्टक्रियासु प्रायः ऐच्छिकक्रियाणां प्राधान्येन निर्देशो दृश्यते तदनुरोधेनैवास्माभिररुणसिराणां धमनीनां च विशिष्टक्रियात्मकता प्रत्यपादि ॥ किंच—पशुपक्षिषु भूजपुटीपोस्तजंन॥दिका नेसर्गिकक्रिया मनुष्येषु ऐच्छिका इवोपलभ्यन्ते ॥ एतसु सत्यं यद्दमनीव्याकरणनिर्दिष्टक्रियाणामेच्छिकत्वं योगिम्यमेव ॥ अनोपि स्याच्छ्रेयो यदि कोऽपि वातवाहिनीनां—सिराणां धमनीनां च क्रियाविशेष्यं बोधयेत् ॥

* Not yet satisfactorily identified. Pandit Gangadhar Shastri Joshi however suggests that वातवह-शिराः refer to the Sympathetic nerve-fibres which carry on all the involuntary vital functions.

† रोहिण्यः—Arteries (including the pulmonary veins but excluding the pulmonary artery.)

‡ नीलाः—Veins (including the pulmonary artery but excluding the pulmonary veins.)

The Arunas sustain the body by their specific power of contracting and dilating the other *Sirūs* and involuntary muscles.

१. रोहिणीसिराणां स्वरूपं कार्यं च (Arteries)—“अमृत्वहाम्नु रोहिण्यः सिग नाप्युष्णशीतलाः” ॥ “धातूनां पूर्णं वर्णं स्पर्शज्ञानमज्ञायम् । स्वाः सिराः संचन्द्रकं कुर्याद्वान् गुणानपि” (सु. शा. अ. ७)

॥ “समा गूढाः स्निग्धा रोहिण्यः शुद्धशोणिनम्” (वहन्ति) ॥ (अष्टांग सं. शा. अ. ६)

The रोहिणीs are such vessels as convey the bright red blood which is neither very warm nor very cold, (i.e. they are neither as warm as the veins nor as cold as the lymphatics). The Robinis nourish the tissues, and impart a superb complexion to the skin. Vagbhata also asserts that it is the रोहिणीs that carry pure blood. They do not crumple, they are elastic, they lie deeper than the veins, and carry pure blood.

२. नीलासिराणां स्वरूपं कार्यं च (Veins)—“पित्तादुष्माश्च नीलाश्च” “धानिष्णुना-मन्नरुचिमभिर्दक्षिमरोगताम् । संसर्पत्वाः सिगः सिं कुर्याद्वान् गुणानपि” ॥ (सु. शा. अ. ७)

The नीला vessels that convey the venous blood which is rather hot to the touch. The Nilas are purple in hue owing to पित्त which generates heat, and endows the body with a fine appearance or lustre, produces a good appetite, and bestows freedom from disease.

३. गौरिसिराणां स्वरूपं कार्यं च (Lymphatics)—“शीता गोर्वः स्थिराः कफान्” ॥ स्नेहमेतेषु संधीनां स्थैर्यं बलमुदीर्णताम् ॥ करोत्यन्यान् गुणांश्चापि चलासः स्वाः सिराश्चान् ॥ (सु. शा. अ. ७)

गौरिs or रसायनीs or the Lymphatics are cold and steady owing to the influence of कफ which produces moisture and greasiness in the joints, and imparts steadiness, strength and compactness to the limbs.

१० धमनीव्याकरणम् (Neurology.)

When seven years back it was suggested that the *Dhamanis* in Sushruta could not mean arteries, a violent storm of controversy was roused. But steadily the belief has been gaining ground that the Sushruti *Dhamanis* meant nothing else than “nerves” and particularly the cerebro-spinal nerves. The reason why the word *Dhamani* came to be applied to denote an artery was this:—In Greek anatomy artery meant the wind-pipe or trachea, and the *Dhamanis* which according to Charaka carried वात were translated as arteries [ध्यान (अनिरूपणात्) धमन्यः]. Afterwards when the term artery ceased to designate the wind-pipe, and came to be applied to vessels carrying arterial blood, because after death they appeared only as hollow tubes, the *Dhamani* also followed suit and wrongly came to signify an artery.

But *vāta* according to Charaka is not air but nervous energy, and we quote here below an excerpt from Charaka which explains fully the signification of *vāta*.

How the *Dhamanis* are said, to proceed from हृदय and नाभि is a question connected with the ancient yoga-philosophy. Suffice it to say here that even Dr. Gana Nath Sen and the late Prof. Bhanu (of Poona) have acknowledged that in the ancient philosophy of Yoga and the Upanishads हृदय did mean a part of Brain.

There are four or five points from which it can be definitely affirmed that the Sushruti *Dhamanis* meant no other vehicles than the nerves.

1. Chapter IX धमनीव्याकरण of the *Sārira* of Sushrut cannot be interpreted in any other way.

2. In diseases caused by the excited *vāta*, the *Dhamanis* which are the vehicles of *vāta* are the first to be affected, and it is found that almost all these diseases are nervous diseases.

3. There is no passage in सुधृत in which it is clearly stated that pure blood flows through a *Dhamani*.

4. On the contrary it is asserted that it is the *Rohinis* that carry pure blood.

5. (a) Even the stray passages which contain references to *Dhamanis* no where suggest that such *Dhamanis* carry pure-blood.

(b) On the other hand almost all those stray passages show that the references point to the *Dhamanis* described in IX chapter.

According to *Suśruta* the functions of वायु are stated to be (प्रपन्दन-उद्बुधन-पूरण-विवेक-धारणानि i. e.) to originate motion, to convey sensations to and fro, to invigorate (the system); to separate and to sustain (the vital activities). These functions it performs through the machinery of the *Dhamanis* which is no other than the "nervous" system generally, and the cerebro-spinal system particularly.

The vital activities of वायु which acts through the *Dhamanis* have been described in detail by Charaka in the following passage:—

वातकार्याणि:—“वायुस्तत्र (शरीर) यंत्रधरः, प्राणोदानसमानव्यानापानात्मा, प्रवर्तकश्चेष्टानां, मुञ्चावचानां, निर्वृता प्रणेता च मनसः, सर्वेन्द्रियाणां उद्योतकः, सर्वेन्द्रियार्थानां अभिवोजः, सर्वशरीर-धातुव्यूहकः, श्रोत्रस्पर्शनयोर्मूलं, हृषोत्साहयोर्वाहिनी, समीरणोष्मेः, दोषसंशोषणः, क्षेप्ता बहिर्भ्रमणानां, स्थूलानुसूततां भेदा, कर्ता च गमोर्गतीनां, आधुवोऽनुवृत्तिप्रत्ययभूतो भवति.”

(चरक. सूत्र. अ. १२)

Vāyu is the upholder of the machinery of vital functions. He is the soul of the five varieties (प्राण-उदान-व्यान-समान and अपान) actuating all movements or actions slight as well as important; he is the controller and dire-

ctor of the mind ; he is the power that impels all the senses ; he is the perceptant of sensations ; the ordainer of all the elementary substances in the body ; the origin of the sensations of sound and touch ; the source of delight and energy ; the stimulating cause of bodily heat and digestive functions ; the absorbent of faulty humours ; the force that expels the *malās* out of the body ; the power that forms by separation the small as well as big srotasas ; the cause that imparts a shape to the foetus, and the faculty that makes us recollect all the past experiences in life.

The Dhamanis.

- “ धमानात् (अनिलपूरणात्) धमन्यः ” The cord-like vehicles (of sensation) are called Dhamanis because they are actuated by Vāta.
- १ “ रूपवहे द्वे ” (धमन्यौ) ... The (Dhamanis or) nerves that convey the sensation of color and shape form a pair.
- २ “ गन्धवहे द्वे ” ... The (Dhamanis or) nerves that convey the sensation of smell are two, (i. e. they form a pair),
- ३ “ रसवहे द्वे ” ... Those that produce the sensation of taste form a pair.
- ४ “ शब्दवहे द्वे ” ... There is a pair of (Dhamanis or) nerves that conveys the sensation of sound.
- ५ “ प्रश्वासोच्छ्वासके द्वे ” ... Those that control the respiratory acts are two, (i. e. they form a pair).
- ६ “ द्वाभ्यां घोषं करोति ” ... It is by means of two Dhamanis that a person is able to shout.
- ७ “ द्वाभ्यां भाषते ” ... So also there is a pair that enables him to speak.
- ८ “ द्वे अंश्रुवाहिण्या ” ... There is a pair (of nerves) that permits tears to flow (from eyes).
- ९ “ द्वे स्तन्यं स्त्रिया वहतः स्तनसंश्रिते ” Yet another pair causes the flow of milk in women.
- १० “ द्वे अन्नवाहिण्या आन्त्राश्रिते ” The nerves that are attached to the alimentary tract are two ; and they cause the food contents to pass (through the process of digestion .)
- जठरम् }
ग्रहणी }
लघ्वन्त्रम् }
बृहदन्त्रम् }
- ... They cause the movements of the stomach and of the duodenum ; also of the small intestine, and of the large intestine or colon.

- ११ "द्वे वृच्चानिरसिन्धौ स्थूलांत्रप्रतिबद्धे" There is a pair (of nerves) that adhering to the large intestine causes the expulsion of fecal matter.
- १२ "मूत्रवास्तिमग्निप्रपञ्चं मूत्रवहे द्वे" Those that are tacked on to the urinary bladder form a pair, and they cause the urine to pass.
- १३ "शुक्रवहे द्वे" ... A pair of nerves causes the flow of seminal fluid.
- १४ "आतंत्रवहे द्वे" ... There is a pair of them that causes or sets up the menstrual discharge.
- १५ "वातपित्तकफरगरक्तान् द्वे द्वे वहतः" The nerves that regulate the motion and also the heat, secretions and circulation in the body act in pairs

We give here below the names of nerves from modern Text Books on Anatomy to illustrate the accuracy of Susruta's view about the functions of the various nerves.

१ "गंधवहे द्वे धमन्यौ"	Olfactory nerves (1st pair).
२ "रूपवहे द्वे धमन्यौ"	Optic nerves (2nd pair of cerebral).
"रसवहे द्वे धमन्यौ"	Nerves of Taste (i.e. Branches from Glossopharyngeal) and Lingual.
"शब्दवहे द्वे धमन्यौ"	Acoustic Nerves (8th pair).
प्रश्वासोच्छ्वासके द्वे धमन्यौ...	Phrenic and Vagus.
"द्वाभ्यां घोषं करोति"	Inferior laryngeal nerves.
"द्वाभ्यां भाषते"	Hypoglossal Nerves.
"द्वे अश्रुवाहिन्यौ"	Lacrimal nerves. (Branch of Ophthalmic).
"द्वे अन्नवाहिन्यौ अंत्राश्रिते"	Vagi, Sympathetic.
जठरं	Branches from the right and left Vagi and from Coeliac plexus.
ग्रहणी	Branches from Coeliac plexus.
लम्बेंत्रम्	Myenteric plexus and plexus of submucosa.
सूक्ष्मेंत्रम्	Myenteric plexus and plexus of submucosa.

* Note—The author having seen the pairs of cranial nerves such as optic, acoustic etc. may have presumed that all other functions also are subserved by pairs of nerves; though we know that in the strict sense they should be called pairs of plexuses of nerves.

१० "द्वे वर्चो निरास्तन्यो..... Pelvic Visceral Nerves.
स्थूलात्रप्रतिबद्धे "

११ "मूत्रयस्तिमभिपपन्ने मूत्रवहे द्वे " The nerves from Renal plexus
Spermatic (Ovarian) Inferior
Mesenteric Plexus and Hypoga-
stric plexus.

१२ "शुक्रवहे द्वे "..... Spermatic plexus.

१३ "आतर्ववहे द्वे "..... Hypogastric and Ovarian plexus.

धमनीनां कार्याणि (Nerves generally) — "ऊर्ध्वगाः—शब्दरूपरसगंधमन्वातो-
च्छ्वासजृम्भित-सुप्त-हसितकथित-रुदितादीन् विशेषान् अभिवहन्त्यः शरीरं धारयन्ति ।"

"शब्दरूपरसगंधान् अथाभिगृह्णीते ॥ द्वाभ्यां भाषते । द्वाभ्यां घ्राणं करोति ।"

"अधोगतास्तु—यातमूत्रपुरीषयुक्तातवादीन् अधो वहन्ति ॥ अन्नपानरसमौष्यात् विवेचयन्ति ।
मूत्रपुरीषस्वेदाश्च विरेचयन्ति ॥ द्वे अन्नवाहिन्यो अंत्राश्रिते । द्वे वर्चो निरास्तन्यो स्थूलात्रप्रतिबद्धे ॥"

"तिर्यङ्गानां धमनीनां एकैका शतधा सहस्रधा चोत्तरोत्तरं विभज्यन्ते । तैरेव सर्वे सुप्तममुक्तं
वा गृह्णाति ॥" (सुश्रुत शा. अ. ९)

The Dhamanis in the upper portion sustain the body by causing the
sensations of sound, touch sight, taste and smell, and also by regulating
the special respiratory acts such as inspiration, expiration, yawning,
sneezing, laughing, speaking and sobbing:

Through eight Dhamanis (the perceptient) receives the sensations of
sound, sight, taste and smell: by two he can speak, by two others he can
shout;

The Dhamanis that are in the lower portion urge downwards the
gases, urine, faeces, semen, menses and the like; by the effect of bodily
heat they separate the nutritious portions of food and drink; they expel
urine, faecal matter, sweat and other excreta from the body.

Two Dhamanis adhering to the intestines cause the food to pass
through them; while two others which are attached to the colon cause the
expulsion of faecal matter.

Of the Dhamanis that lie transversely, each branches off by
successive stages into hundreds, nay, into thousands of fibres; and it is
by these fibres that perspiration is let out and the mind is made to
experience the pleasures and pains of touch.

"शब्दार्द्राश्चतुः द्वाभ्यां द्वाभ्यां इत्यष्टाभिः । रजः प्रवर्णितात्मप्रपन्नस्यो धमनोऽनुगताभिर्धमनी-
भिर्गृहीते । मनसश्चापुस्तद्विकृताश्च तासां पुण्यन् प्रवृत्तिर्नास्तीति ॥ तासां मध्ये या धमनी मनसा अनु-
गृह्यते तथैव रूपादिषु अल्पतमं आत्मा गृह्णीते । न पुनर्पुण्यदेव रूपादिकं सर्वं सर्वाभिर्धमनीभिर्गृह्णीत
इति । मनसा हि शरीरे एक एव । मण्डोऽप्येकमेव ॥ तेन मनसा येन धमनी शब्दादिवहामु धमनीः प्रभिन्नान्ना
नेव धमनी स्वयम् (विवर्णे) धारयन्ती मैतारं नान्वेति ॥ सुश्रुत. शा. अ. ९ इत्यत्र टीका.

Man receives sensations through the Dhamanis which follow in the wake of the mind (which is) awakened by the efforts of his will when actuated by *Rajas*. The mind being one and very minute, the Dhamanis cannot excite more than one sensation at a time. Of the manifold sensations (such as that of light etc), the soul is cognisant of only one sensation, and that too through such a Dhamani as may be united with the mind. It is not that all the Dhamanis can excite their respective sensations all at once. For, the perceiver is only one; so is the mind also one. Consequently, out of the several Dhamanis that convey the sensations of sound etc. it is that Dhamani only which is united with the mind that can cause the perceiver soul to cognise its appropriate object, and no other.

११ स्रोतोविमानम्

योगवहानि-स्रोतांसि.

The Srōtasas.

A Srōtas is a structure or rather an *apparatus* which is situated in almost all the internal organs. It consists of a *meshwork of capillaries* and fibres interwoven with the basement membrane. The function of a Srōtas is to percolate. *In other words*, a Srōtas selects or secretes materials which are useful, and separates and rejects those that are useless. By such an activity the Srōtas takes part not only in the formation of the Dhātus but also in other important vital processes. Charak goes so far as to assert that nothing is produced nor does anything cease to appear in the body except through the action of a Srōtas. Such is the importance of the Srōtasas in the economy of human life.

The network of Srōtasas is visible, but the Kalās which work in them are invisible.

The Srōtasas are described in the following passages from which it appears that they are visible as a network of capillaries or some other similar structure which performs the functions of absorption, selection, separation or secretion of materials required for the building up of Dhātus.

स्रोतसां स्वरूपम्—

॥ “स्वधातुसमवर्णानि वृत्तस्थूलान्धूनि च ॥ स्रोतांसि दीर्घाण्याकृत्या प्रतानसदृशानि च” ॥
चरक विमान० अध्या० ५

॥ “मूलात् मान् अंतरं देहं प्रमृतं स्वभिराहि यत् ॥ स्रोतस्तदिति विज्ञेयं सिराधमनिर्वर्जितम्” ॥
सुश्रुत शारीर अध्या० ९

The Character of the Srotasas.

Their colour is similar to the Dhatu which they produce. In size some of them are round, some are large, others are minute, but all of them present the appearance of a network (of cells with capillaries).

Those elements which go to constitute the various organs in the body in which the vital processes are carried out are termed Srotasās; they are distinct from सिरा and घमनी.

स्रोतसां कार्यम्—

॥ " यावन्तः पुरुषे मूर्तिमन्तो भवविशेषाः तावन्त एव आस्मिन् स्रोतसां प्रकारविशेषाः । सर्वे भवन्ति पुरुषे नांतरेण स्रोतास्यभिनिर्वर्तन्ते. क्षयं वा न गच्छन्ति. । स्रोतांसि हि सलु परिणामं आपयमानानां धातूनां अभिवाहीनि भवन्ति अयनार्थेन" ॥ चरक विमान० अध्या० ५.

The functions of Srotasas.

There are indeed as many Srotasās in the human body as there are important substances to be found actually existing in it. No substance can ever be produced without the Srotasas, nor can it ever cease to appear except in derangements thereof. In short they are called Srotasas which turn out materials for the Dhatus which are yet in the process of elaboration ; (i. e. the formation of which is not yet completed).

स्रोतानाम.	English Equivalent.	मूलम्.	The seat of स्रोतसाः.
१ माणवह-स्रोतः—	Pulmonary tissue.	* हृदयप्रदेशः	Thorax (Lungs).
२ अन्नवह-स्रोतः—	Alimentary Mucosa.	(* वक्षस्थलीनं अनाहतहृदयम्) अमाशयः वामं च पार्श्वम्.	{ Stomach and small Intestine.
३ उदकवह-स्रोतः—	(not identified)	तालुमूलं क्लोम च.	{ The fauces and the palate.
§ ४ रसवह-स्रोतः—		हृदयम्.	{ Third ventricle of the Brain.
(§ तैजसो अग्निष्ठे वा रसः)		(† वज्रहृदयं, संविद्धृदयं वा)	
५ शोणितवह-स्रोतः—	Blood-forming tissues	यकृतं प्रीहाच.	{ The Liver and the Spleen.
* ६ मांसवह-स्रोतः—		स्तायु त्वक् च.	{ The muscle and the skin.
* ७ मेदोवह-स्रोतः—		वृको-वपावहनं च.	{ The perinephric region and the omentum.
* ८ अस्थिवह-स्रोतः—			

* In the short note on प्राणवह and रसवह srotas and also in the brief description of the रसपातु there occurs a reference to the तैजस or अग्निष्ठे. We have also made a distinction between वज्रहृदय and अनाहतहृदय. We have to say that these are only our suggestions and not conclusions. We therefore earnestly request our sympathetic critics to clearly express their views on the subject to enable us to arrive at some definite result.

स्रोतोनाम.	English equivalent.	सूत्रम्.	The seat of स्रोतसा.
*९ मज्जावह-स्रोतः—			{ Bone marrow.
१० शुक्रवह-स्रोतः—	Seminiferous tubules.	वृषणौ.	The testes.
११ मूत्रवह-स्रोतः—	Renal parenchyma.	वक्षगो (वृक्के)	The kidneys.
१२ पुरीषवह-स्रोतः—	Intestinal mucousa forming the Faecal matter.	पक्षाशयः } स्थूलगुदम् }	Caecum and colon
१३ स्वेदोवह-स्रोतः—	Sudoriferous glands.	मेदः } रोमकूपाः }	The Skin and Hair follicles.
१४ आर्तववह-स्रोतः—	Uterine mucosa.	गर्भाशयः—	uterus.

The writers on Ayurveda have mentioned 14 Srotasas stated above as examples only. Charaka, following his plan, states that there are other Srotasas also such as :—लास्यवह, स्तन्यवह and अश्रुवह. He applies the term 'Srotas' to such collections of cells with their capillary network as are capable of producing the various substances in the body; so, the production of semen in the seminiferous tubules, or secretion of urine in the renal tubules etc., may be cited by way of illustration.

*In many of the organs the products of their activity can be definitely traced to their primary origin and hence no difficulty arises in understanding the functions of such Srotasas. But when we come to think of the formation of muscle and bone, we cannot lay our finger upon a particular organ in the body to which any of these functions can be allotted, apart from the same tissue, and hence we cannot isolate a muscle or bone from its source or origin. The same applies to the nervous and the fatty tissue.

Now turning to अन्नवह, उदकवह and प्राणवह Srotasas it may be readily seen that these terms may be conveniently applied to those constituents of the alimentary and respiratory systems which are endowed with the power of selecting and absorbing the necessary material from food, water or air.

CONCLUSION.

In the foregoing pages the reader will notice that the anatomy of *Susruta* contains in brief most of the principal subjects described in modern text books. In explaining the significations of important anatomical terms we have adopted a method which in our humble opinion is both rational and useful. It is our intention to present the bare outline of Ayurvedic anatomy, and with this object in view, we have followed the text of *Susruta* which is the most ancient work now available, and which has devoted a few chapters to the subject. We have, therefore, endeavoured to interpret the text of *Susruta* as best as we could.

Those who wrongly applied the term धमनी to an "artery" presumed that the nervous system was unknown to Susruta. They also have used the term पेसी to describe a "muscle." Thus they have foisted their own errors upon Susruta by declaring that chapter IX of his *Sarira* is full of absurdities. Consequently they have been obliged to use the word कला to denote a membrane, to restrict the term स्नायु to express a ligament, and to employ the word नदी as the equivalent of "Nerve" although that word is ordinarily used to denote the arterial pulse.

All such misnomers have only resulted in a bungle. No rational principle has been followed. The principle is that the same term which is used in anatomy must express the same sense in निदान and चिकित्सा; otherwise Ayurvedic terminology is sure to be discredited.

In the light of this principle we find that in describing the causes of अर्शज्वर, आक्षेपक and धनुर्वारत which are admittedly diseases of the muscles, it is the *snayus* that are stated to be affected. If *Pesi* had really meant a muscle, Ayurvedists would have used the word *Pesi* instead of *Snayu*. There is not a single instance in which the word *Pesi* has been so used. We must also remember that Susruta uses *Dhamani* to denote the part affected in diseases caused by Vata. It must therefore be concluded that *Dhamani* is the vehicle of Vata and not of blood, that *Snayu* signifies a muscle and *pesi* denotes nothing but a membrane at least in a great majority of instances.

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parison with चक्र and वाग्भट, to say nothing of the school-books like हिनोपदेश. One would simply laugh if we were to quote from such secondary authorities, or from popular fables !

(v) Lastly we stand by two supreme tests:—The first is that the suggested interpretation must accord with the passages in the text of Susruta quite satisfactorily, and secondly it must be thoroughly conformable to actual anatomical facts which dissection reveals.

Judging by those tests we may safely say that our interpretation would not only stand the anatomical test, but would also consistently and rationally explain at least 95 out of 100 passages in the Susrutic text.

We are aware that even with all these precautions our interpretations may not be entirely free from objection. But to this we can give the only reply that we have no hesitation in inviting our critics to offer their own outline or interpretations in such a way as to show that a greater number of references could thus be explained, and that their interpretation could be supported by actual dissection. We entertain no prejudice against any suggestion or interpretation—only that it must be thoroughly consistent and demonstrable; and our only desire is that *Susruta should not be destroyed*, but should form the basis of further additions which we may have to make to our stock from modern researches.

We have thus to lay down the lines on which a new Ayurvedic anatomy could be built up. To achieve this end we propose to translate and explain the whole of the Shārīra Sthāna, in the light of a generally accepted terminology. The text of Susruta is to be fully explained and supplemented by extracts from other standard Ayurvedic authors, and their agreement or differences with modern standpoints are to be fully noted. In short the proposed work will be a repository of Ayurvedic anatomical texts together with a brief survey of modern views on the subject-matter. It is only by some such method that the obscurity or uncertainty which at present overhangs the Susrutic text may be effectually removed and the study of Ayurvedic anatomy may proceed on its own lines.

To achieve this object the “मुच्यं प्रान्तीय आयुर्वेद संशोधक मण्डल” has been formed to undertake the task mentioned above. The proposed publication will not follow the views of any particular individual but will reflect the views of the committee as a whole. Individual differences will be noted and any reasonable objection will be given the most careful attention—we, therefore again invite a hearty cooperation from all Vaidya's and lovers of Ayurveda to help us in the various ways to which we have already drawn their attention.

मुंबई प्रांतीय-आयुर्वेद-संशोधक-मंडळ.

कार्यालय, पुणे.

संस्थेचे उद्देश-

(१) आयुर्वेदीय परंपरेशी पूर्णपणे सुसंगत होईल अशा तऱ्हेने नवीन पद्धतीची ग्रंथरचना व्हावी या हेतूने जुन्या आयुर्वेदीय ग्रंथांचे संशोधन करण्यास उत्तेजन देणे.

(२) भारतवर्षामध्ये उत्पन्न होणाऱ्या औषधिद्रव्यांचे आयुर्वेदीयदृष्ट्या संशोधन करण्यास उत्तेजन देणे.

असे या संस्थेचे मुख्य उद्देश आहेत.

सभासदत्वाचे प्रकार—

(अ) आश्रयदाता (सदस्य)—एकरोएक किंवा त्याहून अधिक रुपयांची देणगी देणारे.

(आ) सहाय्यक (सदस्य)—एकावन्न रुपये किंवा त्याहून अधिक रुपयांची देणगी देणारे.

(इ) हितकर्ता (सदस्य)—निदान पंचवीस किंवा त्याहून अधिक रुपयांची देणगी देणारे.

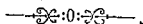
(ई) साधारण सभासद — एकदम दहा रुपये देणारे.

वरील उद्देशानुसार आयुर्वेदाचा उत्कर्ष इच्छिणाऱ्या आयुर्वेदप्रेमी गृहस्थांनी या संस्थेचे सभासद होऊन शास्त्रीयपद्धतीने आयुर्वेदाचे संशोधन करण्यास सहाय्य करावे अशी विनंति आहे. विशेष माहितीकरिता खालील पत्त्यावर पत्रव्यवहार करावा.

कार्यवाह,

मुं ० प्रा. ० आयुर्वेद-संशोधक-मंडळ, पुणे सदाशिव ९१२

The Bombay Provincial Ayurveda Research Association, Poona.



Objects:— (1) To encourage research in old Ayurvedic works with a view to publish modern text books, in medicine and allied subjects, which will be in complete harmony with old Ayurvedic Theories.

(2) To encourage research in the Pharmacology of the Indian drugs

Membership:— (A) *Patron*—a person donating a sum of Rs. 100 or more.

(B) *Associate*—a person donating a sum of Rs. 51 or more.

(C) *Sympathizer*—a person donating a sum of Rs. 25 or more.

(D) *Ordinary member*—a person donating a sum of Rs. 10 or more.

All who are interested in the objects of this Association are cordially requested to help this cause by joining the Association.

The Secretaries,
The Bombay-Provincial-Ayurveda-
Research-Association,
Poona, Sadashiv Peth, 912.

YOGA IN WESTERN UNIVERSITIES

By **SWAMI KUVALAYANANDA**

(Reprinted from *The Bombay Chronicle*
Sunday, May 6, 1934)

"Swami Kuvalayananda's article is only one of the many reminders of the cultural regions which universities in India as a painful contrast to the universities in the West, have left unexplored. We have, it would appear, still to cultivate the spirit of research in science, art and culture, that is so distinguishing a feature of the Western universities."

Editor, *The Bombay Chronicle*

KAIYALYADHAMA, LONAVLA (G. I. P.)

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By Swami Kuvālayananda

Western Students of Ancient India.

It is now upwards of three centuries that the Western scholars have been taking interest in the study of ancient India. Some of them felt so much attracted by this study that they spent their whole life in exploring the depths of ancient Indian civilization. It must be, however, remembered that the interest of these scholars has all along been merely academic. No antiquarian has ever thought that the positive sciences of the ancient Indians have any practical contribution to make to the development of modern civilization. Hence we see that the oriental scholars of the West have studied and are studying ancient Indian works on chemistry, astronomy, mathematics, medicine and Yoga from the linguistic point of view and never from the point of view of a practical scientist.

It is often asserted that the philosophical thought of ancient India has been profoundly impressing the modern thinkers of the West. There is, indeed, much truth in this assertion. But here again it will be seen that this influence is all on the

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is being practised according to ancient traditions, and yet with a scientific attitude of mind. On reaching India, Mr. Behanan made careful enquiries with a view to select the right sort of institution for his work. In about three month's time he found that the Kaivalyadhama was the only Institution in India that would serve his purpose. On application for admission, he was taken up at the Kaivalyadhama, and stayed with the Director partly at Lonavla and partly in Bombay, for nearly a year. In 1933, he returned to America. How grateful Mr. Behanan feels for the help the Kaivalyadhama has given him in being trained in Yoga, and how the Yale University shares that gratitude, will be seen from the following few lines extracted from a letter which the Director of the Kaivalyadhama has received officially from Professor Roswell P. Angier, Chairman, Department of Psychology, at the Yale University.

" . . . I wish on behalf of the Department and of Yale University to express our sincerest appreciation of the facilities that were given him (Mr. K. T. Behanan) in his study of Yogic practices. Mr. Behanan has a very deep affection for you and is full of gratitude for the untiring attention and help that you gave him. His sense of gratitude is also felt by the Department of Psychology at Yale University."

YOGA IN WESTERN UNIVERSITIES

On Mr. Behanan's return to America, the Yale University has started scientific research in Prana-yama. The methods they are following are the methods that are current at the Kaivalyadhama. This keen interest taken by the Yale University is sure to infect other universities of America. The Director of the Ashrama has good reasons to believe that laboratory and clinical research in Yoga is going to have its place in many other universities of the West.

The little laboratory research that has been done in the Kaivalyadhama and that is being published from time to time through *Yoga-Mimansa*, the organ of the Ashrama, is sufficient to convince any unprejudiced scientist about the immense possibilities of Yogic research. The Director of the Kaivalyadhama had discussions with qualified medical men and scientists in India. Dr. W. Numan, M.D., the Retired Police Surgeon of Bombay, Dr. K. S. Mhaskar, M.D., M.A., D.P.H., D.T.M. & H., of the Haffkine Institute, Bombay. Dr. S. P. Niyogi, Professor of Physiology, Seth G. S. Medical College, Bombay, and many others have admitted the great scientific value of Yogic research according to the modern laboratory methods. Prof. W. Burridge, D.M., M.A. (Oxon.), who is known for his original physiological research, and his assistant Dr. S. N. Mathur, Ph.D. (London), both have also

YOGA IN WESTERN UNIVERSITIES

verified some of the researches of the Ashrama, and found them to be of considerable scientific interest.

Make up Indian Universities

Yogic research in the hands of the Western Scientists is sure to have a bright future. Will Indian universities wake up and start Yogic research according to the latest scientific methods and make their own contribution to the modern civilization, or will they allow the Western universities to carry on Yogic investigations and develop a system of scientific Yoga which would influence the different currents of modern thought? Properly speaking, Yoga is the richest inheritance of Indians, and it is up to the Indian universities to investigate its possibilities and to co-ordinate it with the modern life so as to enrich the latter physically, mentally and spiritually. If the Indian universities prove negligent about their duty to Yoga, and do not take advantage of this rich heritage of theirs, there will be a time when India will have to sit at the feet of the Westerners for the study of Yoga, just as they are doing it to-day for the study of Vedic literature !

Printed by K. T. Shetye at the Tatva-Vivechaka Press, Bombay 8.

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

XXII

A MANUSCRIPT OF *BHARATA-ŚĀSTRA-GRANTHA* AND
IDENTIFICATION OF ITS AUTHOR *LAKṢMĪDHARA*
AND HIS DATE — 3rd quarter of the 16th century

Aufrecht mentions two Mss. of *Bharataśāstra* (music) by Raghunātha viz (i) Burnell 60 b and (ii) Oppert II, 4099. The subject of No. 4099 of Oppert's Catalogue is Nāṭya. The Tanjore Ms. described by Burnell is fragmentary. There is, however, no Ms. in Aufrecht's Catalogue with the title "*Bharataśāstragrantha*."

The B. O. R. I. Ms.¹ No. 40 of 1916-18 is called "*Bharataśāstragrantha*." It is a modern copy of a South Indian Ms. made in 1916 and consists of 30 folios. The following works and authors have been referred to in the body of the work :—

अमर, शब्दार्णव, कविकण्ठपाक(श?), नानार्थदीपिका, भागवत (folio 1), काव्य-प्रकाश (fol. 2 and 4), हरिभक्तिसुधोदय (fol. 3), सङ्गीतचूडामणि (fol. 3 and 10), भगवद्गीता (fol. 4), प्रसन्नराघवःपाट्या (by the author himself- 'अमल्लत') (fol. 6), सङ्गीतरत्नाकर (fol. 6 and 18), रागदीपिका, रत्नमाला (fol. 8), रसकरि(लि)ङ्गा, भावप्रकाश (fol. 13), ऋतुकीर्णविवेक (fol. 14), भरत (fol. 17, 18, 24), साहस्रिकं, रङ्गलक्ष्मीविलास (fol. 18), भरतार्णव (fol. 21).

It would appear from the foregoing references that the work is a late compilation. The Ms. from which the present copy is made was incomplete and hence there is no proper colophon from which the name of the author and other historical details could be gathered, in case they were recorded in the original work.

¹ Mr. Manomohan Ghosh in his edition of *Nandikeśvara's Abhinaya-darpana* (Calcutta Ori. Series No. V, 1934), Introduction p. XX remarks about the quotations from earlier authors in this work :—

" It contains passages from unmentioned sources which include *Dandīn* and *Nandikeśvara*."

We must, however, thank Mr. Raghavam of Madras for furnishing us with evidence for discovering the author of this *Bharataśāstragrantha*. He paid a visit to the Bhandarkar Institute some time ago and went through the above copy of the *Bharataśāstragrantha*. Subsequently he returned to his native place Tanjore and while reading a commentary on the *Gita-govinda* of Jayadeva, called '*Śrutirāñjinī*' by one Lakṣmīdhara (P. P. S. Sastry's Descriptive Catalogue of Tanjore Mss., Vol. 16, Nos. 10935-6) he discovered that the author of our *Bharataśāstragrantha* is none other than this Lakṣmīdhara. The evidence for this identification according to Mr. Raghavam is the following:—

(1) In the *Bharataśāstragrantha* the author refers to a commentary of his on the *Prasannarāghava* (vide 'अमलदत्तप्रसन्नराघव-व्याख्या' on folio 6 in the list of references given above.).

(2) The Tanjore Ms. of the *Śrutirāñjinī* on the *Gita-govinda* also refers to the author's own commentary on the *Prasannarāghava*.

(3) The B. O. R. I. Ms. of the *Bharataśāstragrantha* refers to the following works among others:—

संगीतचूडामणि, रङ्गलक्ष्मीविलास and कतुक्रीडाविवेक,

These three works have exactly been quoted in the *Śrutirāñjinī* of Lakṣmīdhara.

I believe that the above evidence furnished by Mr. Raghavam is quite convincing and establishes the fact that Lakṣmīdhara was the author of the *Bharataśāstragrantha*.

We know from history that this Lakṣmīdhara was patronized by King Tirumala of the Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar who had a very short reign and who passed away in A. D. 1572.¹ Tirumala was a lover of learning and the commentary *Śrutirāñjinī* though supposed to be written by Tirumala was

¹ Heras: *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, 1927, p. 260.

14 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

evidently written by Lakṣmīdhara whom he patronized.¹ We can therefore infer that the Bharataśāstra of Lakṣmīdhara may have been composed say between A. D. 1550-1572 or in the 3rd quarter of the 16th century.

XXIII

REFERENCE TO *DURGHATAVṚTTI* IN CĀRITRA- VARDHANA'S COMMENTARY ON THE *RAGHUVAMŚA*

In my note in the issue of the Annals (Vol. XV, i, ii,) on the Date of Cāritravardhana, I fixed A. D. 1172 as one terminus to the date of this commentator because it is the date of the composition of the work *Durghataṅṇi* of Śaranadeva, a quotation from which was found in Cāritravardhana's commentary on the *Kumārasambhava*. Though this quotation was identified in the Trivandrum edition of the *Durghataṅṇi* I was in search of some more references to *Durghataṅṇi* in the commentaries of Cāritravardhana.

Mr. S. P. Pandit's list of earlier works mentioned by Cāritravardhana in his commentary on the *Raghuvamśa* does not include any reference to the *Durghataṅṇi*. My own reading of a Ms. of Cāritravardhana's commentary on the *Raghuvamśa* (No. 48 of 1873-74 of the Govt. Ms. Library at the B. O. R. Institute) has given me the following reference :—

folio 20—"समुच्चयार्थत्वादनधिकरणेपिद्वय इति दुर्घटवृत्तिकारः "

This shows that Mr. Pandit's list is based on a printed edition which may not contain this reference or more probably this refer-

1. Heras : *Aravīdu Dynasty* p. 516-17 —

"Tirumala has been supposed to be the author of the commentary entitled *Śrutirāṅginī* on the *Gīta-Govinda* ; but one of the copies possessed by the Maharaja Sarfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, professes to have been composed by Lakṣmaṇasūri, a worshipper of Dakṣiṇamūrti and a younger brother of Kondubhatta of Cherukurn. Dr. Hultzsch seems to believe that this was the actual author of the commentary, and Tirumala his patron. Lakṣmaṇasūri, called also Rāmānandaśrama and Lakṣmīdhara, was a Saṅghyāsī pupil of Kṛṣṇāśrama whose family came from Cherukuru on the Kṛṣṇā river. He is the author of *Anargharāghava* and the Prākṛit grammar *Saḍ-bhāṣāscandrikā*, based on the grammars of Trivikrama, Hemacandra and Bhamaja. "

ence may have escaped his notice. Whatever be the reasons of this omission the above reference to *Durghaṭavṛttikāra* corroborates the previous reference to this author on which I have relied in my note referred to above.

XXIV

DATE OF *SAMVATSARADIPHALA-KALPALATĀ*
OF *SOMADAIVAJŪNA*—A. D. 1642

Somadaivjūna, also called Somabhaṭṭa and Somagaṇaka, is mentioned by Aufrecht as the author of the following works¹ on astrology — (1) *Kalpalatā* (2) *Kalpavalli* (3) *Paddhatibhūṣaṇa* (4) *Bṛhatkalpalatā* (5) *Samvatsara Kalpalatā*.

The date of the *Paddhatibhūṣaṇa* is given in the work itself. It is Śaka 1559 (= A. D. 1637) Somadaivajūna was the son of Rudrabhaṭṭa and the nephew of Bālabhaṭṭa as he informs us in the *Paddhatibhūṣaṇa*. He was the resident of Jalagrāma (Jalgaon). He composed this work for his pupil, a Gujarāti, Vasudeva by name.²

Of *Samvatsara-kalpalatā* Aufrecht records the following Mss:—

(1) "K 244"—This Ms. is not described and details re. date are not given in Kielhorn's list.

(2) "BhK 37"—This is No. 450 of A 1881-82 of the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute.

The B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 450 of A 1881-82 is dated Śaka 1699 (= A. D. 1777). No date of composition is recorded in this copy.

Recently, however, the B. O. R. Institute has acquired a copy³ of this work. It is a complete copy of 13 folios. At the end of this copy the following verse occurs:—

"वेदसंन्द्रियभूमितशाके कार्त्तिकसंज्ञकमासासितेवैर्दे ॥

आयतिथौभूजोविलिखिये कल्पलता परिपूर्तिमुपेते ॥ १ ॥ "

¹ *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 734.

² Velankar: *B. B. R. A. S. Catalogue* Vol. I, pp. 120-1.

³ This is one of the bundle of manuscripts on astrology so kindly presented by Pandit Sukla of Berar through Raosaheb G. K. Deshapande of Poona.

The chronogram "वेदरसद्विषय" in the above verse gives us Śaka 1564 (= A. D. 1642) as the date of composition of the work. This means that the author Soma wrote this work about 5 years after his Paddhatibhūṣaṇa.

XXV

A MANUSCRIPT OF *TITHIRATNA* BY SOMADAIVAJŪ

In my note on the date of *Saivatsarūdi-Kalpalatū* of Somadaivajū I have given a list of works ascribed to this author in Aufrecht's Catalogue. This list does not include the work तिथिरत्नम् a manuscript of which has been presented to the Institute by Pandit Śukla of Berar. This Ms. consists of 3 folios. The following verse at the commencement of the Ms. gives us some information about the author:—

"बालंभट्टपितृव्यपादभजनाद्देवज्ञभावं गतः ।

काकंभट्टतनुजर्द्वविभुषाज्जातः कर्वावोदरे ॥

ज्योतिःशास्त्रविदा स्वशिष्यहरिणा संग्राहितः सादरं ।

वेदज्ञास्तिथिरत्नम्(मा?)तु तनुते सोमाभिधानः हृषीः ॥ २ ॥

The above verse gives us more information about the family of the author. His uncle was *Bālambhaṭṭa*, his father *Rudra*, his grandfather *Kākambhaṭṭa* and his mother *Kavāmbā* and the work *Tithiratna* was written at the instance of his pupil *Hari*. The author learnt the science of astrology from his uncle *Bālambhaṭṭa*.

This Ms. of *Saivatsarūdi-Kalpalatū* (vide note above) contains the following verses in which the author apparently refers to the present work तिथिरत्नः —

"हृनिस्मिन् वृषशालिवाहनशके पूर्णगवाणंदुभि १५६० यांताश्चास्तिथिरत्नजानिगदितोस्तेनेत्रचंद्रयुताः ॥" etc.

XXVI

A COMMENTARY ON THE *KUMĀRASAMBHAVA* BY *JINASAMUDRASŪRI* AND ITS PROBABLE DATE—

Last Quarter of the 15th Century

The only Ms. of a commentary on the *Kumārasambhava* by *Jinasamudrasūri* recorded by Aufrecht¹ is—"Rgb 337", which

1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, II. 22.

is the same as No. 337 of 1884-87 in the Govt. Ms. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The colophon of this Ms. gives us some particulars about *Jinasamudrasūri*. It runs thus—

“इति श्रीसरस्वतगच्छे । श्रीजिनप्रभसूरि अनुक्रमेण महारकश्रीजिनचन्द्रसूरिपट्ट-
मंडनमहारकश्रीजिनसमुद्रसूरिभिः श्रीकुमारसंभवस्य काव्यस्य बाला(व)शेषनाथ टीका
विहिता ।”

No other details about the author are furnished by the Ms.

The *Jaina Granthāvali*¹ mentions one Jina-Samudra as the author of a commentary on the Śātakas of Bhartṛhari. I am unable to verify if he is the same as the author of the present commentary.

In the Catalogue² of Jesalmere Bhandar Mss. however the following remarks about a *Jinasamudrasūri* will show that he is most probably identical with the author of the Kumārasambhava commentary:—

“सं. १५३६ वर्षे जेसलमेरुदुर्गे देवकर्णराज्येऽष्टावद्वारासादप्रतिष्ठाकारको जिन-
चन्द्रसूरिः शिष्यः जिनसमुद्रसूरिजिनभद्रसूरिः प्रशिष्य आसीत्”

It is clear from the above lines that *Jinasamudrasūri* lived in the reign of Devakarna of Jesalmir.

Dr. Bhandarkar remarks in his Report³ about the Raos of Jesalmir as under:—

“A Kharatarapaṭṭāvali from Udyotana to Jinabhadra was inscribed in the temple at Jesalmeru. It is dated Samvat 1505 during the reign of Chāchikadeva. Chāchikadeva is mentioned by Prinsep in his list of the Raos of Jesalmir. He belonged to the dynasty of the Bhaṭṭis, a branch of the Yadu race of Chandra-varma.”

Further details about *Chāchikadeva*, *Devakarna* and other Raos of Jesalmir will be found in the following extract⁴ from a *prasaṣti* inscribed in the Jesalameru temple referred to above:—

¹ Jain Granthāvali, 1909, p. 209.

“महर्षिशिवकव्य-वृत्ति(बीजी)” — श्लोक ५०० by जिनसमुद्र.

² A Catalogue of Mss. in the Jain Bhandar at Jesalmir, Sanskrit Prastāvanā, p. 12. (G. O. S. Vol. XXI).

³ Report on the Search for Sanskrit Mss., 1883-84 p. 152.

⁴ Jesalmere Bhandara Mss. Catalogue, (G. O. S. Vol. XXI) Parisiṣṭa, p. 70.

“ संवत् १५८३ वर्षे मागसिरहादि ११ दिने श्रीजसलमेरुमहादुर्गे राउल श्रीचाचि-
गदेवपट्टे राउल श्रीदेवकर्णपट्टे महाराजाधिराज राउल श्री जयतसिंहविजापिराजे
कुमारश्रीलूणकर्णयुवराजे etc. ”

The two foregoing extracts from the Jesalmere Catalogue give us the following chronological particulars about the Raos of Jesalmir bearing on the date of Jinasamudrasūri :—

Rao of Jesalmir	Samvat	A. D.	Remarks
चाचिगदेव	1505	1449	{ Contemporary of जिनसमुद्रसुरि
देवकर्ण	1536	1480	
जयतसिंह was reigning and लूणकर्ण was yuvarāja	1583	1527	

Prinsep¹ in his list of the Raos of Jesalmir tells us that *Chachikadeo* fixed capital at Marote before A. D. 1473 when the conquest of Multan by Babar took place and that Jesalmir became a fief of the Mogul Empire under Rawuls *Jait*, *Nunkarn* etc. It appears that *Jait* and *Nunkarn* mentioned by Prinsep are respectively *Jayalsinha* and *Lūṇakarna* mentioned in the above table.

In view of the foregoing facts we shall be justified in fixing the last quarter of the 15th century as the time when Jinasamudra's commentary on the Kumārasambhava was written.

XXVII

DATE OF HARIDĀSAMISRA, AUTHOR OF COMMENTARIES ON THE RAGHUVAMŚA AND THE KUMĀRA-SAMBHAVA—middle of the 15th century

In my note No XIII in the Annals Vol XIII, p. 344, I described a Ms. of a commentary called *Prakāśikā* on the *Raghuvamśa* (7 cantos) No. 471 of 1895-1902 and showed that it was composed after A. D. 1374 or provisionally towards the middle of the 15th century. I could not then say anything about the author of the commentary as his name was nowhere to be found in the

1. *Essays on Indian Antiquities* ed. by Lord Thomas. 1858

extant fragment of the commentary. Since my note appeared I have examined another Ms. viz. No. 760 of 1886-92 which is a commentary for canto I only of the Raghuvamśa and called *Dīpikā*¹ or *Prakāśikā*² composed by one Haridāsamiśra, son of Vispudāsa.

I have compared the text of No. 471 with that of No. 760 so far as canto I is concerned and find that these portions are identical though verse 2 about the author is wanting in No. 471. This identity proves that the *Prakāśikā*, the date of which we have provisionally fixed as *the middle of the 15th century* and of which only seven cantos are available at present was composed by Haridāsa, son of Vispudāsa.

Further biographical details about Haridāsa and his family are furnished by another Ms. No. 476 of 1891-95 of the Govt. Mss. Library. This is a commentary on the *Kumārasambhava* called *Kumārakāvyaūrtha-Dīpikā*. The introductory verse³ is common to all the three Mss. referred to above. Seven more verses follow, in which the ancestry of Haridāsa is recorded. The family belonged to "लालभूपर." The great grandfather of हरिदास the commentator was "ज्येष्ठ," "सकुमित्र" the grandfather, "विष्णुदास," his father and "मूलदेवी" his mother.

The works and authors mentioned in this commentary on the *Kumārasambhava* are :— अमर, पादप, महार्णव, अभिनवयुत, केशव, बल्लभ, पुराण, विष्णुपुराण, दंडी, काशिका, विश्व, वामन, वैजयंती, इलाधुष, वृत्तिकार, शब्दार्णव, शाश्वत, योगसार, दशरूपक, काव्यादर्श etc. All these references being earlier than the reference to अनेकाथतिलक noted in our Note No. XIII are of no use for locating the exact date of the author.

1. Verse 2 in the beginning —

"विष्णुदासतनुजेन हरिदासेन धर्मिता ।

विरच्यते यथाबुद्धिः रघुकाव्यार्थदीपिका ॥ २ ॥"

2. The Ms. ends —

"इति श्रीमन्महोदशान्तःकरणमिश्रविष्णुदासात्मजहरिदासमिश्रकृतया

रघुकाव्यार्थप्रकाशिकायां दिलीपमतोपदेशो नाम प्रथमः सर्गः ॥"

3. This verse runs—

"धृष्टे मदनगोपालं नत्वा तत्त्वार्थदायकं

सर्वे विघ्नापह्नानं दातारं सर्वसंपदां ॥ १ ॥"

in the *Raghuvamśa-ṭīkā* Mss. No. 471 of 1895-1902 and No. 760 of 1896-92 while in the *Kumārasambhava-ṭīkā* Ms. (No. 476 of 1891-95) instead of 'नत्वा तत्त्वार्थदायकं' in the above verse we have 'विघ्नान्मत्त्वार्थदायकं.'

Miscellany

Date of Ānandabodha Yati, the author of *Nyāyamakaranda* and other works on Vedānta—Between A.D. 1200 and 1297 or the middle of the 13th century.

Dr. Das Gupta remarks in his *History of Indian Philosophy*¹ about Ānandabodha :—

“Ānandabodha is a great name in the school of Śaṅkara Vedānta. He lived probably in the 11th or 12th century.....He wrote at least three works on Śaṅkara Vedānta viz. *Nyāyamakaranda*, *Nyāyadīpāvali*, and *Pramāṇamālā*.” Aufrecht² records the following works as the works of Ānandabodha Paramahansa :—

(1) *Nyāyadīpāvali* and its comm. *Pramāṇaratnamālā*.

(2) *Nyāyamakaranda* and

(3) *Nyāyāpadeśamakaranda*.

In the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series³ the following works of Ānandabodha have been published :—

(1) *Nyāyamakaranda*; (2) *Pramāṇamālā* and (3) *Nyāyadīpāvali*.

If the *Pramāṇaratnamālā* mentioned by Aufrecht is identical with the *Pramāṇamālā* published in the Chowkhamba Series it does not seem to be a commentary on the *Nyāyadīpāvali*, as stated by Aufrecht.

Mr. M. R. Kavi,⁴ however, informs us that Ānandabodha wrote another work called “*Nyāyadīpikā*.” He observes :—“Ānandabodha, a pupil of Ātmavāsa wrote a commentary on *Sābdanirṇayadīpikā* of Prakāśātman. The commentary is known by the name of *Nyāyadīpikā*. Citsukha, a contemporary of Ānandagiri commented on the works of Ānandabodha.”

Mr. Kavi informs me that the above information about Ānandabodha's authorship of *Nyāyadīpikā* is based on the following verse which appears at the end of a Ms. of the work described on p. 4812 of *Triennial Catalogue of Mss*, Vol IV Part I (B) of the Govt. Ori. Mss Library, Madras.

“नमो निखिलवेदान्तकमलाकरभानवे ।

आत्मवासाभिधानाय गुरवे गुणवेशमने ॥

दुस्तर्कध्वान्तपटलप्रपाटनपट्टीयसी ।

इयमानन्दबोधेन रचिता न्यायदीपिका ॥

In the beginning of the Ms. the line “शाब्दनिर्णयमर्द्धभासिका दीपिकेय-

1. Vol. II, p. 116.

2. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 43.

3. *Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series*, (1907).

4. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. V, Part 3, p.

ममला विधीयते" clearly states that the work is a commentary on शाब्दनिर्णय- and not "on शाब्दनिर्णयदीपिका" as stated by Mr. Kavi in the extract quoted above.

I have now to record the following reference to a "Nyāyadīpikā" made by Ānandabodha himself in his *Nyāyamaḥāranda*. This reference appears as under in the Chowkhamba Edition of the *Nyāyamaḥāranda* referred to above :—

p. 170.— "दिदमात्रमत्र सूचितं विस्तरस्तु न्यायदीपिकायामवगन्तव्यः".

Evidently the "Nyāyadīpikā" in the above reference is identical with the *Nyāyadīpikā* referred to by Mr. Kavi as the commentary of that name on the *Sābdanirṇaya* of Prakāśātman. It would appear that Ānandabodha is referring in the above line to an earlier work written by him.

Nyāyadīpikā is thus the title of a commentary on the *Sābdanirṇaya* of Prakāśātman. This latter work appears to be identical with that published by T. Ganapati Sastri⁵ and ascribed to Prakāśātman.

Mr. Kavi further observes that Ānandagiri (also called Ānandajñāna and Janārdana) was a contemporary of Citsukha and that he is generally assigned to A.D. 1200. Ānandabodha, whose "*Nyāyamaḥāranda*" was commented on by Citsukha, lived at least half a century prior to Ānandagiri. The chronological order of the three authors would therefore be as follows :—

(1) Prakāśātman, author of the *Sābdanirṇaya*

(2) Ānandabodha, author of *Nyāyadīpikā*, a commentary on the *Sābdanirṇaya* of Prakāśātman.

A.D. 1200— Contemporaries { (3) Citsukha (commented on Ānandabodha's *Nyāyamaḥāranda*)
(4) Ānandagiri (commented on Ānandabodha's *Nyāyadīpāvalī*)

According to Mr. Kavi, therefore, Ānandabodha's date would be about 1150 A.D.

As against this date viz. A. D. 1150 for Ānandabodha Dr. Das Gupta⁶ assigns Prakāśātman, who stands first in the above list of writers, to A.D. 1200 and remarks that he wrote a work called *Sābdanirṇaya* in which he tried to prove the claims of scriptural testimony as valid cognition. I have not examined the grounds on which this date of Prakāśātman viz. A.D. 1200 is based but as Dr. Das Gupta mentions it several times⁷ in his book, I presume that it is based on reliable evidence. I had requested Dr. Das Gupta to let me know his grounds for the date of Prakāśātman. Though he is unable to do so at present owing to illness he has promised to consider my request as soon as he feels well.

5. *Sābdanirṇaya* (Kārikas and Vṛtti), Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. LIII, 1917.

6. *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 103.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 30, 82, 103.

It is proposed now to fix the limits for the date of Ānandabodha and for this purpose the date A.D. 1200 assigned to Prakāśātman is useful as it gives us one terminus to the date of Ānandabodha who commented on the work of Prakāśātman in his *Nyāyadīpikā* as mentioned above by Mr. Kavi. The other terminus is furnished by the commentary of Caṇḍūpaṇḍita on the *Naiṣadha-Carita* of Śrī Harṣa. This commentary was composed in Saṃvat 1353 (A.D. 1297)⁸ and it quotes from the *Nyāyamaḥāranda* of Ānandabodha in commenting on v. 108 of Canto XXI of the *Naiṣadhacarita*.

It will be seen from the foregoing data that Ānandabodha lived after Prakāśātman (A.D. 1200) and before Caṇḍūpaṇḍita (A.D. 1297). We are, therefore, inclined to assign him to about A.D. 1250 or the middle of the 13th century and not 11th or 12th century as Dr. Das Gupta has done in his *History of Indian Philosophy*.

P. K. CODE

Āyurvedaprakāśa of Mādhava Upādhyāya and its probable date—middle of the 17th Century.

Aufrecht¹ records² under “माधव or माधवकर son of इन्दुकर”, आयुर्वेद-प्रकाश as also हविनिश्चय or माधवनिदान. This creates a wrong impression that *Āyurvedaprakāśa* and *Mādhavanidāna* are by the same author. While *Mādhavanidāna*³ belongs to the 7th or 8th century, *Āyurvedaprakāśa* is quite a late compilation as will be shown below. Besides, the subject-matter of both these works materially differs.

The Mss. of *Āyurvedaprakāśa* as recorded by Aufrecht³ are the following:—

- (1) IO 1703; (2) K 218. (3) Katm 14; (4) Bhr. 364; (5) B L 228; (6) IO 1703, 2478; (7) Stein 181.

In the above entries only the India Office Mss. viz. 1703 and 2478 have been described.⁴ No. 1703 is a fragment dealing with *Kāmasāstra*. Its colophon tells us that the author Mādhava (Upādhyāya dvijavarya) came of a family which belonged to the Saurāṣṭradeśa. No. 2478 which is another section of the work dealing with the preparation of mercury and other mineral substances for medical purposes informs us that he was a resident of Benares and that he came of a *Sārasvata* family. Ms. No. 1703 is written in Saṃvat 1843 (=A.D. 1787) which can, therefore, be fixed as one terminus to the date of the work. Ms. No. Bhr. 364 in Aufrecht's list is No. 364 of 1882-83 in the Govt.

8. Handiqui: *Naiṣadha Carita* (English Translation etc.) 1931 (Punjab Ori., Series) Intro. p. ii.

9. *Ibid.*,—pp. 421-482 (Extracts)—“बहु घटपटादिकं etc... भगवान्निदिः ॥ इति शोभनानन्द बोधा चाये रवि माधवकरन्दे भेदं विराजुर्वेदप्रकाशम्”

1. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 149.

2. Hoernle: *Medicine of Ancient India*, Part I, Intro. p. 16.

3. *Cata. Catalo.* Part I, p. 52; Part II, p. 10.

4. *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.* (India Office) Part V, p. 950.

Ms. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. This consists of 67 folios and is also a fragment: This B.O.R.I. Ms. no. 364 and IO Ms. No. 2478 have almost identical contents.

I have examined the B.O.R.I. Ms. for purposes of chronology. It refers to numerous works and authors (vide list appended to this note) which clearly show that the work is quite a late compilation. The mention of रसवाग्भट (folios 27,36 of the B.O.R.I. Ms.) gives us a clear proof about the late character of this compilation. This author wrote the *Rasaratnasamuccaya* (vide list attached). He is styled as "pseudo-Vāgbhaṭa" by Dr. P.C. Ray⁵ and is placed between the 13th and 14th centuries A.D. A further proof of the lateness of the work is afforded by the reference to *Bhāvaprakāśa* on folio 40 in the following lines:—

“अथ तालवस्य मारणविधिः.....

.....अनुपानान्यनेकानि यथारोगं प्रयोजयेत् ॥

किञ्चिद्यथा ॥—

गुह्यच्युदिकपायेण गदानेतान्व्यपोहति ।

सोपद्रवं वातरक्तं कुष्ठान्यष्टादशापि च ॥

फिरंगदेशजं जंतोर्हति रोगं सुदुस्तरं ।

.....इति भावप्रकाशोयं हरितालभस्म ॥ etc.

The फिरंगरोग referred to in the above lines is literally the "disease of the Portuguese" which was introduced into India about the middle of the 16th century⁶ and the treatment of which by means of Calomel (and China root) occupies a conspicuous place in the much later work *Bhāvaprakāśa*. Sir P.C. Ray finds no mention of the फिरंगरोग in the *Rasaratnasamuccaya* of the pseudo-Vāgbhaṭa. In the extract quoted above we have reference both to the *Bhāvaprakāśa* and the फिरंगरोग at one place, which proves that the *Āyurvedaprakāśa* was compiled many years after the *Bhāvaprakāśa* of Bhāvamīśra who lived in the 16th century.⁷

Additional evidence about the comparatively modern character of the compilation is furnished by the vernacular equivalents given by the author of the *Āyurvedaprakāśa* in explaining some of the Sanskrit terms. I note below a few instances:—

5. *History of Hindu Chemistry*, Vol. I, (1902) Intro pp. 1-11.

6. Sir P. C. Ray: *History of Hindu Chemistry*, Vol. I, Intro. p. 11.

7. Hoernle: *Medicine of Ancient India* Part I, Oxford, 1907, p. 18.

Sanskrit	Vernacular	Page	Sanskrit	Vernacular	Page
द्योतोजनं	सुरमा	185	मानुषचोलं	मोमियाई	201
रसाशनं	रसवन्ती	188	सौराष्ट्री	सौरटीमार्ती	204
वनकुलित्याजनं	चिभड	189	क्षुद्रशंखः	घोंघा	205
	(‘चाकसू’ इति पाश्चात्याः)		शुक्तिः	शिपी } द्विप }	..
दङ्गणचार	मुहागा	189	कृष्णमृत्तिका	कालीमाली	206
लाजावर्त	लाजवर्द } रेवटी }	190	पंकः	कादव	..
स्फटिका	फटिकडी	192	कंपिष्ठकः	कपिला	207
राटिका	खडी	193	गौरीपापाण	सोमल	208
गैरिकं	गेह	194	बो(मो)दारभृंग	मुर्दारशिगी	} 209
रसरुः	खपरिया	195		मोदाशिगी	
कपर्दिका	कौडी	199		(in the MS)	
सिद्धता	वालु	200	वर्णमृत्तिका	कावीर	213
			यशद	जस्ता	250
			खर्षमाक्षिकं	सोनामखी	278
			कर्कोटी	खखसा	282
			मेघश्वती	मेढासिगी	..
			वैरागर	वैरागड	321

The use of glass-vessels⁸ in the preparation of the several medicines is clear from the following references :—

Reference	Page	Reference	Page
काचपट्टी	48	काचकूप्यां	153
काचमृत्तिकयोः कूपी	51	काचयन्त्रेण	383
काचकूप्यादी	129		

8. In this connection the article of Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh (*Journal of Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, Vol. X, pp. 194-201) on the Use of Glass in Ancient India is very informative. He gives two quotations from *Sūtrata* (Cal. 1885 A.D. Kaviratna and C.O. Gupta, pp. 584 and 603) referring to काचपात्र in which food should be served as also to काच as an अयुधम् as an article fit to be used in the absence of instrument (for surgical use).

The preparation रसकूर्पूर has been styled as 'फिरंगरवेसरी' (p. 100). The फिरंगरोग or venereal disease appears to be of foreign import and hence shows the late character of the compilation. As a MS. of the work is dated A.D. 1787 the work must have been composed before A.D. 1700 or so and the reference to *Bhāvaprakāśa* (16th century) in the same shows that it must have been composed in the 17th century. We shall, therefore, be not very wrong if we assign the work tentatively to the middle of the 17th century or about A.D. 1650.

Appendix*

*List of Works and Authors referred to in the
Āyurvedaprakāśa of Mādhava Upādhyāya*

वाग्भट—9, 17, 152, 197, 217, 304, 377.

रसरत्नाकर—17, 41, 52, 55.

निलयनाथ (रसरत्नाकरकृत्)—27, 94, (about 1350 A.D.) according to Sir P. C. Ray.

रसचिन्तामणि—27, 82, 83, 102, 110

बृहद्भासिष्ठ—36

रसरत्नाकरचर्मी⁹—40, 95

शाङ्गधर—46, 54

शिवाग्रम—47

लिविकम—48

सिद्धलक्ष्मीधरतन्त्र—59

(गोविंदाचार्य)—63

* The references in this list are to the Printed Edition of the work (Text and Marathi Translation) published by the Translator Mr. R. V. Patwardhan, B.A., LL.B., (Poona, 1925). Mr. Patwardhan in his elaborate introduction of 18 pp. deals mainly with the contents of the book and the development of रसविद्या in general. On p. 11 he assigns रसरत्नसुधर of वाग्भट to the 11th Century while Sir P. C. Ray assigns this work to a period between 13th and 14th Centuries as referred to by me in the above note. In the last para of his Introduction Mr. Patwardhan confirms the guess of scholars that the work belongs to the 17th Century.

9. Belongs to the latter part of 14th Century (*Hist. of Hindu Chemistry* Vol. II, pp. LIX, LX).

भगवद्गोविंदपादाः—66, 163

गुरुवरणाः—353 (Perhaps गोविंदाचार्य is referred to)

रसहृदय—70

हेमचन्द्रादयः—118

रसवाग्भट—120, 159

रसमंजरी—159

वार्तिकरुत्—160

रसपदति—165, 182, 185, 221, 230, 238, 245, 254, 255, 268, 283, 285, 286,
292, 308, 309, 312, 315.

राजनिषण्ण¹⁰—188, 205, 207.

रामराज—269

विष्णुधर्मांतर—312

रमरत्नसमुच्चय—334

गौरीमत—354

योगतरंगिणी—370

दाक्षिणात्याः—134

10. If this work is by Narahari it dates from A.D. 1235-50 (see Keith *Hist. of Sans. Literature*, p. 512).

Correspondence

To the Editor

THE CALCUTTA ORIENTAL JOURNAL

Dear Sir,

I have read with great pleasure and profit your most interesting article on the Grammatical Technicalities in the Kāvya and should like to point out one slight omission. In connection with Kālidāsa's use: धातोः स्थान इवादेशं सुप्रोवं सन्नयवेशयत्, you might have quoted the following stanza from Saundarānanda :

बभूव स हि संवेगः श्रेयसस्तस्य वृद्धये ।

धातोरधिर्वाह्याते पठितोऽक्षरचिन्तकैः ॥१२१६॥

'That mental agitation of his served for the growth of his fortune : just as the prefix *adhi* is attached the root *i* to give a new root in the lists by these who busy themselves with syllables i. e. Grammarians.

Yours etc.

DINESH CHANDRA SHARMA

[Mr. Sharma evidently quotes from the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the Saundarānanda. It is most unfortunate that the editor of the work in spite of his remark in the preface that the Ms. P. L. M. is uniformly correct should in this instance relegate the obviously correct reading of that Ms. to the bottom of the page and accept a reading which is absurd on the face of it. The correct reading appears to be धातुरेधिर्वाह्याते पठितोऽक्षरचिन्तकैः and the reference clearly is to Pāṇini's rule एत्वेघत्यूठ्सु [६।२।८६]. We shall deal with the stanza in its proper place. EDITOR, *Calcutta Oriental Journal*.]

Hindu Theatre

(An interpretation of Bharata's second Adhyāya)

In this paper† I shall try to reconstruct the technical architectural nature of Hindu Theatre as detailed by Bharata. The text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is very much confused and often inaccurate or inadequate, so is the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī*,¹ recently being published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. Yet both the text and the commentary together give us some detailed idea about the professional theatre of those days. -

Dr. P. K. Acharya has not given any useful information about the architecture of the Hindu theatre, in his excellent *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*.² In the vast architectural literature known to the ancient Indians,³ there does not seem to be any work, with the single exception of *Śilparatna*, which treats of the theatre and its details. I shall herein try to describe the theatre, as far as possible, in Bharata's own words, putting the necessary explanatory notes from Abhinavagupta within [] brackets: and I shall reserve my discussions and comments for the supplementary notes at the end of this article. I subjoin three plans of the three varieties of the theatre as described here.*

† After submitting in January last, this paper for publication to the editor, I have come across an article 'Theatre Architecture in Ancient India' by Mr. V. Raghavan, printed in a recent issue of 'Triveni' published in last May or June. It will be seen that our treatment of the subject runs on independent lines: the view about the Rāṅgaśīrṣa taken by Mr. Raghavan, though highly plausible, is not clearly seen from the text.

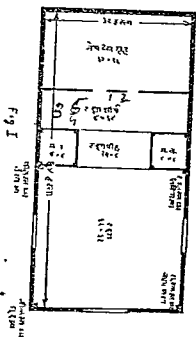
1 I have relied upon the edition in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, which also publishes, for the first time, a portion of the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī*.

2 *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, by Dr. P. K. Acharya, 1927, Allahabad. (Henceforth abbreviated as DHA).

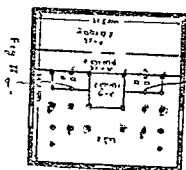
3 DHA in Appendix 1 notes more than one hundred and seventy works dealing, more or less, with architecture.

* These were drawn, according to my suggestions, by Mr. K. C. Pandya, B.E., for which kindness I am indebted to him. I am also obliged to Dr. S. K. De of the Dacca University for going through this paper and making certain suggestions.

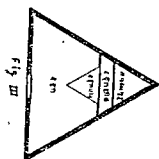
विष्णुमन्त्रालय



वन्द्यमन्त्रालय



वन्द्यमन्त्रालय



The Theatre

There are three types of the theatre (1) *Vikṛṣṭa*⁴, (2) *Caturasra* and (3) *Tryasrā*. Each of these types, again, may be divided into *Jyeṣṭha*, *Madhya* and *Avara*. Each type may be measured in *Hastas* or *Daṇḍas*. [Abhinava, on the 8th verse, notes two opinions about these types. According to one opinion *Vikṛṣṭa* is *Jyeṣṭha*, *Caturasra* is *Madhya* and *Tryasra* is *Avara*. Second opinion divides each of the first types into *Jyeṣṭha*, *Madhya* and *Avara*, thus yielding nine types which when measured in *Hastas* or *Daṇḍas* would be eighteen in all.⁵]

Jyeṣṭha may be 108 cubits⁶ in length, *Madhya* 64, and *Avara* 32. Out of these types, *Jyeṣṭha* may be used in the case of gods, *Madhya* in the case of kings and *Avara* in the case of ordinary people. [Abhinava explains: *Jyeṣṭha* may be used in the case of dramas where gods are heroes, as in *Ḍima* etc., *Madhya* when kings are heroes as in *Prakarāṇa* etc., and *Avara* when ordinary persons are heroes as in *Bhāṇa*, *Prahasana* etc.]

Out of all these types, *Madhya* is proper for mortals. It may be 64 cubits in length and 32 cubits in breadth.⁷ The theatre must not be

4 *Vikṛṣṭa* seems to have been used in the sense of rectangular, for Abhinava explains the term at p. 50 thus: 'vibhāgena kṛṣṭo na tu caturasru dīkṣu sāmyena.' Moreover the measurements given by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* also point to its rectangular nature, for they are in the case of *Vikṛṣṭamadhya*, 64×32 and so on. *Caturasra* is used in the sense of square and *Tryasra* of a triangle, though *Caturasra* would etymologically mean a rectangle. Gujarāṭī, even to-day has 'Coras' which means a square and which is a direct evolute of *caturasra*, the process being, *caturasra*=*caurassa*=*coras*.

5 Abhinava accepts this view and looking to the context of the whole *Adhyāya*, this view of the nine divisions seems to be the correct one; yet the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has two verses, repeated twice (13-14, 25-26), which, very clearly propound the first view. But these verses seem to have been interpolated, as Abhinava has not commented upon them at both the places.

6 The table of these measurements as given in the text is this—8 *anus*=1 *raja*: 8 *rajas*=1 *vāla*: 8 *vālas*=1 *likṣā*: 8 *likṣas*=1 *yūkā*. 8 *yūkās*=1 *yava*: 8 *yavas*=1 *aṅgula*: 24 *aṅgulas*=1 *hasta*: 4 *hastas*=1 *danda*. This list substantially agrees with the one given in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

7 The above-mentioned (note 5) nine varieties will be these: *Vikṛṣṭajyeṣṭha*=108×64; *Vikṛṣṭamadhya*=64×32; *Vikṛṣṭāvara*=32×16. *Caturasrajyeṣṭha*=108×108; *Caturasramadhya*=68×64; *Caturasrāvara*=32×32. *Tryasrajyeṣṭha*,

bigger than this, because otherwise, it will lose its acoustic properties. If the Maṇḍapa is very extensive, words uttered would become faint and indistinct.

In constructing such a house, the soil must be first examined. It must be even, steady, hard and black or white. The whole field must

Tryasramadhya, Tryasrāvara. (I have not given the measurements of the Tryasra type as no clear indication of the same is seen in the text.) All these measurements given here by me are in accordance with the 10th verse of the text. That verse explicitly states that Jyestha is 108, Madhya is 64 and Avara is 32 cubits in length, which apparently means that each of the Jyestha types, should begin with 108 cubits. According to this understanding I have given the measurements above, but they are quite irrelevant looking to the whole discussion in the paper. In the second Adhyāya, verses 20-90 describe the theatre of 64×32 cubits, which the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* calls Vikṛṣṭa; and further on the text says that there must be Madhya type only amongst mortals. Connecting both these statements I take this type of 64×32 to be Vikṛṣṭamadhya type. Then verses 91-105 describe the type of 32×32, which the author calls by the name of Caturasra; this also, I take to be Caturasramadhya on the same understanding. But it will be noted that the measurements given by me above, are not in conformity with the Caturasramadhya type as just noted. Both these statements can be harmonised, I think, in only one way. I quote three verses in this connection.

विहृष्टश्चतुरस्रश्च त्रयस्रश्चैव तु मण्डपः ।

तेषां त्रीणि प्रमाणानि ज्येष्ठं मध्यं तथावरम् । ८ ।

प्रमाणमेषां निर्दिष्टं हस्तद्वयसमाधयम् ।

शतं चाष्टौ चतुःषष्टिर्हस्ता द्वात्रिंशद्वयं वा । १० ।

अष्टाधिकं शतं ज्येष्ठं चतुःषष्टिस्तु मध्यमम् ।

फनीयस्तु तथा योगे हस्ता द्वात्रिंशदिष्यते । ११ ।

It will be remembered that in two of the verses taken by us as interpolated, Vikṛṣṭa was equated with Jyestha, Caturasra with Madhya and Trayasra with Avara. That statement would be relevant by itself, but if it is taken in connection with these three verses just cited, there will be good harmony in the whole construction. Verse 9 expressly states that Jyestha etc. are the pramāṇas of Vikṛṣṭa etc. and verses 10 gives these measurements. Connecting both these verses we may say that Vikṛṣṭa has the Jyestha measurements, which is 108 cubits; therefore its varieties should begin with 108 thus: Vikṛṣṭajyestha=108×64, Vikṛṣṭamadhya=64×32, Vikṛṣṭāvara=32×16. So also connecting verses 9 and 10, Caturasra will have Madhya measurements i.e. its varieties will begin with 64 thus: Caturasrajyestha=64×64, Caturasramadhya=32×32, and Caturasrāvara=16×16. I think that this is the only way to harmonise these otherwise conflicting statements.

be ploughed with a plough, and bones, nails, skulls and such other things must be taken out. Then in Puṣya constellation, it must be measured with a white string, which may be made of Kārpāsa, Balva, Muñja or Valkala and must have no joints.

In dividing the Vikṣāmadhya type of 64×32 cubits the following points should be noted. Its entire length of 64 cubits may be divided into two equal parts. These parts again should be divided into two. In this last Raṅgaśīrṣa* should be constructed.*

Thus after the foundation, walls may be constructed and the columns may be placed in Rohiṇī or Śrāvaṇa constellation. In this (I understand Raṅga by this and not the whole field) in the Agni corner the Brāhmaṇastambha may be placed at the bottom of which white

8 Abhinava explains Raṅgaśīrṣa thus: (p. 57 *pravṛtāṇāṃ pātrāṇāṃ cūṭasthānaṃ* and further on as (p. 63) *tatpātrāṇāṃ viśrūṇtyai āgacchatām ra guptyai raṅgasya śobhāyai raṅgaśīraḥ kāryam*.

9 This is not quite clear. Abhinava says: After dividing the length of 64 cubits into two, the field of 32 cubits should also be divided into two, thus getting two divisions of 16×32 . Out of these two, dividing the latter division of 16×32 into two, Raṅgaśīrṣa may be made of eight cubits in length. Behind it the Nepathyagṛha of 16×32 may be made. But if we follow this, we must divide the portion (in Fig. 1), where I have shown the Nepathyagṛha, into two and make Raṅgaśīrṣa in the back portion of these divisions and must place Nepathyagṛha itself outside it i.e. outside the field of 64×32 . Moreover, according to this the plan of the audience-hall will be of 48×32 . All this seems to be improper; therefore, sticking to the original and interpreting it rather freely, I have supposed the divisions as shown in Fig. 1. I, therefore, note here the original verses and the commentary thereon:

चतुर्विष्टि करान् कृत्वा द्विधामूतान् पुनस्ततः ।

पृथग्यो भवेद्भागो द्विधामूतस्य तस्य तु ।

सममर्द्धविभागेन रङ्गशीर्षं प्रकल्पयेत् ।

द्वात्रिंशत्पदं क्षेत्रं गृहीत्वा मध्ये सूत्रं विस्तरेण दद्यात् तस्य मध्ये विस्तरेण सूत्रं दद्यात् । ततः षोडशहस्तौ द्वौ भागौ भवतः । पृथग्यं भागमर्द्धेन विभज्यादृष्टं रङ्गशिरः ।

On the whole the arrangement seems to be like this: 32×32 cubits = Raṅga. Then there will be portion of 8×32 which will contain Raṅgaśīrṣa (8×16) and the Mattavāraṇis (8×8 each). Behind it there will be Raṅgaśīrṣa (8×32) and behind it Nepathyagṛha of 16×32 . It will be noted that further on (verses 91-105) the same plan is followed in Caturāramadhya type. Thus the arrangement outlined here seems to be satisfactory.

and Raṅgapīṭha Raṅgaśīrṣa with six planks should be constructed.¹² [Abhinava explains: In the wall, common to Nepathyaḡṛha and Raṅgaśīrṣa two pillars, having a mutual distance of 8 cubits should first be placed. By their side two other pillars, with a mutual distance of 4 cubits should be placed. These will be four: and the upper and lower planks: thus six.] At this place (of six planks) two doors (for the exit to, and entry from, the Nepathyaḡṛha) should be made.

In filling up the ground, earth without logs and grass may be used. This black earth must be dug with a plough drawn by two white bulls. The driver and the carriers should not be deformed. Thus the Raṅgaśīrṣa should be made. Surface should not be kūmaprṣṭha or matsyaprṣṭha. Raṅgaśīrṣa, clean like the surface of a mirror, is praised. In this (surface of the Raṅgaśīrṣa) vajras should be paved in the East, vaidūryas in the South, pravāla in the North and gold in the middle.¹³

After thus completing the Raṅgaśīrṣa, woodwork may be commenced. It must have ūha, pratyūha, sañjavana, various birds and beasts, sālabhañjikā, nirvyūha, kulhara, vedikā, various other arrangements, yantra, jāla, gavākṣa, pīṭha, dhūraṇī and kapotāli. It should be decorated by various columns supported on different kinds of pavements.

After the woodwork, the walls should be completed. In doing so

the Raṅgapīṭha and Mattavāraṇis had the same height, it would fit in with two other points. The graded seats of the auditorium require the last row of the seats to be equal in height with the Raṅgapīṭha, according to Abhinava: and our suggestion that the Mattavāraṇis may have been used as Kakṣās would also have some value only if we take it to have the same height as the Raṅgapīṭha.

Incidentally, I note that Raṅgaśīrṣa was higher than the Raṅgapīṭha in the Vikṛṣṭamadhyā type and of the same level in the Caturasramadhyā type. See verse 104 (Second Adhyāya).

¹² The purpose of Raṅgaśīrṣa has already been explained (note 8). Also it seems that there was no wall between the Raṅgapīṭha and Raṅgaśīrṣa and that there was a curtain instead (see above). Moreover in Adhyāya fifth verse seventh it has been pointed out that musicians also should sit in the Raṅgaśīrṣa thus: Mārdaṅgika facing the east, between the two doors of the Nepathyaḡṛha: Pāṇavika on his left: Gāyana (ka?) on the south of the Raṅgapīṭha, facing the north: Gāyākis in front of him on the north, facing the south, and Vainika on their left, and on their right two Vamsākārīkas. (These places have been shown by the respective figures in Fig. 1.).

¹³ For pavement comp. *DHA.*, p. 137.

it should be noted that neither a column nor a nāgadanta nor a window nor a koṇa nor a pratidvāra should come just opposite a door.¹⁴

The whole nāṭyamaṇḍapa must be cave-like¹⁵ and it must have two bhūmis. [There were various opinions about these two bhūmis. According to one view they were Raṅgapīṭha's higher and lower portions, like the modern cellar. (?) Second view was this: there must be another wall running all round the Mattavāraṇīs, just as there are two walls with an intermediate passage for circumambulation in a temple. These were the two bhūmis. According to still another view there was another maṇḍapa on the terrace: while others took it as a dvibhūmi, for the text reads thus: *lāryaḥ śailaguhākāro dvibhūmir nāṭyamaṇḍapaḥ*. Abhinava's view seems to be like this: From the Raṅgapīṭha, whence the seats for the audience commence, to the exit-door bhūmis should be made, each one higher than the former, the last having a height equal to the height of the Raṅgapīṭha, so that the rows of the seers may not cover one another.] There must be windows with gentle ventilation in the maṇḍapa so that it will be nirvāta, and the uttered voice will be properly heard. After constructing the walls in such a manner that they may not hinder the acoustic properties of the hall, they (walls) may be besmeared.¹⁶ Outer side may be white-washed; and after the inside of the walls is besmeared, sprinkled over, and properly levelled, paintings may be drawn on them. Males, females, creepers etc. may be painted thereon.

Thus the Vikr̥ṣṭamadhyā theatre¹⁷ should be constructed. Now we shall discuss the nature of the Caturasramadhyā type.¹⁸

All the sides must be of 32 cubits each. (Fig. 2) All the details mentioned in the case of the Vikr̥ṣṭamadhyā may be resorted to in the Caturasramadhyā too. The walls may be made of bricks. On the Raṅgapīṭha there must be ten columns strong enough to bear the burden of the maṇḍapa. [Abhinava explains: The whole field (32 × 32)

11 Comm.....*drārena riddham paravārasamvukhībhūtomadhyam na kuryāt*.

15 This shape is apparently preferred for acoustic properties

16 Cf. Comm. *bhūtilēpo bhāṅga(śaṅkha)rālukāśtikāleṣaḥ*.....

17 Cf. note 7

18 Cf. note 7

should be divided, in its length and breadth, in eight parts thus making 64 squares, (4×4 each). In the middle of it, Raṅgapīṭha (8×8) should be made.¹⁹ Behind it, there will remain a field, 12 cubits in breadth and 32 cubits in length, out of which Raṅgaśīrṣa (4×32) should be made. Behind it there may be made the Nepathyagrha (8×32) (Fig. 2).

[In this, four columns should be placed with regard to Raṅgapīṭha, at its four corners. Then one, four cubits distant from the Agni corner, on the south of it; and one, four cubits distant from the Nairṭya corner, also on the south of it. Thus two. So also in the north. Then on the East (of the Raṅgapīṭha), two more columns each four cubits distant from the Iśāna and Agni corners respectively. Thus ten. (These ten columns have been shown in Fig. 2).

Outside these columns, seats of wood or bricks, for the spectators may be arranged like the series of steps. Each row must be one cubit higher than the preceding one, so that the spectators may have a complete view of the Raṅgapīṭha.

In this Raṅga, first six columns and then eight columns should be placed. [Abhinava explains: Two columns mutually eight cubits distant and respectively four cubits distant from the two columns placed on the south of the Raṅgapīṭha should be placed. Then one column should be placed four cubits distant from and on the south of the eastern column put by the side of the Āgneya column. Thus in the north too. Thus six] (These six columns are shown in Fig. 2).

Abhinava explains the details about the other eight columns thus: one column, on the north of the southern wall, four cubits distant from the wall and the column already placed, should be placed in the eastern

19 In explaining the view of the Upādhyāya regarding columnation, Abhinava calls Raṅgapīṭha to be of 8×32 , which seems to include the Mattavāraṇis. But previously he gives 8×8 as the measurement of the Raṅgapīṭha. If now we want to apply the proportional measurement of Vikṛt type to the Caturasra type (Cf. verse 92) and if the Raṅgapīṭha is to be 8×8 , then the Mattavāraṇis must measure 4×8 each. But verse 103 is clear in saying that Mattavāraṇis should be constructed according to the measurement given before (*pūrvapramāṇanirdiṣṭa kartavyā mattavāraṇi*). What is this *pūrvapramāṇa*? It cannot be the one given in the Vikṛta type that is 8×16 . I have, however, shown the Mattavāraṇis in Fig. 2, as I understand them to be.

direction. So also on the south of the north wall. Then two columns according to the parts of the Raṅga, four cubits distant from the eastern wall. Thus eight.²⁰ (These eight columns are shown ^{clear} in Fig. 2).

The above view about the column-arrangement seems to be that of Saṅkuka and others. Abhinava has also noted that according to some other writers these last columns should be in the Nepathyaḡṛha. Abhinava, moreover, quotes some verses incorporating the view of the Vārtikakṛt: but these verses, as printed, are so fragmentary in character that it is very difficult to get any clear idea about the columnation therefrom.

Calling this theatre (prekṣamaṇḍapa) 'candrasahodara', according to the view of the Upādhyāya, Abhinava explains his (Upādhyāya's) view about the columnation thus: The theatre is divided in three parts, *adhobhūmi*²¹ *raṅgapīṭha* and *raṅga*. The first ten columns should be placed in the *adhobhūmi*. I do not attempt to give its details here as, once more, the commentary is fragmentary at this place. Then the next six columns should be placed on the *Raṅgapīṭha* thus: four columns, mutually four cubits distant, should be placed at the four corners of the *Raṅgapīṭha*, which is 8×32 . Then other two. Thus six. These (six) should be eight cubits distant. Then two *tulās* should be made in the *Raṅgaśīrṣa* which will be 4×32 . In each of these *tulās* four columns, mutually eight cubits distant, should be placed. Thus eight."²²

Then the *Nepathyaḡṛha* may be constructed. Then one door for entering into *Raṅgapīṭha* should be placed. Another door for the

entrance of the people should be placed in front. The second door should be in the front of the Raṅga.²³

23 The text has this:

द्वारं चैकं भवेत्तत्र रङ्गपीठप्रवेशनम् ।
जनप्रवेशनम् चान्यदाभिमुख्येन कारयेत् ।
रङ्गस्याभिमुखं कार्यं द्वितीयं द्वारमेव तु ।

कद्याविभागेन तावत् द्वै(ह्मे) द्वारे तेन द्वारमितिज्ञातावेकवचनम् । एक्यब्दश्च राख्यमि-
प्रायेण राखिकरणे च निमित्तं पात्रप्रवेशोपायनं तथा च कद्याध्याये वक्ष्यति “ये नेपथ्यगृहद्वारे
मया पूर्वं प्रकीर्तिते । तयोर्भाण्डस्य विन्यास (१३-२) इति । (जन प्रवेशनं च तृतीयद्वारं
नेपथ्यगृहस्य येन भाष्यमादाय नटपरिवारः प्रविशति । अन्यत्तु द्वारमाभिमुख्येन पूर्वस्यां दिशि
कुप्यात् द्वारवृत्त्या सामाजिकप्रवेशनार्थम्..... । एवं चतुर्द्वारं नाट्यगृहम् ।

This means that according to Abhinava's view there were four doors thus, two as explained above (in the nepathyagrha wall), one by which *bhāryāmādāya naṭapariwārah praviśati* and one in the auditorium. This is one view. But Abhinava also notes another view thus (p. 68):

रङ्गपीठस्य यत्पृष्ठं रङ्गशिरःतत्र द्वितीयमिति राख्यापेक्षयैकवचनम् । तेन द्वारद्वयमेव
रङ्गशिरसि नेपथ्यगतपात्रेप्रवेशाय । चकारादन्य (प्रवेशा) र्थम् (?) जनप्रवेशनद्वारं च
त्रोणि वा कार्याणि मतान्तर इति संगृहीतं भवति ।

The text, I think, should be read thus.....

नेपथ्यगतपात्रप्रवेशाय । चकारादन्य (प्रवेशा) र्थम् (?) जनप्रवेशनद्वारम् ।

This view, then, recognises only three doors,—2 from the Nepathyagrha and one in the auditorium.

But let us have a clearer view of the text itself regardless of the commen-
tary. All the views are agreed as regards the two doors in the Nepathyagrha wall. Here again, two more doors are prescribed, one as *Nāṭyaśāstra* calls it ‘*raṅgapīṭha-praveśanam*’ and another in the auditorium. Now the ‘*raṅgapīṭha-praveśanam dvāram*’ should mean a door in the wall between Raṅgapīṭha and Rangaśīrṣa; for the first two doors which are in the wall between Nepathyagrha and Rangaśīrṣa, would lead to Rangaśīrṣa and not to Raṅgapīṭha; but here is an explicit statement that it should lead to Raṅgapīṭha, which forces us, I think, to take a door somewhere in the wall between Raṅgapīṭha and Rangaśīrṣa. There is an injunction in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* itself that some characters should enter by southern door and some by northern door (13-11). To which of two doors does this refer? Not to the doors in the Nepathyagrha wall, for they will lead to Raṅgaśīrṣa and not to Raṅgapīṭha. Now if we understand one more door in the wall between Raṅgaśīrṣa and Raṅgapīṭha, as above, that will not help, for how can the actors enter from two different doors as noted above, if there was one door only, leading to Raṅgapīṭha? Therefore, I venture to make a suggestion. If we take this singular in ‘*eka dvāram*’ as a collective use, as is done by Abhinava,

In the Caturasra, the Raṅgapīṭha should be of 8 cubits (8×8). Also two Mattavāraṇīs of the same measure as given before, should be made by the side of the Vedikā.²⁴ Raṅgaśīrṣa should be raised in the Vikṛṣṭa type and even in the Caturasra type.

Now the characteristics of the Tryasra type. It should be tryasra i.e. triangular: in the middle of which the Raṅgapīṭha should be triangular only. In such a theatre, the door also should be in the same corner: and the other (door) should be made at the back of the Raṅgapīṭha. With regard to the walls, columns etc. in this type of the theatre the details as given for Caturasra should be followed.

Side-lights

1 It has been noted before that the *Silparatna* has some discussion about the theatre. But when we compare the description given above with that of the *Silparatna*, it will, at once, be seen that the *Silparatna* tries to describe the Nāṭyamaṇḍapa which was usually attached to the Royal palace, while the *Nāṭyaśāstra* describes the usual theatres which were mostly meant for the ordinary people. It is a recognised fact that the rich ancient Indian kings had pleasure gardens, small theatres etc. attached to their spacious palaces, generally

we may understand two doors which would lead to Raṅgapīṭha. These two doors would be distinct from the two doors in the Nepathyagrha wall; and these two doors leading to Raṅgapīṭha, would most probably be in the partition wall between the two Mattavāraṇīs and Raṅgaśīrṣa (for there was no wall between the Raṅgapīṭha and Raṅgaśīrṣa, as it had a curtain). Thus we can explain the two different doors for the entrance of the actors, because at 13, 41 *Nāṭyaśāstra* uses the terms *pāśvadvāramathottaraṇi* and *pāśvadvāraṇi tu dakṣiṇaṇi*, which would suggest two doors on the two sides evidently leading to the two Mattavāraṇīs, which formed a part of the Raṅgapīṭha. This may also explain *Kakṣāvibhāga* (see above.).

If we believe in the suggestion made above that the curtain had no place in our ancient theatre but was added later on, then the view of three doors to our theatre would be the earlier one, as, then, the two doors in the Nepathyagrha wall would naturally lead the characters in the presence of the audience. The view of five doors—2 in the Nepathyagrha wall, 2, in the wall between Raṅgaśīrṣa and Raṅgapīṭha, and one in the auditorium—would be later i.e. would refer to that time when the curtain was added to our theatre.

²⁴ Cf. note 19.

²⁵ *Silparatna*, TSS., 1920, ed. by T. Gaṇapati Sāstrī.

for the diversion of their queens. That the *Silparatna* describes such a theatre, is borne out by the following:²⁶

प्रासादसम्मुखे कुर्यान्मण्डपानां चतुष्टयम् ।

मुखमण्डपमादौ तु प्रतिमामण्डपं ततः ।

स्नानमण्डपमन्यं हि नृत्तमण्डपमेव च ।

Here *nṛtta* is meant as *nāṭya*, though often it would seem that only *nṛtta* was meant. I am appending herewith the relevant verses from the *Silparatna* (See Appendix I.). In spite of the text being hopeless, it will be seen that the general plan described therein corresponds to the plans as given by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

2 I have noted three types of theatre as described by Bharata. The *Bhāvarakāśanaṃ*, however, has the following three types: Caturasra, Tryasra, and Vṛtta. They are defined by *Sārādātanaṃ* thus:

परमण्डपिकैः पङ्क्तिभिः पौरजानपदैः सह ।

राज्ञः सङ्गीतकं यत्र वृत्ताख्यो रङ्गमण्डपः ।

वारकन्याऽमात्यवणिक्सेनापतिसुहृत्सुतैः ।

यत्र सङ्गीतकं राज्ञः चतुरस्रः स कथ्यते ।

श्रुत्विकूपुरोहिताचार्यैः सहान्तःपुरिकाजनैः ।

महिष्या सह यत्र स्यात्पूजोऽसौ रङ्गमण्डपः

But no measurements are given in this connection by the author. Evidently these are the types of theatres attached to Royal palaces.

3 It seems that *Mānasāra*,²⁷ a very comprehensive treatise on Indian Architecture, has a chapter on this type of theatre attached to Royal palaces. Dr. P. K. Acharya summarises the chapter as follows:

"It (*madhyaraṅgavidhāna*) is provided with dwarf pillars or pilasters (*aṅghri-pāda*) and consists of various members (*masuraka*, *vedi*, *māṇeka*, *kuṭṭīma*, *upapīṭha* etc.) and with eight or sixteen *kṣudra-nāsī*. The upper portion is adorned with figures of leographs (*vyāli*)

²⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 109.

²⁷ *Bhāvarakāśana*, GOS., 1930.

²⁸ *Mānasāra*, ed. by Dr. P. K. Acharya, 1914.

and crocodiles (makara). From the last but one verse of the chapter it is evident that there must be a close connection between the mukta-prapāṅga, on the one hand and the sinphāsana, the makara-toraṇa and kalpa-vṛkṣa, on the other hand, the latter three subjects being discussed in the immediately preceding and the following chapters.

.....it will be seen that the materials used for the mukta-prapāṅga etc. are wood, stone, brick (terra-cotta?) and various kinds of metals (loha, literally iron)."

The above account however, does not furnish any specific details about the theatre.

Before concluding this paper, I wish to place before the learned world two or three points for clarification:

1 The question whether our theatre had a roof or it was, like the Greek theatre, open overhead, has not been touched by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*; but there are indications which would force us to admit the existence of some kind of roof. In the section on column-arrangement the *Nāṭyaśāstra* requires the columns to be *śastā maṇḍapadhāraṇe* (2, 94) and *dr̥ḍhānmaṇḍapadhāraṇe* (2, 97), which would indicate that there was a roof. This is corroborated by the fact that Bharata praises a 'śailaguhākāra' (2, 84) theatre, which, too, would suggest a roof: and Abhinava, in explaining, why the theatre should not be too wide or too narrow, stresses on the point of its properties of resounding (*anuraṇana*, p. 54), which again points to a roof. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* itself frequently uses the term *nāṭyamandapa* for the theatre. All this, I think, shows that there was a roof to our theatre.

2 The position of curtain in our theatre is doubtful, for the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has no specific statement with regard to it. Neither the term 'paṭī' nor the term 'yavanikā' occurs in the second Adhyāya, though 'yavanikā' is apparently, known to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, as it occurs at 5, 11-12. Of course this may suggest an earlier character of the contents of the second Adhyāya. Though I do not know on what grounds Keith and others put the curtain between Raṅgaśīrṣa and Raṅgapīṭha, I have come across a reference in Abhinava's commentary explaining its position thus: *yavanikā raṅgapīṭhatacchirasormadhye* (p. 212), but there is no reference which gives it a character of parting from the

middle. I think, this character given by European scholars to 'paṭi,' in explaining stage-direction 'apaṭikṣeṣeṣa', has no ground. Moreover it is believed that the word 'yavanikā' takes its origin from the practice of using foreign cloth for the curtain. In this connection Dr. S. K. De writes to me: "I have found in some Mss. and printed texts of some Sanskrit dramas, the word 'yavanikā' is given as 'yamanikā'. I suppose that this is the true form of the word, as the word then etymologically, would mean 'a covering or a curtain' from root yam, to restrain." I think that the above suggestion is probable for there is no sense in deriving 'yavanikā' from the above-mentioned practice. If the idea of curtain was not borrowed from the Greeks, why should the material be borrowed? There is, by the way an attempt made to derive 'yavanikā' from root yu, yunoti āvṛṇoti anayā iti (Commentary to *Kuṭṣanīmatam*, ed. by T. M. Tripathi, p. 359).

In this connection there is one other doubtful point. Had our theatre more than one curtain at any time or was the curtain ever raised? Dāmodaragupta in the *Kuṭṣanīmatam* describes the performance of Ratnāvalī, wherein, the following occurs: The king with Vidūṣaka is on the raṅgapīṭha. Two maids come and after much dancing and delivering the message to the queen, go way *babhūvatur javanikāntarite*). After that the queen's entrance is thus described: *apanītātiraskariṇī tato'bhavannṛpasutā samam cetyā*. What does this mean? The commentator says: *apanītā tiraskariṇī dūrikṛtā pātrācchādakajavanikā yayā tādṛśī abhavat*.²⁰

Was the curtain, then, actually dūrikṛta or apanīta? It seems the word apanīta, in the text, is unmistakable. May it be that the curtain was actually removed wholly at some time in the progress of the act? We often find in the extant Sanskrit dramas the stage-direction 'nepathye.' Now if the curtain, which was supposed to be between the Raṅgapīṭha and Raṅgaśīrṣa, was down all the while what would be the propriety of

20 The *Nāṭyaśāstra* has a doubtful phrase, which too, seems to be pointing to the curtain being removed or it may even refer to a drop curtain, I am not sure. But here is the reference *dhruvāyām samvṛtāhām paṭe cairāpakarjātā(te)kāryaḥ pravēśah pātrūpām nānārtharassaambhavaḥ* XII, 2-3; and because the absence of the curtain would also be indicated by the practice of the musicians sitting in the Raṅgaśīrṣa: there will be no sense in their sitting behind the curtain.

the word 'nepathye'? Nepathyagṛha, as we know, was situated behind Raṅgaśīrṣa; and as Raṅgaśīrṣa would be divided from Raṅgapīṭha by the curtain, it would be the place where, if the curtain was down all the while, speeches from behind the curtain should be uttered. But this apparently cannot be meant by the word 'nepathye', which must refer to Nepathyagṛha. Therefore the stage-direction 'nepathye' must have come into vogue at a time when the curtain was raised: or may it not, more probably, be reminiscent of a time when our theatre had no curtain, which then we shall have to take as added later on? This last alternative is more probable because according to the original plan of the theatre as given in the second Adhyāya, it had no place in the theatre, and because the absence of the curtain would also be indicated by the practice of the musicians sitting in the Raṅgaśīrṣa: there will be no sense in their sitting behind the curtain.

That there was no drop-curtain to our theatre seems to be clear enough, though the reference from Bharata, just quoted would suggest otherwise, from the peculiar ending of the acts in our extant dramas. Our acts never-ended with any incident which may be called dramatic or sudden as is often the case in our modern dramas. Prof. Hudson has drawn attention to the similar condition of the Greek theatre and the acts in all our Sanskrit dramas end usually by some description of the time of the day or by some other quiet suggestion to the characters on the stage to exit. This peculiar time endings of our acts are due to the absence of the drop-curtain.

3. There is one passing reference in *Nāṭyaśāstra* which puzzles me to some extent. In 13th Adhyāyā, which has been designated by Abhinava as *Kakṣyādhyāya*, though in the printed copies we find it called as *Karayuktidharmīvyañjaka*, it is stated:

ये नेपथ्यगृहद्वारे मया पूर्वं प्रकीर्तिते ।
 तयोर्भाण्डस्य विन्यासो मध्ये कार्यः प्रयोक्तृभिः ।
 फट्याविभागो निर्देश्यो रङ्गपीठपरिग्रमात् ।
 परिक्रमेण रङ्गस्य ह्यन्त्या कक्षा भवेदिह ।
 फट्याविभागे ज्ञेयानि गृहाणि नगराणि च ।
 उद्यानारामसरितस्त्वाश्रमा भट्टी तथा ।

पृथिवीसागरश्चैव त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ।
 वर्णनैः सप्तद्वीपाश्च पर्वता विविधास्तथा ।
 आलोकश्चैव लोकश्च रसातलमथापि वा ।
 दैत्यानामालयश्चैव गृहाणि च वनानि च ।
 नगरे च वने चापि वर्षे वै पर्वते तथा ।
 दूरं वा सन्निकृष्टं वा देशन्तु परिकल्पयेत् ।
 पूर्वं प्रविष्टा ये रङ्गे ज्ञेयास्तेऽभ्यन्तरे बुधैः ।
 पश्चान् प्रविष्टास्ते ज्ञेयाः कक्षाभावे तुऽमध्यतः ।
 तेषां तु दर्शनेच्छुः सन् प्रविशेद् रङ्गमण्डलम् ।
 दक्षिणाभिमुखः कूर्या.....दालनिवेदनम् ।

While explaining the two doors from Nepathyagrha, Abhinava points out that these should be placed kakṣyāvibhāgena. What is this kakṣyā? Was Raṅgapīṭha actually divided into certain parts to represent different places, as enumerated above in verses 4-7? But then the third verse which seems to mean that in the absence of kakṣāvibhāga it should be shown or represented (nirdeśya) by means of circumambulation on the raṅgapīṭha or raṅga, which term is here used in the sense of raṅgapīṭha. The usual stage-direction 'parikramya', so frequently seen in our Sanskrit dramas would support this. The same absence of kakṣāvibhāga is indicated by verse 8, wherein it is stated: "As there are no kakṣās, those characters who enter first should be considered as in the inner apartment, those who enter afterwards would be in the outer apartments and those who enter still later should stand facing the south." This too would point to the absence of kakṣā. Also the statement in verse 6 that those places should be known by varṇanā suggests kakṣābhāva, but verse 4 again raises a doubt, for we are to understand gardens etc. by kakṣāvibhāga. But if there were no kakṣās, as it seems, why then does Abhinava prescribe doors kakṣāvibhāgena? Or was the kakṣāvibhāga imaginary? Or may it, after all be the function of the Mattavāraṇīs, which were in a sense distinct from the Raṅgapīṭha and yet formed a part of it? If we accept Abhinava's second view that Raṅgapīṭha and Mattavāraṇīs had the same height this would be rendered possible.

APPENDIX I

1 I append, here, the relevant verses from the *Silparatna* (TSS), p. 201, verses 60-67.

अथ नाट्यमण्डपः

पर्यन्ते प्रतियोनिभाजि वहिरुर्ध्वे वोत्तरस्याथवा
 मध्य(सूत्र)स्थे दलिते ततो विभजिते सम्यक् चतुर्वर्गकैः ।
 स्यादंशः पदकायतिस्तु विततिर्द्वीभ्यां पदाभ्यां युतं
 तच्छिष्टा ततिरुत्तरं नटनधाम्नो द्वित्रिसंख्यं मतं ॥ ६० ॥
 पदं तिलः स्तूप्यो विततिदलस्योत्तरतला-
 दुपर्युत्थायः स्याद्विपदमिति ततस्तु चरणः ।
 पदं चाधिष्ठानं पदगणतालान्दचरणा-
 न्तराण्यास्ताड्यैवाद्यखिलमुचितं मण्डपमपि (?) ॥ ६१ ॥
 एकैकाष्टसु दिक्षु पार्श्वयुगले द्वे द्वे च भागद्वये
 द्वयष्टौ दीर्घलुपा विदिग्गतलुपास्वाकदमूलाः पुनः ।
 कल्प्यारहेदलुपाद्वयीषु सचलश्चास्तासु (?) कोणोन्मुखा
 द्वेधा सर्वलुपान्तरं तु पदमात्रं चित्रपट्ट्युज्ज्वलम् ॥ ६२ ॥
 रङ्गं स्वयोनिपरमार्थं इहार्णवाश्रं
 वेदाह्निं रुत्तरलुपाद्यु चिताङ्गशोभि ।
 पश्चान्मृदङ्गपदमस्य ततोऽपि पश्चा-
 न्नैपथ्यधाम च विभागविदा निधयेम् ॥ ६३ ॥
 रङ्गस्य नीप्रविततिः समसिद्धिं मध्य-
 स्तूप्या स्वमूलसदनस्य तु पश्चिमायाम् ।
 स्तूपी च सङ्गमवशान् कुरलेन कल्प्या
 प्रायेण हारविततिः श्रुतिहस्तवैर्ध्या ॥ ६४ ॥
 अथवाष्टाविंशतिभिश्चत्वारिंशतिभिः पुनः ।
 विंशद्भिर्वाथ विभजेत् पर्यन्तार्थं पदसंख्ये ॥ ६५ ॥
 देवस्याग्रे दक्षिणतो रुचिरे नाट्यमण्डपे ।
 न्तर्हार्धे चतुर्विंशंशे विस्तारं दशभागतः ॥ ६६ ॥
 षोडशंशे षडंशा वा कुर्याद्वा सुरमन्दिरे ।
 मातुष्यराजधान्यादौ युक्त्या लक्षणसंयुतम् ॥
 सर्वं समाचरेन्नाट्यमण्डपेषु यथोचितम् ॥ ६७ ॥

2 In the course of our survey we have seen that rich kings had small theatres attached to their palaces. *Sangitaratnālara* has a description of the seat-arrangement in such a theatre, which will be of interest in the present paper. I therefore, quote below the verses describing the seat-arrangement (*Sangitaratnākara*, ASS, VII, 1351-61)

विचित्रा नृत्यशाला स्यात्पुष्पप्रकरशोभिता ।
 नानावितानसंपत्रा रत्नस्तम्भभिभूषिता ॥ १३५१ ॥
 तस्यां सिंहासनं रम्यमध्वासीनः सभापतिः ॥
 वामतोऽन्तःपुराणि स्युः प्रधाना दक्षिणेन तम् ॥ १३५२ ॥
 पृष्ठभागे प्रधानाना फोश, श्रीकरणाधिपः ॥
 तत्संनिधौ तु विद्वांसोऽलोकवेदिशारदाः ॥ १३५३ ॥
 रसिकाः कनयोऽप्यत्र चतुराः सर्वरीतिषु ॥
 मान्यान् ज्योतिर्विदो वैद्यान्विद्वन्मध्ये निवेशयेत् ॥ १३५४ ॥
 स्याद्दामेतरभागे तु मन्त्रिणा परिमण्डलम् ॥
 तत्रैव सैन्यमान्यानामन्येषामुपवेशनम् ॥ १३५५ ॥
 त्रिलासिनो त्रिलासिन्यः परितोऽन्तःपुराणि च ॥
 पुरतोऽपि नृपस्य स्युः पृष्ठभागे तु भूपतेः ॥ १३५६ ॥
 चारुचामरधारिण्यो रूपयौवनसंभृताः ॥
 स्वरङ्गणमगत्कारनिर्गणिजनमानसाः ॥ १३५७ ॥
 अग्रिमा वामभागे स्युरग्रे वाग्गेयकारकाः ॥
 कथका चन्दिनश्चात्र विद्यावन्तः प्रियंवदाः ॥ १३५८ ॥
 प्रशंसाकुशलाश्चान्ये चतुराः सर्वमातुषु ॥
 ततः परं तु परितः परिवारोपवेशनम् ॥ १३५९ ॥
 अधिष्ठितं सद्यः कार्यं दक्षैर्नरैर्नरैः ॥
 अङ्गरक्षास्तु तिष्ठेयुः सर्वतः शस्त्रपाणयः ॥ १३६० ॥
 संनिवेश्य सभामेवं नेता संगीतमीदृते ॥ १३६१ ॥

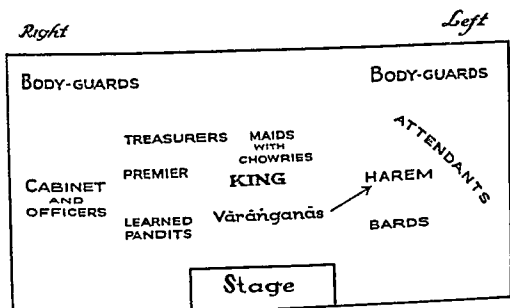
The arrangement will be somewhat like that as in the annexe

APPENDIX II

(Here I have given the senses ascribed to various technical terms used during the course of this paper, mostly according to *DHA*)

ulha=uppermost portion of a column

pratyūha=lowermost portion of a column



1 H Q September, 1932.

DHA, under that word

tulā=A balance, a moulding of the column, a mouth, a beam, but none of these senses is suitable here

dvāra=door, for some interesting details about door see *DHA*, under that word

D R MAYKAD

Reprinted from

The Journal of the University of Bombay

Vol. III, Part I, July 1934

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Orthography.

The following chief features are noticeable under this head.

- (1) Doubling of *म्* after *र्* as in कर्म I. 1
 - " " ज् " " " " उपार्जित I. 2.
 - " " ग् " " " " मार्ग I. 23, II. 5, II. 10.
 - " " क् " " " " II. 3.
 - " " त् " " " " I. 5; II. 12;
 - " " द् " " " " I. 7; V. 20.
 - " " ध् " " " " कार्य etc. I. 10; II. 6.
 - " " च् " " " " गर्भ I. 17; II. 16.
 - " " न् " " " " र्क्षि V. 19.
 - " " ध् " " " " धनुर्द्धर II. 11 but कीर्तिर्द्धर्मा III. 7.
 - " " " before य् " " द्या II. 14, 19.

(2) The occasional use of the *guttural nasal* instead of the *Anusvāra*, before *ऌ* as in वृक्षात् III. 3; III. 29; IV. 3; V. 3.

(3) The use of the *dental nasal* instead of *anusvāra* before *S* as in अस्त II. 15; V. 2; विध्वंसित V. 25.

(4) The use of 'ri' for *ṛ* e. g. स्त्रिति III. 5.

(5) Visarga as a mark of punctuation e. g. IV. 28, 26.

(6) Want of Sandhi as in I. 16, 20.

[N. B. The Roman Figures refer to the grants published here; the usual numbers refer to the lines in the grants.]

Language.

The language of all the Valabhi plates is Sanskrit. The imprecatory portion at the end is always metrical, the rest being in prose. "The language is highly artificial and is devoid of real poetic skill. The way, more or less conventional, in which the various kings are praised, is stereotyped. The artificial style of Sanskrit prose, with its long compounds, which was carried to its perfection by Bāṇa, seems to have been appreciated by the learned not only in Northern India but influenced other parts like Kathiawar, during the Valabhi period."

Valabhi grants and their character.

Though the rulers of Valabhī have to their credit about a hundred copper-plate grants, none of them is of any historical importance, fail as they do to record contemporary events. But almost all the grants are religious in character. Valabhī rulers were quite catholic in their charity and tolerant in their religious spirit. "In the country are several hundred monasteries of Saṅghārāmas with about 6,000 monks. Most of them study the Hinayāna. . . . There are several hundred temples of Devas and sectaries of many sorts. . . ." In such terms Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Valeh in about 640 A. D. describes the kingdom Valabhī and the religious condition.

* Beal, II, p. 260.

FIVE VALA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS.*

In June 1930, these copper-plate grants were found in the course of excavations made in Vala at a distance of about 500 yards from the tank known at present as Ghora-Daman. The excavations were undertaken on the spot, as Mr. R. L. Mehta, the then Karbhari of Vala State, (Kathiawar), suspected that there would be unearthed near by the King's palace or there would be located a Buddhist Monastery where students from outside flocked for higher studies in Buddhistic lore. During the course of the excavations only these copper-plates were found piled one upon another below a slab of white stone used for sharpening swords and other such weapons. Nothing else of importance was found. In July 1930 I was entrusted with the work of deciphering them, the results of which I now place before the public. I am much indebted to Mr. R. L. Mehta for his kindness in giving me permission to decipher and publish them. My cordial thanks are also due to Mahamahopadhyaya Rai Bahadur Pandit G. H. Ojha, Ajmer, for many useful suggestions and to Mr. Chhotalal Kanji, Librarian, Lang Library, Rajkot, for making available the plates for me. Thanks are also due to Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, M.A., of Satara, for lending me his MS. of Valabhi grants.

Of these grants No. I alone is of some importance inasmuch as it is one of the few known grants of the Gārulaka dynasty. Besides its date G.S. 230 is very important as *it is the earliest plate of the family* and gives the latest date for Druvasena I. The other plates are not very important, stereotyped as they are in their wording though the date 319 of No. V is a new one as also the mention of the Buddhistic Monasteries built by Yaksha-Sūra, and Pūrṇa-Bhāṭṭa Characters.

These belong to the Southern class of alphabets and noteworthy are the forms of the Jihvāmuliya and Upadhmāniya. The letters of grant No. I are of a little different type, thus separating it from the group, as it does not, strictly speaking, belong to the Valabhi rulers but their feudatories, the Gārulakas. Besides they have each of them a small circle at the top of the vertical lines. The way of representing the vowel mark of 'ā' in the case of 'bhā' (in grant IV l. 15) and of the final consonant 't' with a stroke at the top deserves notice. (No. V. l. 43).

* Read before the first Bombay Historical Congress in 1931.

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The language of all the Valabhi plates is Sanskrit. The imprecatory portion at the end is always metrical, the rest being in prose. "The language is highly artificial and is devoid of real poetic skill. The way, more or less conventional, in which the various kings are praised, is stereotyped. The artificial style of Sanskrit prose, with its long compounds, which was carried to its perfection by Bāna, seems to have been appreciated by the learned not only in Northern India but influenced other parts like Kathiawar, during the Valabhi period."

Valabhi grants and their character.

Though the rulers of Valabhī have to their credit about a hundred copper-plate grants, none of them is of any historical importance, fail as they do to record contemporary events. But almost all the grants are religious in character. Valabhī rulers were quite catholic in their charity and tolerant in their religious spirit. "In the country are several hundred monasteries of Saṅghārāmas with about 6,000 monks. Most of them study the Hīnayāna. . . . There are several hundred temples of Devas and sectaries of many sorts. . . ." In such terms Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Valeh in about 640 A. D. describes the kingdom Valabhī and the religious condition.

The Valabhi rulers were orthodox Hindus. Many of the grants are granted to Brahmins who migrated from their countries and settled in places where they secured patronage at the hands of the Maitraka rulers. Thus in grant IV two Brahmins are said to have left Dabapura and resided in Valabhi. Of these five grants, published here, four are Buddhist and only one Brahmanical. In the Buddhist grants donations are made for the upkeep and repairs of Vihāras, but the Brahmanical grant gives a village to two Brahmins. It is a curious fact that though most of the Maitraka rulers profess themselves to be devout worshippers of Śiva, only one grant donates property to a Śiva temple in Balavarmānaka Vaṭapadra.¹ The Bull-emblem on their seals and the epithet Parama Māheśvara which all of them use, distinctly show that the Maitrakas, the Valabhi rulers, were Śaivas. A number of Śiva Liṅgas of exceptionally large size are dug out among the ruins. Bull images are found. This shows that they did build Śiva temples, and as perhaps they were maintained by State, no grants were made to them. However it is curious that no Śiva temple, except one, built by private individuals, was recipient of royal bounty.

A grant of Sam 290 was issued¹ by Śilāditya I alias Dharmāditya towards a Sun temple built in the village Bhadreṇikā.² One of the Maitraka kings Dharapatta is styled 'Paramāditya-bhakta'—a great devotee of the sun.³ It may show that in the Valabhi period Sun Worship also prevailed in the country.

Grants II (l. 22), III (l. 21), V (l. 33) refer to the Yakṣaśūra-Vihāra and grant V (l. 34) refers to Pūrṇabhaddā Vihāra, *both monasteries for nuns*. That all these monasteries were built in and about Valabhi only is seen from the explicit mention that they were built in the township (खण्ड) of Valabhi. Valabhi, as noted by Hiuen Tsiang, was the centre of Buddhist learning in those days and scholars from all parts of India came to Valabhi and lived there in the monasteries built under Royal patronage. Monasteries built by princess Duṣṣā,⁴ Āchārya Bhadanta Sthiramati,⁵ Divirapati Skandabāṭa,⁶ Bhikṣu Vimāla Gupta⁷ are mentioned in other grants. There is one more

monastery named after Bhaṭṭārka and presented to Rājasthāniya Śūra.¹

These monasteries which were very liberally endowed by the kings were centres of Buddhist learning. Sthira-Mati, founder of a Vihāra, was a deep and famous scholar. His monastery had a splendid library of sacred books.² One grant provides for the purpose of the purchase of scriptures.³

The villages mentioned in the present grants are Bhaṭṭipadra, Phaṅkaprasravaṇa, Nigguḍaka, Vaṭadraha (?), Amadāsaputra, Daśa-pora, Danturāputra, Nāgadinnānaka, Bhadreśvara.

The sub-divisions mentioned are Ghāsaraka and Rohāṇaka. The country is referred to in the questionable plural 'Surāṣṭreshu'.⁴

I have not been able to identify any of these.

Grant No. 1 Copper-plate of the Gārulaka Mahārāja Varāhadāsa of the year 230 G. E. (549 A. D.)

These are two copper-plates measuring each about 12½" in length and 8½" in breadth. Each has two ringholes and are fastened together by rings. There is a seal attached to one of the rings. The inscription and emblem on the seal are completely blurred. It may perhaps have borne an image of Garuḍa on it as the dynastic name would suggest.

The inscription which is mostly in Sanskrit prose has been preserved perfectly well. The alphabet is of an early southern type. The letters have many of them small circles at top.

The inscription records a grant of land made by the Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Varāhadāsa (I. 12) of the Gārulaka dynasty (I. 2). It was issued from Phaṅka-prasravaṇa. Varāhadāsa (II) granted a plot of land measuring a hundred Pādāvartanas⁵ in the village of Bhaṭṭi-

1. See Indian Antiquary Vol. V, p. 207.

2. Indian Antiquary, September, 1925, p. 39.

3. सद्धर्मस्य पुस्तकोप-चयार्थ, Ibid.

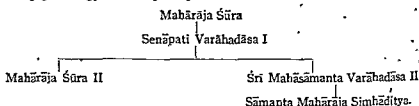
4. The word Surāṣṭra is found in the (masculine) singular or plural in the Valabhi plates. In one place it is found used in the Feminine singular—'Surāṣṭryām'.

See Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVII, p. 109.

5. Rāi Bahadur G. H. Oza has kindly furnished the following note on Pādāvarta. "Pādāvarta was an old land-measurement generally mentioned in the grants from Kathiawar. The term has hitherto been misunderstood. (1) In Bohtling and Roth's Sanskrit Wörterbuch, Pādāvarta is explained, according to the commentator on Kātyāyana's Śrauta Sūtra, as a square foot. (2) Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary gives the meanings of the word "a wheel for raising water from a well, i.e., an Arghaṭa" and "a square foot". (3) Dr. Fleet while editing the Maliya plates of Mahārāja Dharmasena (II) of Valabhi dated the G. E. 252, writes 'Pādāvarta lit. the turning round of a foot is given by Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning a square foot. But it seems more likely that such an expression as 'hundred Pādāvartas' means a plot of ground measuring a hundred feet square each way i.e. ten thousand square feet

padra. near Valabhi, for providing clothes, food etc. to the *Bhikṣuṃs* residing in the Vihāra of the merchant Ajita of the same village that was bestowed as a mark of favour upon him by Mahārāja Dhruvasena I of Valabhi, and for incense, lamp oil, etc., for the worship of the Lord Buddha. The Gārulakas were the Sāmantaś or feudatory chiefs under the rulers of Valabhi. The capital seems to have been Phāṅkaprasāvana, for the Palitana plates of Sāmanta Mahārāja Simhāditya, the son of Maharaja Varāhadāsa II are also issued from the same place.¹ Dr. Hultzsch suggests that the name Gārulaka stands for Gārulaka or Gārūḍaka and the family claimed descent from Garuḍa.²

This inscription and the other known plates of dynasty give the following genealogy of the dynasty :—



The grant of Simhāditya gives the genealogy from Senāpati Varāhadāsa and Mahārāja Śūra of our grant is mentioned there as Mahāsāmanta Bhaṭṭiśūra.

The eulogy of these princes is in the conventional terms. The only historical reference of any importance is the statement in ll. 9-10 that Varāhadāsa II conquered a ruler of Dvārakā, whose name the grant fails to record. A mention of this conquest is also made in the Palitana plates of the G. S. 255.

The date of the grant is given as Māgha Śu 1 of the year 230 of the Gupta Era (or about 549 A. D.). The date and the year are given in numerical symbols. The reference to Mahārāja Dhruvasena in l. 15 shows that Varāhadāsa was his contemporary. The latest date of Dhruvasena that is known is 226.³

It is written by Bhaṭṭila.

rather than only one hundred square feet which would measure only ten feet each way, and would be rather a small area for a grant, to say nothing of the still smaller areas mentioned further on. The Sanskrit Kośas, Vācaspatya Brihadabhidhāna and Śabda Kalpadruma, both give the meaning of the word as 'a wheel for raising water from a well i.e. Araghaṭa'. But all these interpretations cannot be accepted. In one place the Mahiya grant mentions अष्टादिशक्ति पादावर्तपरिसरा वापी 'an irrigation well with an area of 28 Pādāvartas'. Hence Pādāvarta cannot but be less than 'a Vighā'.

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XI, p. 16.

2. Ibid., p. 17.

3. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. I, p. 16.

GRANT NO. I OF S. 230 G. E.

PLATE A

- (१) ओ स्वस्ति फंकप्रश्नवणात्प्रकृष्टकर्मावासाभ्युदययशसां गारुलकानां वंशेतुलं-
 (२) षलसंपन्नसंसकशतलब्धप्रतापः प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्जितानुरा-
 (३) गोनुरकमौलभृतश्रेणीमित्रवलावांसराज्यश्रीः श्रीमहाराजशूरस्तस्य सत्सु-
 (४) स्तसादानिप्रणामप्रशस्तविमलमौलिमणिमेन्वादिप्रगीतविधिविधानधर्मराज इ-
 (५) व विदितविनयव्यवस्थाकर्ता परमभागवतः परमब्रह्मण्यशरण्यः सेनापतिचराह-
 (६) दास्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादरजोरुणपवित्रीकृतशिरादिशरोवनतगशुचूडामणिप्रभावि-
 (७) च्छुरितपादनखपिः दीधितिर्दानानायाश्रितोर्त्तिवान्धवजनोपजीव्यमानविभवंविस्तरः
 (८) परमभागवतः श्रीमहाराजशूरस्तस्यानुजो नयविनयदानदाक्षिण्योत्साहसंप-
 (९) न्नस्तकलागनामलेन्दुरमलिनगुणभूषणमकृततयुगधर्मावमल्यो स्वबाहु
 (१०) वीर्यावासाद्भारकाधिपतिः परमभागवतोनेकदेवकुलाराममहाविहारस[त्र]प्र-
 (११) पाकारयिता बुलियुधिष्ठिराविवसत्यव्रतः परगजघटानीकप्रम-
 (१२) ईनः श्रीमहात्मा मन्त महाराजवराहदासः-

PLATE B

- (१३) कुशली सर्वानेवात्मीयात्राजस्यानीयोपरिककुमारामाल्यकुलपुत्र-
 (१४) क-महत्तरसान्विविग्रहिकायुक्क-महत्तर[ग]ण्डकहस्त्यश्वारोहादीन्समाज्ञापय-
 (१५) त्सु वो विदितं यथास्मिन्नेव सन्निहृष्टे श्रीमहाराजध्रुवसेनप्रसादीकृतभ-
 (१६) द्रीपद्मग्रामे दग्धक-कुटुम्बिप्रत्ययक्षेत्र-पादाकृतशतउत्तरस्यां दिशि देववितान-
 (१७) कग्रामसीनासन्वी यस्य पूर्वतो महत्तरज्येष्ठसत्कक्षेत्रमारामस्य दक्षिणिन गो[क्षि-
 (१८) लानक्षेत्रादुत्तरतः जरद्रवक्षेत्रपूर्वतः द्याणिजकाजितसत्कविहारभिभुषीनां
 (१९) चीवरपिण्डपातभगवत्पादानां च धूपदीपतैलाद्युपपादितं मया मातापित्रो रा-
 (२०) त्तनयोभयलोकमुखयशसे आचन्द्रार्कपूर्णव-क्षिति-समकालीनं समनुवातं
 (२१) यत आगामिभद्रराजमिस्समान्यं भूमिदानफलमिच्छद्विरयमस्मद्वयोनुम-
 (२२) न्तव्यः परिपालयितव्ययेति यथैनमाच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुनोदेत सपत्रभिन्महा-
 (२३) पातकैस्संपृक्तैस्यादिति [१] पठि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदैति भूमिदः [१] आच्छेत्ता
 चानु- सं २००(+)+३० लिखितं भट्टिलेन
 (२४) मन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति स्वहस्तेन मम ॥
 (२५) स्वमुत्पादेशो माघ शु १

१ Read ०कर्णा०. २ The whole phrase ought to read as :- वंशेतुल्यलस-
 पन्ननगदलानोपसंस्कभहारशतलब्धप्रतापः as in the Valabhi Grants. See Grant II
 I. 2. ३ Read... मणिमे०. ४ Read ०विधाने. ५ ०श्रितार्थे as in Epigraphia Indica
 XI. p. 17. ६ Read ०भूषणः क०. ७ Read शतमुत्तरस्यां. ८ The whole
 phrase ought to be चीवरपिण्डपातभयनासनगदलानमत्यर्भयज्जनरिष्यारोपयोगाय etc.
 as in Grant II II. 22-23. ९ Read वदाणा०. १० Read संश्रुत्सा०. ११ मोदैत
 १२ स्वहस्तेन मम.

Grant No. II. Copper-plate grant of Śīlāditya (I) alia Dharmāditya of the Gupta Samvat 287 (606 A. D.)

The two plates of this grant are engraved on one side only and have holes at the top and they are secured together by rings. The left hand ring bears an oval seal which has in relief on it, the usual Bull Mark of the Valabhi rulers and the legend Śrī Bhaṭṭārkkal. The plates are each $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$. They are corroded in some places. But the rest of the portion is perfectly legible.

The grant is issued from Valabhī. It records the grant by Śīlāditya alias Dharmāditya, of the village Nigguḍaka in the Ghāsarak sub-division for procuring clothing, food, medicine etc. for the communion of Buddhist nuns residing in the Yaksha Śūra Vihāra, for sandal incense, flowers, etc. required for the worship of the Lord Buddha and for the repairs of the broken and fallen parts of the Monastery. From ll. 22-24, it seems that the Bhikṣunis were dwelling in the Monastery built by Yaksha-Śūra their own being destroyed probably. The name of Guhasena immediately follows that of Bhaṭṭārka in the genealogy, omitting four kings between them.

The officers mentioned in this grant are the Āyuktakas, Vinīyuktakas, Drāṅgikas, Mahattaras, Cāṭas, Bhaṭas, Kumārāmātyas and others.

The Dūtaka, who executed this grant is Bhaṭṭādityayaśas¹ and the war minister and chief secretary who wrote it is Vattrabhaṭṭi. It records the date Kārtika Vadi 7 of the year 287 G. E.

GRANT NO. II

of Śīlāditya I alias Dharmāditya of 287 G. E.

PLATE A

- (१) ओं स्वस्ति वलभितः प्रसमप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामनुलयलसंपन्नमण्डलाम्
[-गसंसक्तप्रहारशत]
- (२) लब्धप्रतापात् प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपाभितानुरागादनुचकीलभृत[श्रेणीबला
वा]स[राज्यधियः]
- (३) परममाहेश्वरश्रीभट्टार्कदिव्यवच्छिन्नराजवंशान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणति-
प्रविधूताशेषकल्म [पः]

1 It is only in the grants of G. S. 286 and 287 that the Dūtaka or the Executor of the grant is given as 'Bhaṭṭādityayaśas. Usually in Valabhi grants, the Dūtaka is the Heir Apparent. Was Bhaṭṭādityayaśas his son, who probably died before his father? Śīlāditya I was succeeded by his youngest brother Kharagraha I. This Kharagraha appears as the Dūtaka in grants of G. E. 290 (Nos. III & IV). Two plates of Kharagraha I have been discovered in 1932 in Virdi under Lathi and at Amreli. They have been deciphered by me.

2. Read वलभितः.

- (४) शैशवात्प्रभृतिखल्वद्वितीयवाहुरेवसमदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्वनिकपस्तत्प्र-
भावप्र-
- (५) [ण]तारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसंघैतिस्सकलस्मृति प्रणीतमार्गसम्य-
क्परिपालन-
- (६) प्रजाहृदयरंजनान्वैर्त्यराजशब्दःरूपकान्तिस्थैर्यैगाम्भीर्यैबुद्धिसंपद्भिः स्मरशशांका-
द्रिराजोद-
- (७) धिनिदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानंदशरणगताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वका-
र्यफलः]
- (८) प्रार्थनाधिकार्यप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलमण्डलामोग्र-
- (९) [मो]दः परममाहेश्वरः श्री गुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूरसन्तान-विधृत-
-जान्दवीजलौघप्रक्षा-
- (१०) लिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसंपद्रूपलोभादिवाधितस्सरमसमाभि-
गामिकैर्गु-
- (११) गैस्स [ह]जशक्तिक्षिधाविशेष-विस्मापिताखिलबलधनुर्देरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतदृष्टा-
नामनुपालयि-
- (१२) ताधर्मदायानामपाकर्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपह्वाना दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरे-
काधिवासस्य संघ-
- (१३) तारातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिमोगदक्षविक्रमोविक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः-
श्रीधरसे-
- (१४) नस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातस्सकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदायस्यगितसमप्रदि-
क्षण्डलः]
- (१५) समरशतविजयशोभासनायमण्डप्याप्रयुतिभामुरतरान्तोपीशोदृढगुरुमनोरथमहा-
- (१६) भारस्सर्वविद्यापरावरंविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्वतस्सुभाषितलवेनापि सुयो-
पपादनी-
- (१७) यपरितोपस्समप्रलोकागाधगाम्भीर्यहृदयोपि मुचरितातिशयमुव्यक्तपरमकन्याणस्व-
- (१८) भावःखिलभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदप्रकीर्तिर्देर्मानु [परो] धो [ज्य-]

PLATE B

- (१९) [लतरी] कृतार्थमुत्तमपदुपसेवानिरुद्ध धर्म्मोदित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः
[श्री]
- (२०) शील्लादित्य[व्यु] शली सर्वानेकायुक्तकविनियुक्तकदाह्निक्महत्तरचाटभट-
कुमारामात्यादी[नन्यांध]
- (२१) यथासंबध्यमा-नकान्तमाज्ञापयन्त्यसु वस्संविदित ययामया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्या-
यनाय वल.....

१ Read संहति°. २ Read °न्यं. Similarly in other places. ३ Read ममति°. ४ Read संद°. ५ Read °नरा°°. ६ Read °धर्मा°

- (२२) त.....क्षु [णी] संघस्येदानीं तद्विहारस्थानाभावाद्यक्षशूरविहारेप्रतिवसत
[श्रीवरपिण्डपातशयनासनगला]-
- (२३) नप्रत्ययभैषज्यपरिष्कारार्थं बुद्धानां च भगवतां पूजान्नपनगन्धधूपपुष्पमाल्य
दीपतैलाद्युपयोगाय [विहार]-
- (२४) स्य च खण्डस्फुटितप्रतिसंस्काराय घासरक्तपथकान्तर्गतो निग्गुडकप्रामः पूर्व-
भुक्तभुज्यमानकः प्रनष्टः.....
- (२५) इतिवृत्तान्विष्य सोदन्नस्तोपरिकरस्सवातभूतप्रत्यायः सधान्यहिरण्यदेयः सदसा-
पराधस्तोत्पद्यमानविष्टिः
- (२६) सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः पूर्व्वप्रतन्नद्वयेवर्जितःभूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रा-
र्षार्णवक्षितिस-
- (२७) रित्यर्व्वतसमकालीनाव्यवच्छित्तिभोग्यः धर्मदायतया पूर्व्वत्समनुज्ञातः यतः
देवाग्रहारस्थित्या भुज्यमानको
- (२८) न कैश्चित्परिपन्थनीयः आगामिभद्रनृपतिमिरप्यस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्वाअनित्यान्यैश्चर्याप्य-
स्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यं
- (२९) च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्वायोनुमन्तव्यःपरिपालयितव्यश्चेति ॥ बहुभिः
र्व्वमुधा भुक्ता रा-
- (३०) जमिस्सगरादिभिः [१] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह
दारिद्र्यमयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्वनानि ध-
- (३१) म्मायतनीकृतानि [१] निर्ज्युचैर्मात्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुःपुनराददीत ॥
पठि वरपसहस्राणि स्वर्गं
- (३२) [मोदेत] भूमिदः [१] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतक-
धात्र भट्टादित्ययशाः लिखितं सन्धिवि-
- (३३) [ग्रहावि-]कृत दिविरपतिवन्नभट्टिना ॥ सं २००(+८०(+७ कार्तिक व ७
॥ ओं ॥ स्वहस्तो मम.

Grant No. III. Copper-plate grant of Śīladitya (I) alias Dharmāditya of the Gupta Samvat 290 (609 A. D.)

The two plates that constitute this grant are as usual engraved on one side and are secured together by only one ring. There are two ring holes in each plate and the second ring is at present missing. The legend on the seal which is attached to the ring is blurred and consequently illegible. The plates are each 12" x 9½". They are in a perfectly good state of preservation.

The characters are of the usual type of the Valabhi plates. The consonant म् (in l. 32) deserves notice.

१ Read °दानीं. २ Read °कालीनो. ३ Read यतो. ४ Read वो. ५ Read निर्मुक्त. ६ Read वसेत्.

The grant is issued from the victorious camp at Bhadresvara outside the Valabhi gate. We learn from it that Śilāditya granted the village of Amadāsaputra situated near Vaṭadraha in the province of Ghāsaraka for defraying the expenses of various kinds (clothing, food, medicine, etc.) of the *nuns* that may come from the four quarters to the Monastery for *nuns*, built by Yakshā Śūra, situated inside Valabhi, for sandal, incense, flowers, etc., required for the worship of the Lord Buddha and for the repairs of the broken and the fallen parts of the Monastery.

The command is issued to all the Āyuktakas, Viniyuktakas, Drāṅgikas, Mahattaras, Cāṭas, Bhaṭas, Kumārāmatyas and to others as they may be concerned.

The Dūtaka is Śrī Kharagraha and Vatrabhaṭṭi is the minister of peace and war who wrote the grant.

The date is the 7th day of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada of the Gupta Samvat 290. The date and the year are given in numerical symbols.

GRANT III OF G. E. 290

of Śilāditya I alias Dharmāditya.

PLATE A

- (१) ओं स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावाराहलभीप्रद्वारभद्रेश्वरवासकात्प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामनुलव्यसंपन्न
- (२) मण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहारशतलव्यप्रतापात्प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्जितानुरागाद-
नुरक्तमौलम्-
- (३) तथ्रेणीयलावासरान्वधियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभट्टार्कदव्यवच्छिन्नराजवद्भौन्माता-
पितृवरणारविन्दप्रणति-
- (४) प्रविर्घाताशेषकम्पः शैशवात्प्रभृति खन्नद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरणजघटास्फोटन-
प्रकाशितसत्त्वनिरुप
- (५) स्तदप्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरदिमसंहतिः सकलस्त्रिंतिप्रणीतमार्ग-
सम्यक्प्रतिपालन-
- (६) प्रजाहृदयरप्रनान्यरैर्यराजशब्दः रूपकान्तिस्त्र्यर्थगाम्भीर्यबुद्धिसम्पद्भिः स्मरशगा-
इदिराजोदधिभि-
- (७) दशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानः शरणानताभयप्रदानपरतया नृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य-
फल[ः]शार्धनाधि-
- (८) काल्यप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीवसन्तभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः
परममा—

१ Read °वंश°. २ Read °सूनि°. ३ Read न्यर्ष.

- (९) हेधरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्यसुतस्तत्पादनरसमयूखसन्तानविसृतजाह्वीजलौघप्रक्षालि-
ताशेषकल्मषःप्रणयि—
- (१०) शतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाधितः सरभसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैस्सहजशफै-
शिक्षाविशेष—
- (११) विस्मापिताखिलबलधनुर्दरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिष्ठथानामनुपालयिज्ञा धर्मदाया-
नामपाकर्ता प्रजोप—
- (१२) घातकारिणामुपह्वाना^[१] दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य संहतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मी-
परिमोगदक्षविक—
- (१३) मो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिवध्रिः परममाहेधरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्यसुतस्तत्पादा-
नुभ्यातस्सकलजगदा-
- (१४) नन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसंमप्रदिङ्मण्डल [२] समरशतविजयशोभासनाथ-
मण्डलाग्रयतिमासुरत-
- (१५) रान्तेपीठोद्बुद्धगुहमनोरथमहाभारस्सर्वविद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व-
तस्सु-
- (१६) भाषितलंघेनापिमुलोपपादनीयपरितोषः समग्रलोकागाधगाम्भीर्यहृदयोऽपि सुव-
रितातिशयसु-
- (१७) व्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्ति
र्द्धमांनुपरोधो-
- (१८) ज्वलन्तरीकृतात्यंमुखसम्पदुपसेवानिहृदधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेधरः
श्रीशीलादित्य^३कुशली
- (१९) सर्वानेवायुक्तकविनियुक्तक्रदा^[४] गिकमहत्तरशीलिकचोरोद्ध^[५] गिकचाटभटकुमा-
रमात्यादीनन्यांथ यथासंबध्य-
- (२०) मानकान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तुवस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनाथ

PLATE B

- (२१) चलभीस्वतलनिविष्टयक्षदूरकारितभिर्धुनिविहारे तन्निवासिचतुर्दिशाभ्याग-
- (२२) तार्य्यभिधुणीसहस्य चीवरपिण्डपातशयनासनग्लानप्रत्ययभैषज्य-
- (२३) परिष्कारोपयोगाय बुद्धानां च भगवतां पूजास्नपनगन्धपुष्पमाल्यदीपतैलाद्यप्य-
वच्छिन्नये वि-
- (२४) हारस्य च खण्डस्फुटितप्रतिसंस्काराय घास्तरकपथके चटद्रहप्रत्यासन-
[अमदासपुत्र] प्रा-
- (२५) मत्सोद्रङ्गस्तोपरिकरस्सवातभूतप्रत्यायः सधान्यहिरण्यदेयः सहशापराधः सोत्सय-
- (२६) मानविष्टिस्सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः पूर्वप्रतद्रङ्गदेयवर्जितःभूमि(च्छि)द्र-
- (२७) [न्या]येनाचन्द्रार्कान्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनः विहारार्य्यभिधुणीसंघोपभोग्यः^[६]

१ Read °शक्ति°. २ Read °धनुर्धरः. ३ °पालयिता. ४ °पार्थिवध्रीः.
५ Read °रास्°. ६ Read °धर्मा°. ७ Read °संबध्य°. ८ Read °भिधुणी°.
९ Read °दिशा°.

- (२८) [धर्म्म]दायोविष्टः यत् उपरिलिखितस्थित्या भुज्यमानको न कैश्चिदासेधनीयः
आगा-
- (२९) मिमद्रुपतिमिरप्यस्मद्देहजैरन्यैर्वा अनित्यान्यैश्चर्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यं
च भू-
- (३०) [मिदा]नफलमवगच्छद्विरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः ॥ परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं च भगवता
- (३१) वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [१] बहुमिर्व्वमुधा भुक्ता राजमिस्सगरादिभिः [१] यस्य यस्य
यदाभूमिः
- (३२) तैस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्धनानि धर्म्मायतनीकृतानि
[१] निर्व्वमु [क्त]
- (३३) मात्स्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत [॥] षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे
मोदति [भू]
- (३४) मिदः [१] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ॥ दूतकथात्र
श्रीखरग्रहः ॥
- (३५) लिखितं सन्निविप्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिचक्रभट्टिना ॥ से २००(+)९० भाद्रपद
वर्ष ७

- (२८) [धर्म]दायोविष्टः यत् उपरिलिखितस्तित्या भुज्यमानको न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधनीयः
आगा-
- (२९) मिमद्रुपतिमिरप्यस्मद्भुजैरन्यैर्वा अनित्यान्यैश्चर्षाण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यं
च भू-
- (३०) [मिदा]नफलमवगच्छद्विरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यं २ परिपालयितव्यमेत्युक्तं च भगवता
- (३१) वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [१] बहुमिर्व्यमुधा भुक्ता राजमिस्सगरादिभिः [१] यस्य यस्य
यदाभूमिः^१
- (३२) तैस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्जनानि धर्मायतनीकृतानि
[१] निर्भुं [क्त]
- (३३) मात्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत [॥] पट्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे
मोदेति [भू]
- (३४) मिदः [१] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ॥ दूतकश्चात्र
श्रीस्वरग्रहः ॥
- (३५) लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिवन्नभट्टिना ॥ सं २००(+)^२९० भाद्रपद
बहुल ^३
- (३६) स्वहस्तो मम ॥

Grant No. IV. Copper-plate Grant of Śilāditya (I) also known as Dharmāditya of the Gupta Samvat 290.

The plates are as usual secured together with copper rings passed through holes at the edges. The seal that is attached to the left hand ring bears the usual Bull Emblem and the inscription 'ŚRĪ Bhaṭārkkah'. Each of the plates measures 14" x 9½". The plates are in a very bad state of preservation and one cannot read them except with the help of other published grants of the rulers.

The usual Valabhī characters show a peculiar bhā (l. 15) with a vowel mark at the bottom of the right hand part of 'bh' instead of to the right of the top.

The grant is issued from Valabhī. Śilāditya granted the village of Danturāputra situated in the township of Maṇḍalī to two Brahmins Mitrāśarman and Ganeśvara, sons of Rudraśarman who belonged to the Audareṣani Gotra and who came from Daśapura and resided at Valabhī.

Daśapura is the present Mandasur in Malwa. (Gwalior territory)

The Dūtaka is Khāragraha and the grant is written by Vatra-bhaṭṭi minister of peace and war. The date is the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of the year 290 G. E.

१ Read ०वृजै०. २ Read वा. ३ Read भूमिस्तस्य०. ४ Read निर्भुक्त,
५ Read वर्ष०, ६ Read मोदेति.

GRANT IV OF G. E. 290.

of Śilāditya I.

- (१) ओं स्वस्ति वलभितेः प्रसन्नप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामनुलवलसंपन्नमण्डलाभोग-
संसक्त [प्र]
- (२) हारशतलव[धप्रता]पात्रप्रतापोपनतदग्नमानार्जवोपास्मितागुरागादनुरक्तमालभृतप्रे-
- (३) णीयलावासर[ज्यधि]य[ः]परममाहेश्वरश्रीमन्मार्कादव्यवाच्छिन्नराजवद्वान्मातापितृ-
चरणा-
- (४) रविन्दप्रणतिप्र [विधौ]ताशेषकल्मषः [शैशवाप्रभृति] सङ्गद्वितीययाहुरेव समदपर-
गजय-
- (५) टास्कोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्वनिकपस्तत्प्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनसरदिन-
संहतिः
- (६) सकलस्मृतिप्र[णी]तमार्गसम्यक्परिपालन प्रजाहृद[य]रजनान्वर्धराजशब्दः रूप-
कान्तिस्यैर्य्यर्धैर्य्यगा-
- (७) [म्भी]र्य्यवुद्धिसंपद्भिः स्मरशशाङ्गाद्विराजोदधिन्निदशयुरुधनेशानतिशयानः शरणाग-
ताभयप्रदानप-
- (८) रतया तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफल[ः]प्रार्थनाधिकार्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रण-
यिहृदयः पाद-
- (९) [चारी]व सरलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुत-
स्तत्पादनसमयू-
- (१०) खसन्तानविस्मृतजाह्नवीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषःप्रणयिशतसङ्गशेषजीव्यमानसं-
प-
- (११) भूपलोभादिवाश्रितः सरभसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैस्सहजशक्तिशिष्टाविशेषविस्मापिता-
खिलवलधनुर्द्धर[ः]
- (१२) प्रथमनरपति समतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्मदायानामपाकर्त्ताः प्रजोपधातकारिणा-
मुपलवा-
- (१३) नां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधियासस्य [सं]हृतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मिःपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो
विक्रमोपसंप्राप्त-
- (१४) विमलपार्थिवधर्मः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुप्यातस्तत्कल-
जगदानन्दनात्यद्भुत-
- (१५) गुणसमुदयस्यगितसमप्रदिह्यण्डल[ः] समरशतविजयशोभासनाथमण्डलाप्रशुतिभा-
सुरतरान्सपिडो-
- (१६) वृद्धशुरुमनोरथमहाभारस्त्वर्चविद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्वतस्तुभाषि-
तेलवेनापि सु-
- (१७) [खो]पपादनीयपरितोपः समप्रलोकागाधगाम्भीर्य्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयव्यक्त-
पर [मकल्या]

१ Read वलभीतः. २ Read ०वंशा०. ३ Read ०न्वर्ध०. ४ Read ०शब्दो-
५ कर्ता. ६ Read ०लक्ष्मीपरि०. ७ Read ०श्रीः. ८ Read ०तरांस०.

- (१८) णस्वभावः खिलिभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदमकीर्तिर्दम्मानुपरोधोज्वल-
[तरी]-
- (१९) कृतार्थसुखसंपदुपसेवानिरुद्धधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामाः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीला-
दित्य [ऽक्षुश]ली-
- (२०) सर्वानेवायुक्तकविनियुक्तकद्राणिकमहत्तरशौलिककचौरोद्धरणिकचाट्टभट्टकुमारामात्या-
दीनन्यांश्च यथा संवध्यमानकान्स-
- (२१) माज्ञापयत्यस्तुवस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रो ः पुण्याप्यायनाय दशपुर-
विनिर्गतचलभिवौस्तव्यार्य्यचातु
- (२२) विद्यसामान्यऔदरेपणिसगोत्रछन्दोगसत्रह्यचारिब्राह्मणरुद्रशर्मपुत्रब्राह्मणमित्र-
शर्मगणेश्वराभ्यां
- (२३) मण्डलीद्रेगे दन्तुरापुत्रग्रामस्सोद्वजः सोपरिकरः सवातभूतप्रत्यायः सधान्य-
हिरण्यादेयः[ऽ]
- (२४) सदशापराधः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिः सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः पूर्वप्रत्तब्रह्म-
देयवर्जितः भू-
- (२५) मिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कणवक्षितिसरित्समकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य उदकाति-
सर्गेणधर्म्म-
- (२६) दायतया निसृष्टः यतोनेयाः उचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्याः भुञ्जतोः कृपतोः कर्षयतोः
प्रदिशतो व्वा न कैश्चिद् व्यासे [धे]-
- (२७) वर्त्तितन्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिमिरव्यस्मद्वशजैरन्यैर्व्वाऽनित्यान्यैश्चर्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं
सामान्यं च भूमिदानफ-
- (२८) लमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्यु[क्तं]च भगवता वैदे-
व्यासेन व्यासेनः
- (२९) बहुभिर्व्यमुषा भुक्ताः राजभिस्सकैराधिभिः [i] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
तदा कैल ॥ यानीह दारिद्र्य-
- (३०) भयात्ररेन्द्रैर्व्वा[ना]नि धर्म्मायतनीकृतानि [i] निभुक्कै माल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम
साधु ः पुनराददीत ॥ पृ[i]
- (३१) धिर्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदंति भूमिदः [i] आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव
नरके वसे[त्] ॥ दूतकथात्र श्री
- (३२) खरग्रहः लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिवज्रभाट्टिना ॥ सं २००(४)
१० भाद्रपद शु १०
- (३३) स्वहस्तो मम ॥

१ Read सिञ्जीभूत. २ Read ०नामा. ३ Read बलगा०. ४ Read निसृष्टो.

५ Read the words without Visarga. ६ Read वेदव्यासेन. ७ The Visarga after व्यासेन is either wrong or is a mark of full stop (?). ८ Read युञ्ज ९ Read सग १० Read फलन् ॥ ११ Read निभुक्क १२ मोदेन.

Grant No V Copper plate grant of Dhruvāsena (II) of the Gupta Samvat 319 (638 A D)

These two plates which measure $12\frac{1}{4}''$ by $8\frac{1}{2}''$ are secured by one ring which is passed through the holes on the left side of the top. The ring through the right hand holes is missing. This grant is very badly preserved.

The characters show in l 43 consonant 't' with a stroke at the top.

The grant is issued from victorious camp at (?) It records that Dhruvasena granted the village of Nagadinnanaka in the Rohanaka province in Surashtra for procuring clothing food medicine etc., for the communion of Buddhist nuns (living) in the Vihara built by Purnabhatta and situated within the precincts of Yaksha Śūra Vihara in the vicinity of Valabhi and for sandal, flowers, incense lamp etc. for the worship of the Lord Buddha and for the repairs of the broken and fallen parts of the Monastery Purnabhatta was born in the respectable family of Samanta Kakkuka's mother.

The Dūtaka in this matter was Samanta Śiladitya and the grant was written by Skandabhatta on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Jyēṣṭha of the year 319 of the Gupta Era.

This grant is important in as much as it gives a new date of the Valabhi rulers, the other years of this ruler being 310*, 312†, 313†, 320‡, 321††.

GRANT V

of Dhruvasena II G S 319

- (१) ओं विजयस्कन्धावारा . . . भद्र. रक (?) वासकात् प्रसभप्रणतामिनाणा
मैत्रकाणामतुल्यसपत्नमण्डलाभोगससक्त [प्र]हार
- (२) शतलब्ध प्रतापात्प्र [तापोप] न [त] दानमानार्जवोपाज्जतानुरागादनुरक्तमौल
मृतश्रेणीवलावाप्त [ज्य] भ्रिय परममाहे
- (३) श्वरश्रीभट्टार्कदव्यवच्छिन्नराजवर्द्धशान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशे
पकल्मष [शै] शवात्प्रभृति स [द्वितीयबाहु] रेव

* Indian Antiquary VI 13

† Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society New Series I, 69

‡ Ibid., I, 50

§ Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 'XX 6 Epigraphia Indica VIII 188.

†† Epigraphia Indica VIII, 194

१ Read 'वशा'

- ४) : समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्वनिकयस्तत्प्रभाप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसस्त-
पादनस्वरस्मिसे [हतिः सकल] ८ [मृ] तिप्र [णी]-
- ५) तमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरत्नान्वर्त्यराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्थैर्यगाम्भीर्या-
बुद्धिसंपद्भिः स्मरशशा [क्वादि] रा [जो] दधि [त्रि] दशगु-
- ६) रुचनेशानतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्यफलं
प्रा[त्त्य]नाधि [कार्त्त्यप्रदानानन्दितविद्] त्सुह-
- ७) त्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेन-
स्तस्य सु [तस्तत्पादनंखमयूखस] न्तान-
- ८) विसृतजाह्नवीजलौघप्र[क्षा]लिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणविशतंसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्-
पलोभादिबाधितः [संरभ]समामिगामिकै
- ९) गुणैस्सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्दरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिमुद्यानामनु-
पालयिता धर्म्मदाया[नामपा]कर्त्ता प्रजोप-
- १०) घातकारिणामुपप्लवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य सङ्कुतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मी-
परिभोगदक्ष[वि]क्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्त-
- ११) विमलपार्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्यसुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातस्सकल जग-
दानन्दनात्यद्भुत गुणसमुद-
- १२) यस्य गितसमप्रदिग्मण्डलस्समरशतविजयशोभासनायमण्डलाप्रद्युतिभासुरतरान्सपी-
टोदङ्गुस्मनोरथमहा-
- १३) भारस्सर्वविद्यापरापरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व्यतः सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखोप-
[पा]दनीयपारितोपः समप्रलो-
- १४) कागाघगोर्म्मीर्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूत-
कृतयुगनृपतिपयविशोधनाधिगतोदग्र-
- १५) कीर्तिर्द्धर्म्मानुपरोद्धोज्वलतीकृतार्थसुखसम्पदुपसेयानिरुद्धधर्म्मादित्य द्वितीयं
नामा [पर]ममहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्यानु-
- १६) जस्तत्पादानुध्यातः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणैव गुरुणात्यादरवता सममिलपणीयामपि राज
लक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्तां परमभद्र इव धुर्य-
- १७) स्तदाज्ञासम्पादनैकरसतयैवोद्बह (नृ)खेदसुखरतिभ्यामनायासितसत्त्वसम्पत्तिः प्रभा-
वसम्पद्दशीकृतनृपतिशतशिरोरत्न-
- १८) च्छायोपगूढपादपीठो[पि]परावज्ञामिमानरसा[नालिनि]तमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेकां परि-
त्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्यराति-
- १९) मिरन[सादित]प्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवनमोदविमलगुणसङ्कुति[ः] प्रसभविष-
दितसकलकलिविलसितगतिर्वाचं-
- २०) जनाधिरोहिमिरशेषैर्दोषैरनामृष्टात्युन्नत]हृदयः प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकीशलातिशयगण-
तियविपक्षसितिपतिलक्ष्मी-स्वयंप्र-

- (२१) हृप्रकाशितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगमः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीरघुरग्रहस्तस्य तनयस्तत्पादानुप्यातस्स-
- (२२) कलविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमन परितोपातिशय [ः] सत्त्वसंपदा त्यागो-
दार्येण च विगतानुसन्धानो-

PLATE B

- (२३) शैमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गस्सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकशास्त्रकलालोकचरितगोष्ठिर-
विभागोपिपरमम-
- (२४) द्रप्रवृत्तिरकृत्रिमप्रथयविनयशोभाविभूषणस्समरशतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्यलोदप्रवाहु
- (२५) दण्डविष्वन्सितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्पोदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपधिभूतास्त्रकौशलमिमान-
सकलनृपतिमण्डलाभिनन्दितशासन-
- (२६) परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरस्तेनस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुप्यातः सचरितारतिशयितसम्बल-
पूर्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाधयि(तो)-
- (२७) विषयाणां मूर्तिमानिव पुरुषकारः परिरुद्धगुणानुरागनिर्भरचित्तवृत्तिभिर्मनुरिव
स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिमिरधिगनकला-
- (२८) कलापः कान्तिमार्निर्वृतिहेतुरकलङ्कः कुमुदनाथः प्राज्यप्रतापस्य गितदिगन्तराल-
प्रव्य[न्सित]र्ध[वा]न्तराशिः सत[तो]दितस्सविता
- (२९) प्रकृतिभ्यः परंप्रत्ययमर्त्यवन्तमतिचहुतियप्रयोजनानुबन्धमागमपरिपूर्णं विदधानं
सन्धिपिप्रह[समासनिश्चय]-
- (३०) निपुणः स्थानेनुरुपमादेशः^१ ददद्गुणवृद्धिविधानजनितसंस्कारः साधूनां राज्यशालाहु-
रीयतन्त्र[योद्धमयो]रपि[निष्णात]
- (३१) प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि करुणामृदुहृदयः श्रुतवानप्यगर्जितः कान्तोपि प्राशेमी स्थिरसौ-
हृदय्योपि निरसिता [दोषवता]मुदयसम-
- (३२) यसमुपजनितजनतानुरागपरिपिहितभुवनसमर्थितप्रायितद्यालादित्यद्वितीयनामा
पर[म]माहेश्वरः श्रीधुचसेन[ः]शुशली]
- (३३) सर्वानेव यथासम्बध्यैमानक्रान्तमाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्सविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः
पुण्याप्यायनाय चल[भ्याभ्यासे]सतिविष्ट यश्शूरविहार-
- (३४) मण्डले सामन्तककुक्कमातृकुलपुत्रिमापूर्णभट्टाकारितविहारनिवातिनानादिग-
भ्यागताय्यभिधुणीसंघाय चीवरपिण्डपातश-
- (३५) यनासनम्लानभैषज्याद्यर्थं युद्धानां च भगवता गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपतैलाद्यर्थं
विहारस्य च खण्डस्फुटितप्रति[सस्क]-
- (३६) रणाय च सुराप्रेषु रोहणरूपयुक्ते नागादिज्ञानरूपामस्सोद्वहस्वोपरिकरस्त-
भूतवातप्रत्यायस्स[धा]-

१ Read विगतानुसंधानसमा ० २ ० ग ० ३ Read '०प्रत्ययो ४ Read
०विध्वंसि ५ ०परिभूता ६ Read प्रसाधयिता, ७ Read ०निर्भर ८ Read
०राज्याशालाहु ९ Read प्रशमा, १० Read ०सौहृदोपि, ११ Read ०सम्बन्ध ०.

- (३७) न्यहिरण्यादेय सदशापराध सोत्पद्यमानविष्टीरु* सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीय.
पूर्वदत्तदेव[ब]-
- (३८) ह्यदेयरहित भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कावक्षितिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीन उदकाति-
सर्गेण धर्मदायतया निरुद्धे .
- (३९) [य]तोस्योचितया देवाग्रहारस्थित्या भुजत कृपत कर्पयत प्रदिशतो^१ वा न
कैश्चिद् व्यासेधे धर्तितव्यामागामिभद्रनृपति-
- (४०) भिरप्यस्मद्भुजैरन्यैर्वा अमित्यान्यैश्चर्याणि अस्थिरं मानुष्य सामान्य च
भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्विरयमस्माद्योनोम-
- (४१) . न्तव्यःपरिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं च बहुभिर्बुधैः भुक्ता राजाभिस्सगरादिभि [१]
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा [फलम्] [॥]
- (४२) [यानी]इ दारिद्र्यभ[या]नरेन्द्रैर्दत्तानि धर्मायतनीकृतानी [१] निर्वृक्त-
मात्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु पुनराददीत [॥] [पष्टि] व[र्षे]स-
- (४३) हस्ताणि स्वर्गे [मोदेत] [भूमि] द[१] आच्छेत्ता चानुन्मता च तान्येव नरके
वसेत् [॥] दूतकोत्र सामन्तशीलादित्यः लिखित[मि]
- (४४) [दसधि]विग्रहाधिकृत दिविरपति[चन्द्र]भट्टिपुनदिविरपतिस्क [न्दभ]
देन स ३००[+]१०[+]९ ज्येष्ठ शु ७ स्वहस्तो मम.

- (३७) न्यहिरण्यादेय सदशापराध सोत्पद्यमानविष्टीक सव्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रज्ञेपणीय पूर्वदत्तदेव[व]-
- (३८) ह्यदेयरहित भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्काण्यवक्षितिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीन उदकाति-
समेण धर्मदायतया निवृष्टे
- (३९) [य]तोस्योचितया देवाग्रहारस्थित्या भुजत कृपत कर्पयत प्रदिशतो वा न
कैश्चिद् व्यासेधे वर्तितव्यामागामिभद्रनृपति-
- (४०) भिरप्यस्मद्भुजैरन्यैर्वा अंनित्यान्यैश्चर्याणि अंस्थिर मानुष्य सामान्य च
भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्विरयमस्मदायोनुम-
- (४१) न्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्त च बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजाभिस्सगरादिभि [१]
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा [फलम्] [॥]
- (४२) [याना]ह दारिद्र्यभ[या]नरेन्द्रैर्द्वानानि धर्मायतनीकृतानी [१] निवृत्त-
मात्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु पुनराददीत [॥] [पठि] व[र्ष]स
- (४३) हस्त्राणि स्वर्ग [मोदेत] [भूमि] द [१] आच्छेता चानुमता च तान्येव नरके
वसेत् [॥] दूतकोत्र सामन्तशीलादित्यः लिखित[मि]
- (४४) [दसधि]विग्रहाधिकृत दिविरपति[चन्द्र]भट्टिपुनदिविरपतिस्कं [न्दभ]
टेन स ३००[+]१०[+]९ ज्येष्ठ शु ७ स्वहस्तो मम.

Caṇḍupāṇḍita gives his own date viz. Saṃvat 1353 or A. D. 1297.¹ This reference enables us to push back the date of *Vṛttaratnākara* as far back as A. D. 1250 or roughly the 1st half of the 13th century. The popularity of this work will be apparent from the fact that not less than 20 commentaries have been written on it² and that numerous copies of the work are extant in a manuscript form in different Manuscript libraries of the world.

XXIX

JINASAMUDRASŪRI AUTHOR OF A COMMENTARY
ON THE *KUMĀRASAMBHAVA* AND HIS EXACT DATE
Born Saṃvat 1506 (A. D. 1450) and died Saṃvat 1555 (A. D. 1499)

In my note in the Annals³ (No. XXVI) I concluded on other evidence that Jināsamudra's commentary on the *Kumārasambhava* must have been composed towards the last quarter of the 15th century i. e. between A. D. 1475 and 1500. This inference was mainly based on the probable identity of this commentator with the Jināsamudrasūri who was a contemporary of Devakarna in Saṃvat 1536 (= A. D. 1480).

I have since examined all the colophons of the only Ms. of the *Kumārasambhavalikā* by Jināsamudra (No. 537 of 1884-87) and found that all the seven colophons for the seven cantos are identical in their enumeration of the details about the author of the commentary viz. (1) खरतर गच्छ ; (2) जिनप्रभसुरि ; (3) जिनचन्द्रसुरि and जिनसहस्रसुरि. In the *Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvali* No. 1 we find the following remarks⁴ about जिनप्रभ—

“ अत्रान्तरे श्रीजिनप्रभगुरुश्रीजिनसिंहसुरेण खरतरगणो जज्ञे.” In this “लघुखरतरगण” appear the following *Sūtris* :—

“ २०. श्रीजिनचंद्रसुरयः । चम्मगोत्रीयाः । पत्तने सा० समरसिंहकृतितनया श्रीकीर्तिरत्नाचार्यः रथापिताः । अयुदाचले नवफणपार्ष्वप्रतिष्ठापकाः । श्रीधर्मरत्न-श्रीगु-

¹ See my note in the Journal of the Mythic Society (April 1928) where I have corrected Bühler's error as he gave A. D. 1456-7 as the date of composition of Caṇḍu's commentary.

² Aufrecht : *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 495

³ *Annals*, Vol. XV (Parts III-IV), pp. 244-246.

⁴ *Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvali Saṃgraha* (compiled by Śrī Jinavijaya ; Pub. by Puranechand Nahar, 48 Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta, 1932) p. 11.

णरुत्नाचार्यादि महापदकर्तारः कर्मग्रन्थेत्तारश्च । ५० वर्षं सर्वायुषः । स्वयं ज्ञातावसाना
नसलमेरो सप्रभावस्तूपा अभुवन् सं १५३७ । ”

२१. श्रीजिनसमुद्रसूरयः । परीक्षगोत्रे वाग्भटमेरी देका-देवलदेसताः । पुंजपुरे
मंडपतः समागतः । मउटीया श्रीमालसोनपालरुतिनंयां श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरिस्थापिताः ।
साधितपंचनादिसोमरादियक्षाः । महाचारित्रिणोऽहमदावादे सं १५५५ स्वर्गे ययुः ”

The identity presumed by me in my previous note is amply
proved by the above extracts which corroborate all the details of
the colophons of the *Kumūrasambhavaṭīkū* about Jinasamudra
and the line of the *Sūris* in the *Kharataragaccha* to which he
belonged.

Further *Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvalī* No. 2¹ also furnishes more
details about Jinasamudra :—

“ ५७—तत्पट्टे सप्तपंचाशत्तमः श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरिः etc.”

“ ५८—तत्पट्टे अष्टपंचाशत्तमः श्रीजिनसमुद्रसूरिः । तस्य च बाहडमेरुवासी पारख-
गोत्रीयदेकासाहपिता, मातादेवलदेवी । सं. १५०६ जन्म, सं. १५२१ दीक्षा, सं. १५३०
मा० सु० १३ जेसलमेरुवास्तव्य संप्रपति सोनपालरुतनंदिमहोत्सवेन श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरिभिः
स्वहस्तेन पदस्थापनाकृता । ततः पंचनदीसोमयक्षादि साधकाः, परम चारित्र्यवतः
श्रीजिनसमुद्रसूरयः सं. १५५५ अहमदावादनगरे स्वर्गे गताः ॥ ५८ ॥

It will be seen from the above evidence that *Jinasamudarasūri*
in the above *Paṭṭāvalī* is identical with the Jinasamudra, the
author of the commentary on the *Kumūrasambhava*. He was born
in Samvat 1506 (= A. D. 1450) became a *Sūri* in Samvat 1521
(= A. D. 1465) i. e. at the age of fifteen and died at Ahmeda-
bad in Samvat 1555 (= A. D. 1499) having lived about 49 years.
His commentary must have been written between A. D. 1465 and
A. D. 1499 after he settled down in the *Kharataragaccha* as a
Sūri.

XXX

THE TERMINUS AD QUEM FOR THE DATE OF BHĀNU-
DATTA, THE AUTHOR OF THE *RASAMAÑJARĪ*

Dr. S. K. De makes the following remarks² while dealing
with the date of Bhānudatta the author of the *Rasamañjarī* :—

¹ Ibid, p. 33.

² *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 248.

19 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

"The other terminus is furnished by the date of one of the commentaries on the *Rasamañjarī* called the *Rasamañjarīvākāśa* (or *Vilāśa*) by Gopāla (alias Vopadeva), son of Nṛsiṃha which is expressly dated in 1428 A. D. Dr. De further¹ states that "the comm. is dated Samvat 1484=1428 A. D. Mr. Shridhar R. Bhandarkar points out (Rep. of Second Tour 1904-06 p. 36) that the date is 1494 and not 1484 as given by Stein (extr. p. 273) but he thinks it is Śaka era, in which case the date of commentary will be 1572 A. D.

As the above statements of Dr. De left me in uncertainty about the exact terminus I examined the grounds of Mr. Bhandarkar's statement that the year belongs to the Śaka era and that the date of the commentary would, therefore, be 1572 A. D. My examination shows that Mr. Bhandarkar's conclusion is correct as will be seen from the following facts:--

(1) Mr. S. R. Bhandarkar's remarks² about the date of the commentary under reference are as follows:--

"The date of composition is given as 'युगरन्ध्रवेदधरणी गण्ये गिरो वत्सरे.' रन्ध्र means nine and so the date is 1494 and not 1484 as given by Stein. The era is not specified. But the name of the cyclic year Angiras shows that it is the Śaka year. So the era of the date of Stein's Ms. must be the Śaka era since the date is 1514."

(2) Mr. Bhandarkar is correct in taking रन्ध्र to mean nine and not eight as interpreted by Stein in his extract on p. 273 of his Catalogue (see p. 120 of Ojha's Palaeography of India, 1918). Hence the year is 1494 and not 1484.

(3) Dr. Stein was doubtful about his interpretation of the chronogram as he records it with a sign of interrogation thus—"युगरन्ध्रवेदधरणी (1484?) गण्ये गिरो वत्सरे"

(4) Dr. Stein could not properly make use of the incorrect expression "गण्ये गिरो वत्सरे" as recorded in his Manuscript. The correct expression is found in the Ms. seen by Mr. Bhandarkar and which he records as "गण्ये गिरो वत्सरे." In this expression the

¹ Ibid p. 252.

² Report of a Second Tour in Search of Sanskrit Mss. in Rajputana and Central India—1904-05 and 1905-06, p. 36.

presence of the *anusvāra* gives us clearly the word 'अंगिरो' instead of the word गिरो which could not make any meaning in Stein's Ms.

(5) Mr. Bhandarkar is also correct in stating that Āṅgiras is the name of the Śaka year and not of a Saṁvat year. This statement is borne out by a reference to *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol. V, 1922, p. 346) where the name of Śaka 1494 is mentioned to be *Āṅgiras*. On p. 77 of the same volume Saṁvat 1494 is mentioned to have *Raktākṣa* as its name which conflicts with the name अंगिरम् as given in the Ms.

It will thus be seen that the date of the com. *Kasamañjarī-kūsa* is A. D. 1572 and not 1428 A. D. Consequently the later terminus for Bhānudatta's date is A. D. 1572 and not 1428 A. D.

XXXI

DATE OF SĀRĀVALĪ OF KALYĀNAVARMAN

between A. D. 550 and A. D. 966

Mr. V. Subrahmanya Shastri writes in his preface to the edition of *Sārāvalī*¹ of Kalyāṇavarman: "In my attempts to make out the ambiguous portion of certain Ślokas in *Jātakapārijāta*² I had to refer to *Bṛhatjāta* and its commentary by Bhaṭṭotpala to decide upon the right interpretation of the dubious passages. I found that *Bhaṭṭotpala* who lived in the time of Emperor Jehangir supported his explanations of the passages in Varāhamihira's work by largely quoting from *Sārāvalī*, because his authority on astrological points was undisputedly acknowledged in his time." "The author Kalyāṇavarman appears to have flourished between the ages of Varāhamihira and Bhaṭṭotpala."

I wonder on what authority Mr. Subrahmanya Shastri makes the statement that Bhaṭṭotpala lived in the time of Emperor Jehangir whose period of reign is A. D. 1605-1627. The date of Varāhamihira³ being A. D. 505 we shall have to conclude on the

¹ *Sārāvalī* (3rd edition) 1928 (Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay; Perfaue pp. 1-2.

² Vide *Jātakapārijāta* of Vaidyanātha Dikṣita Vol. I (1932) and Vol. II (1933) with English Translation and Notes by V. Subrahmanya Shastri, Bangalore.

³ Duff; *Chronology of India*, p. 38.

assumption of the contemporaneity of Bhaṭṭotpala and Emperor Jehangir that Kalyāṇavarman flourished between A. D. 505 and A. D. 1627.

Mr. Shastri's statement however appears to be wrong in view of the following facts :—

(1) *Bhaṭṭotpala*, the commentator on the *Brhajāṭaka* of Varāhamihira wrote his commentary in A. D. 966.¹ This commentary is called *Jagaccandrikā*²

(2) There is no other commentary on the *Brhajāṭaka* ascribed to any other Bhaṭṭotpala except the one referred to above which is expressly dated in A. D. 966.

Our conclusion, therefore, would be that Kalyāṇavarman flourished between A. D. 505 the date of Varāhamihira and A. D. 966 the date of Bhaṭṭotpala who quotes from *Sārāvallī* as stated by Shastri in the extract from his Preface given above.

In Duff's *Chronology of India*, however, the following statement is found re. *Kalyāṇavarman* :—

"A. D. 578--Kalyāṇavarman, the astronomer, probably flourished about this date. He lived after Varāhamihira and was probably a contemporary of Brahmagupta—*Gayakatarangīnī*, ed. Sudhākara, *The Pandit* N. S. XIV.³

We know as a matter of fact that the astronomer Brahmagupta was born in A. D. 598¹ and wrote his *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta* in Śaka 550 (= A. D. 628) that is at the age of thirty. If Kalyāṇavarman flourished about A. D. 578, Brahmagupta's literary activity began about A. D. 628 i. e. about 50 years later. Brahmagupta wrote another work viz. *Khaṇḍakhādya*⁴ in A. D. 665 i. e. 37 years after the date of the *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta*. These dates throw some doubt on the theory of contemporaneity of Brahmagupta and Kalyāṇavarman so far as the above facts go.

¹ Keith : *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 531.

² Aufrecht : *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 64.

³ Duff, *Chronology of India*, p. 44.

⁴ Keith : *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 522.

XXXII

THE SAṂGĪTACŪDĀMAṆI AND ITS PROBABLE DATE.

Before A. D. 1200

Aufrecht does not record any Mss. of the work on music called the Saṁgītacūdāmaṇi in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. There are, however, to be found references to and quotations from this work in literature on music as also in allied literature as will be shown below.

In a work called the *Bharatāśūstragrantha* a Ms. of which is available at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, (No. 40 of 1916-18) the following quotations have been ascribed to the *Saṁgītacūdāmaṇi* :—

folio 3 — “ तदुक्तं संगीतचूडामणौ

चतुर्मर्धातुभिः पङ्क्तिश्चाङ्गैर्पश्मात्रयुज्यते ।

तस्मात्प्रबन्धः कथितः प्रतापः पृथिवीभुजाम् ॥

उद्गाह्यस्स तु चत्वारो स्वरादीनि च सप्तधा ।

वसन्ति यत्र संज्ञेयः प्रबन्धो वस्तुसंज्ञया ॥

उद्गाह प्रथमो भागस्ततो मेधा प्रतद्वये ।

आभोगश्च प्रबन्धश्च चत्वारो धातवो मताः ॥

पदश्चेन्नाच.....पादौ तालस्वरौ तथा ।

अङ्गान्येतानि षट् प्राहुः प्रबन्धस्य यथाक्रमम् ॥ ”

folio 10 — “ तदुक्तं संगीतचूडामणौ

प्रबन्धेषु ध्रुवत्वेन ध्रुव इत्याभिधीयते

स्वयं येऽत्र प्रबन्धे स्याद्यदनेनैव पूरणम् ॥ इति ”

I have shown elsewhere ¹ that the *Bharatāśūstragrantha* which contains the above quotations from the *Saṁgītacūdāmaṇi* was written in the 3rd quarter of the 16th century.

A reference to the *Saṁgītacūdāmaṇi* from a 15th century work is furnished by Mr. Raghvan,² a Research Student of the University of Madras, who states that a work called *Cūdāmaṇi* is quoted and criticized in the *Tūlapadikū* of Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla, who was Governor under Devarāya II (1423-1446 A. D.) of the Vijayanagar Dynasty and that most likely it is King Pratāpa's *Saṁgīta-*

¹ *Annals*, Vol. XV, pp. 240-242.

² *Later Saṁgīta Literature* (published in the Journal of the Madras Music Academy), p. 11 of the offprint kindly supplied to me by the author.

assumption of the contemporaneity of Bhaṭṭotpala and Emperor Jehangir that Kalyāṇavarman flourished between A. D. 505 and A. D. 1627.

Mr. Shastri's statement however appears to be wrong in view of the following facts :—

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¹ Keith : *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 534.

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folio 3 — “ तदुक्तं संगीतचूडामणौ

चतुर्भिर्धातुभिः षड्विंशद्भिर्ध्वजैश्चात्मप्रयुज्यते ।

तस्मात्प्रबन्धः कथितः प्रतापः पृथिवीभुजाम् ॥

उद्गाह्यस्त तु चत्वारो स्वरादीनि च सप्तधा ।

वसन्ति यत्र संज्ञेयः प्रबन्धो वस्तुसंज्ञया ॥

उद्गाह प्रथमो भागस्ततो मेधा प्रतद्वये ।

आभोगश्च प्रबन्धश्च चत्वारो धातवो मताः ॥

पदश्चेन्नाच.....पादौ तालस्वरौ तथा ।

अद्धान्येतानि षट् प्राहुः प्रबन्धस्य यथाक्रमम् ॥ ”

folio 10 — “ तदुक्तं संगीतचूडामणौ

प्रबन्धेषु ध्रुवत्वेन ध्रुव इत्याभिधीयते

स्वयं येऽत्र प्रबन्धे स्यादनेनैव पूरणम् ॥ इति ”

I have shown elsewhere¹ that the *Bharataśāstragrantha* which contains the above quotations from the *Saṅgītacūḍamaṇi* was written in the 3rd quarter of the 16th century.

A reference to the *Saṅgītacūḍamaṇi* from a 15th century work is furnished by Mr. Raghvan,² a Research Student of the University of Madras, who states that a work called *Cūḍamaṇi* is quoted and criticized in the *Tālapadikā* of Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla, who was Governor under Devarāya II (1423-1446 A. D.) of the Vijayanagar Dynasty and that most likely it is King Pratāpa's *Saṅgīta-*

¹ *Annals*, Vol. XV, pp. 240-242.

² *Later Saṅgīta Literature* (published in the *Journal of the Madras Music Academy*), p. 11 of the offprint kindly supplied to me by the author.

Reprinted from

The Journal of the University of Bombay

Vol. IV, Part I, July 1935

TWO UNPUBLISHED FRAGMENTARY VALABHI GRANTS.

I. THE PITHADIA GRANT OF DHARASENA II.

This fragmentary grant, which is in reality the first half of it, was sent to me for decipherment by Mr. H. E. F. Percy, tutor and companion to a Prince at Pithadia (Jetpur, Kathiawar) in January 1934. It belongs to D. S. Mulu Vala Saheb, C. I. E. It was found lying in one of the drawers of a table, and had chalked across it the words "Remove your shoes before entering here". Evidently no one appreciated its value. Mr. Percy offered a reward for the second half which is missing, but his efforts have so far borne no fruit.

In the case of VALABHI grants it is the second half that is more important inasmuch as it furnishes important data about the donee, the property granted, the date etc. Thus the second half is historically more important. In the first half, the place from which the grant is issued and the almost stereotyped genealogy of the rulers upto the donor king are the only less important items.

This plate, which measures 10½"×8" and contains 22 lines, is issued from Valabhi. The kings mentioned in the Genealogical Table are :—(1) Senāpati Bhaṭārka, the founder of the ruling house, and his four sons : (2) Dharasena I, (3) Dronasimha, (4) Dhruvasena I, (5) Dharapaṭṭa ; No. 5 was succeeded by his son (6) Guhasena ; (7) Dharasena II, son of Guhasena the donor of the present grant.

Almost all the Valabhi Rulers, though staunch devotees of Śiva, were tolerant Hindu kings. Dharapaṭṭa, who is also called Dhara-

pada¹, is described in this and other grants as a devout worshipper of the "SUN" (Paramāditya-Bhakta). Śilāditya I, son of Dhara-sena II, though a devotee of Śiva, donated villages to Buddhist Vihāras² and granted a piece of land to a Sun Temple in the village Bhadreniyaka in the Bār forest.³

About 13 grants of Dharasena II are known. His earliest known grants are of 252 G. E. and the latest ones are of 270 G. E. The last known grant of his father is of 248⁴ G. E. and the 1st known grant of his successor is of 286 G.E.⁵ So it seems that Dharasena II ruled from 250 to 280 G. E. (circa).

In addition to his titles of Mahārāja and Paramamāheśvara, he uses the epithet "Sāmanta" in two grants of 252 G. E.⁶ and Mahā-Sāmanta in the grants of 269 & 270 G. E. In the present grant he bears neither of the titles—Sāmanta or Mahāsāmanta. So it is possibly later than 252 G. E. and earlier than 269 G. E. Besides the earlier grants with one exception⁷ are issued from Valabhi and the later ones are issued from victorious camps and since this grant is issued from Valabhi, it may possibly belong to the earlier part of Dharasena II's reign.

The recipients of most of Dharasena II's grants are Brahmins. The beneficiaries of three grants⁸ are Buddhist Vihāras, one of them being the Bappa Pādiya Vihāra⁹, built by Ācārya Bhadanta Sthira-mati who is referred to by Hieun Tsiang.¹⁰

Though Dharasena II is invariably called Mahārāja, he styles himself as Mahārājādhirāja in the Sign-Manual at the end of the grant of 269 G.E.¹¹ which shows that he rose to higher power. The Alinā Grant of 270 G.E.¹² donates a village in the Kaira District, which

(1) Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. I, p. 25.

(2) e.g., Indian Antiquary XIV, p. 327.

Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. III, pt. I.

(3) Noticed in the Annual Report of Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1919-20; p. 54.

(4) Ind. Ant. V. p. 206.

(5) Ind. Ant. XIV. p. 327.

(6) Ind. Ant. XV, 187; Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. IV. pp. 33-37.

(6a) Ind. Ant. VI 9; J.B.B.R.A.S. N.S. I. 66.

(7) Sanskrit & Prakrit Inscriptions of Kathiawar. pp. 35-39.

(8) Ind. Ant. VI, p. 9; J.B.B.R.A.S. N.S. I. 66ff; *ibid.* p. 25.

(9) Ind. Ant. VI 9 ff.

(10) *Ibid.*

(11) Ind. Ant. VI.

(12) Ind. Ant. VII. 70-71.

obviously must have formed part of the kingdom of Valabhi. In fact Dharasena II is the first Valabhi ruler who made annexations to his kingdom outside Kathiawar.

The Officers mentioned in lines 20-22 are Āyuktaka, Viniyuktaka, Drāṅgika, Mahattara, Cāṭa, Bhaṭa, Dhruvādhikaraṇika, Daṇḍapāśika, Coroddharaṇika Śaulkika, Rājasthānīya, Kumārāmātya.

Unfortunately due to the loss of the second half of the grant, information as regards the Date, the Lekhaka, the Dūtaka (the Executive Officer) etc. is lost. If our assumption that the grant belongs to the earlier period of the king's reign is true, the Dūtaka must have been Cirbira (चिर्बिर) who functions in that capacity in all the grants except those of 269 & 270 G.E. wherein Sāmanta Śilāditya is mentioned as the Dūtaka.

The scribe is Skandabhāṭa, the Minister of Peace and War in all his grants and so must have been in the present case.

The language and the script are the same as in the other Valabhi grants. In addition to the usual points of Orthography, carelessness of the engraver is shown by (1) the presence of *visarga* where it is redundant, e.g., ll., 1, 27, (2) the absence of *visarga* where it ought to be (ll., 14, 15), (3) wrong spelling as in ययाभिलिपित (l. 8); सापया (l. 11); पुद्दि; आभिहामिकै (l. 17)

The plate is fairly well preserved and is at present kept in the Watson Museum of Antiquities, Rajkot.

PITHADIA GRANT OF SRI DHARASENA II.

Text*

1st Plate.

(१) ओं स्वस्ति वलभीतः प्रसभेः प्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामनुलबलसंपन्नमण्डला-
भोगसंसक्तसंप्रहारशतलब्ध—

(२) प्रतापः प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपाभितानुरागोनुरक्तमौलमृतमित्रधनेश्वला-
वाप्तदाज्यध्रीः परम—

(३) माहेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिभट्टार्कस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादरजोरुगावनतपवित्रीकृतशिराः
शिरोवनतशकचूडामणिः प्रभाविच्छुरि—

* From the original plate and the ink-impression supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

† Expressed by a symbol.

1 Drop Visarga

2 Read °रान्दभीः

3 Read °रात्रु°

(४) तपादनखपडिचदीधिति ईनानाथकृपणजनोपजीव्यमानविभवः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिधरसेनस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पाद—

(५) प्रणामप्रशस्ततरविमलमौलिर्मणिर्मन्वादिप्रणीतविधिविधानधर्मा धर्मराज इव विहितविनयव्यवस्थापद्धतिरखिल—

(६) भुवनमण्डलाभोगैकस्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वयमुपहितराज्येभिषेकमहाविश्रा-
णनावपूतराज्यश्रीः परममाहे—

(७) श्वरो महाराजा द्रोणसिंह सिंह इव तस्यानुजः स्वभुजपलपराक्रमेण पर-
गजघटानीकानामेकविजयी शर—

(८) णैयिणां शरणमवबोद्धा शास्त्रार्थतत्त्वानां कल्पतरुरिव सुहृत्प्रणयिनां र्यय-
मिलिपितकामफलोपभोगदः पर—

(९) मभागवतः श्रीमहाराज भुवसेनस्तस्यानुजः तच्चरणारविन्दप्रणीतप्रविधोता-
शेषकल्मषः सुविशुद्धस्वच—

(१०) रितोदकप्रक्षालितसकलकलिकलङ्कः प्रसमनिर्जितारातिपक्षप्रथितमहिमा
परमादित्यभक्तः श्रीमहाराजधरपट्ट

(११) स्तस्यात्मजस्तत्पादसौपर्यावाप्तपुण्योदय शैशवात्प्रभृति खैत्रद्वितीयः बाहुरेव
समदपरगजघटास्फोट—

(१२) नप्रकेशतसत्त्वनिकपस्तत्प्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तसंव्येपादनख-
रश्मिसंयेतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमा—

(१३) र्गसम्यक्परिपालेनाप्रजाहृदयरञ्जनादन्वर्त्यराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिः स्थैर्य-
गाम्भीर्यपुद्धिर्सेम्पद्भिः स्मरशशाङ्काद्रि—

(१४) राजोदधिनिदशशुजैधनानतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया नृणवद-
पास्ताशेषस्वकार्यफलं प्रार्थ—

(१५) नाधिकार्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयं पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्ड-
लाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वर

(१६) श्रीमहाराजगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्ताननिर्वृत्तैजाह्वीजंजी-
घविक्षालिताशेषकाल्मषः प्रणयि [शत]

4 Read °मौलिमार्ण°

6 Read °द्रोणसिंहः°

8 Read यथाभिलषित°

10 Read °प्रक्षालित°

12 Read °पुण्योदयः°

14 Read °प्रकाशित°

16 Read °संहतिः°

18 Drop visarga.

20 Read °गुरुपदेश°

22 Read हृदयः

24 Read °जलौष°

5 Read °राज्याभिषेको

7 Read °स्वभुजदल°

9 Read °प्रविधौता°

11 Read °सपर्या°

13 Read °द्वितीयबाहुरेव

15 Read °सव्य°

17 Read °पालन°

19 Read °पुद्धि°

21 Read °फलः°

23 The usual reading is °निस्व°

(१७) सहस्रोपजीव्यभोगसंपत्तं रूपलोभादिवाधितः सरभसमाभिज्ञांमिकैर्गुणैस्सह
जशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापिताखिल—

(१८) धनुर्द्धरः प्रथमनरैपतिः समतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्मदायदानामि-
पाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामावदौ—

(१९) रानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवसंस्य संघतौरातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिक्षोभे-
दक्षविक्रमकमोपसंप्राप्तविम—

(२०) लपार्थिवैः परममाहेधरो महाराजश्रीधरसेन)(कुशली सर्वानेवायुक्तवि-
नियुक्तकद्राक्षिक

(२१) महत्तरचाटभट्टभुवाधिकरणिकदाण्डपाशिरुर्ध्वारोद्धरणिकशौल्तिकराजस्या—

(२२) नीयकुमारामात्यादीनान्यांश्च यथै सम्बध्यमानकान्समाज्ञांविनयत्यस्तु वः

II. THE UNDAVI PLATE ŚILĀDITYA IV (or V?).

This Plate was found in a field called Talaviya, in the village Undavi, belonging to the Vala State, but situated under the jurisdiction of Gogha-Ahmedabad Collectorate. A farmer was working in a field when his plough brought it out to light. Mr. R. L. Mehta, the ex-Karbhari of Vala State, sent it to me for decipherment in September, 1931, for which I am very much obliged to him.

The plate is only the first half of the grant and is inscribed on one side only. It measures $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 11''$. The edges are just slightly raised in order to protect the writing, which is fairly well preserved. The letters, which are deeply incised, show through on the other side of the plate. As is hardly found in any other case, this plate has strangely enough two pairs of holes—one near each of the two upper lengthwise edges. Usually in the case of Valabhi grants, there is a pair of holes near the lower edge of the 1st plate and the upper one of 2nd half, intended to receive the seal and the ring. It is probably through mistake that the two holes are bored near the upper lengthwise edge of this plate. It contains 29 lines. A detailed description of the *characters, language, orthography, etc.*, which is the same as in other Valabhi grants, would be superfluous.

The plate is issued from the victorious camp at *Sāvandika*. This plate, which is the first half, ends with the words, "*Parama-māheśvarah Paramabhattāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Cakra-*

25 Read °संपद्रूप°

27 Read °नरपतिसमति°

29 Read °कारिणामुपप्लवानां

31 Read मंहता°

33 Read °पार्थिवश्रीः

35 °दीनन्यांश्च

37 Read समाज्ञापय°

26 Read °निगामि°

28 Read धर्मदायानामपाकर्त्ता

30 Read °धिवासस्य

32 a variant is परिभोग for परिक्षोभ

34 Read °चोरोद्धरणिक°

36 Read यथा

(४) तपादनखपडिक्कदीधिति ईनानायकृपणजनोपजीव्यमानविभवः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिधरसेनस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पाद—

(५) प्रणामप्रशस्ततरविमलमौलिर्मणिर्मन्वादिप्रणीतविधिविधानधर्मा धर्म्मराज इव विहितविनयव्यवस्थापद्धतिरखिल—

(६) भुवनमण्डलाभोगैकस्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वयमुपहितराज्येभिषेकमहाविश्रा-
णनावपूतराज्यध्रीः परममाहे—

(७) श्वरो महाराजा द्रोणासिंह सिंह इव तस्यानुजः स्वभुजपलपराक्रमेण पर-
गजघटानीकानामेकविजयी शर—

(८) पैपिणां शरणमवबोद्धा शास्त्रार्थतत्त्वानां कल्पतरुरिव सुहृत्प्रणयिनां रथ-
मिलिपितकामफलोपभोगदः पर—

(९) मभागवतः श्रीमहाराज ध्रुवसेनस्तस्यानुजः तच्चरणारविन्दप्रणीतप्रविधोतां-
शेषकल्मषः सुविशुद्धस्वच—

(१०) रितोदकप्रकसालितसकलकलकलङ्कः प्रसमनिर्जितारातिपक्षप्रथितमहिमा
परमादित्यभक्तः श्रीमहाराजधरपट्ट

(११) स्तस्यात्मजस्तत्पादसौपर्यावाप्तपुण्योद्देशे शैशवात्प्रगृति खैन्नद्वितीयः बाहुरेव
समदपरगजघटास्फोट—

(१२) नप्रकाशतसत्त्वनिकपस्तत्प्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तसेव्येपादनख-
रश्मिसंयेतिः" सकलसमृतिप्रणीतमा—

(१३) गर्गसम्यक्परिपालेनाप्रजाहृदयरञ्जनादन्वर्थराजशब्दो रूपकैन्तिः स्थैर्य-
गाम्भीर्यपुद्धिसैम्याद्रिः स्मरशशाङ्काद्रि—

(१४) राजोदधिन्निदशगुञ्जधनानतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणवद-
पास्ताशेषस्वकार्यफलं प्रार्थ—

(१५) नाधिकार्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयं पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्ड-
लाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वर

(१६) श्रीमहाराजगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्ताननिर्वृत्तैजाह्वीजंगी-
षविक्षालिताशेषकाल्मषः प्रणयि [शत]

4 Read °मौलिमणि°

6 Read °द्रोणासिंहः

8 Read यथाभिलषित°

10 Read °प्रक्षालित°

12 Read °पुण्योदयः

14 Read °प्रकाशित°

16 Read °संहतिः

18 Drop visarga.

20 Read °गुरुपनेशा°

22 Read हृदयः

24 Read °जलौष°

5 Read °राज्याभिषेको

7 Read °स्वभुजबल°

9 Read °प्रविधौता°

11 Read °सपर्या°

13 Read °द्वितीयबाहुरेव

15 Read °सव्य°

17 Read °पालन°

19 Read °बुद्धि°

21 Read °फलः

23 The usual reading is °निवृत्त°

(१७) महसोपजीव्यभोगसंपत् स्तलोमादिवाधितः सरभसमाभिर्ज्ञागिकैर्गुणैस्तद्व
जराक्षिशिक्षाविशेषविस्नापितारितल—

(१८) धनुर्दरः प्रथमनरपतिः नमसिष्टदानामनुपालयिता धम्मदायदानामि-
पाकर्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामावर्त्त—

(१९) रानेर् दग्गयिता धीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवर्त्तस्य संघतोरातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिधोभे-
दक्षविक्रमकमोवसंप्राप्तविम—

(२०) लगर्दिदधेः परमनादेश्वरो महाराजधीधरसेन(कुशली सध्वानेवायुक्तकवि-
नियुक्तद्वारिक

(२१) महत्तरचाटभट्टभुगधिकरणिकृदाण्डपाशिकर्षारोद्धरणिकशौलिकराजस्था—

(२२) नीयकुमारामात्यार्दानीन्यांध यधे सम्बध्यमानकान्तमाज्ञावत्यस्तु वः

II. THE UNDAVI PLATE ŚILĀDITYA IV (or V?).

This Plate was found in a field called Talaviya, in the village Undavi, belonging to the Vala State, but situated under the jurisdiction of Gogha-Ahmedabad Collectorate. A farmer was working in a field when his plough brought it out to light. Mr. R. L. Mehta, the ex-Karbhari of Vala State, sent it to me for decipherment in September, 1931, for which I am very much obliged to him.

The plate is only the first half of the grant and is inscribed on one side only. It measures 14½" × 11". The edges are just slightly raised in order to protect the writing, which is fairly well preserved. The letters, which are deeply incised, show through on the other side of the plate. As is hardly found in any other case, this plate has strangely enough two pairs of holes—one near each of the two upper lengthwise edges. Usually in the case of Valabhi grants, there is a pair of holes near the lower edge of the 1st plate and the upper one of 2nd half, intended to receive the seal and the ring. It is probably through mistake that the two holes are bored near the upper lengthwise edge of this plate. It contains 29 lines. A detailed description of the *characters, language, orthography, etc.*, which is the same as in other Valabhi grants, would be superfluous.

The plate is issued from the victorious camp at *Sāvaydika*. This plate, which is the first half, ends with the words, "*Parama-māheśvarah Paramabhāṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Cakra-*

- 25 Read °संपद्रूप°
27 Read °नरपतिसमति°
29 Read °कारिणामुपप्लवानां
31 Read मंहता°
33 Read °वार्त्तिवध्रीः
35 °दीनन्यांध
37 Read समाशापय°

- 26 Read °निगातमि°
28 Read धम्मदावानामपाकर्ण°
30 Read °धिवसस्य
32 a variant is परिमोग for परिक्षोभ
34 Read °चोरोद्धरणिक°
36 Read यथा

valī Śrī Dharasenaḥ." It¹ was wrongly described by me as a grant of Dharasena IV. I have since revised my views and have come to the conclusion that it must have belonged to Śilāditya IV (or V). For the number of lines in the Plate and its size almost correspond with these details of the known grants of these two kings.

Genealogy :—As usual the genealogical table starts with Bhaṭṭārka, the founder of the dynasty. In order to curtail *details* and restrict the matter to two plates only, Śilāditya I, started the practice of omitting four kings after Bhaṭṭārka, who were his sons. The Kings mentioned here are (1) Bhaṭṭārka, (2) his grand-son Guhasena, (3) Dharasena II, son of Guhasena, (4) Śilāditya I, elder son of Dharasena II, (5) Kharagraha I, younger brother of Śilāditya I, (6) Dharasena III, elder son of Kharagraha I, (7) Dhruvasena II, younger brother of Dharasena III, (8) Dharasena IV, son of Dhruvasena III. This last king is mentioned in the last line of this plate. If my guess is true, this plate belongs to Śilāditya IV or V and in the second half which is missing we get account of the successors of Śilāditya I. The direct line of Kharagraha I, who seems to have succeeded to the throne with force, came to an end with Dharasena IV and the throne passed again to the heirs of Śilāditya I. An account of the successors of Dharasena IV can be had from the grants of the 375 and 403 G. E.² After Dharasena IV, mention³ is made of Derabhāṭa, son of Śilāditya I, who is described as a royal sage and a petty chieftain. (9) Dhruvasena III, the youngest son of Derabhāṭa, succeeded by force to the throne, after Dharasena IV. (10) Dhruvasena III, was succeeded by his elder brother, *Kharagraha II*, whom he had superseded. (11) Kharagraha II, was succeeded by Śilāditya III, who was the son of Śilāditya II, the eldest brother of Kharagraha II. Śilāditya II, like his father Derabhāṭa, does not seem to have been a king of Valabhi. After Śilāditya III, we get (12) Śilāditya IV, and (13) Śilāditya V.

In this plate in line 12 Kharagraha I. is described as the son of Śilāditya I (तस्य सुतः) which is obviously wrong as seen from other grants. The same mistake occurs in the grants of Śilāditya V, and hence this plate might belong to Śilāditya V.

It is not possible to guess the Dūtaka and the Lekhaka of this grant for in the first place we do not know whose it is and secondly, we are ignorant of its date.

The plate is at present preserved in the State Museum at Vala.

1. See Annual Report of the Watson Museum, for 1931-32, p. 6.

2. Bhavnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions, p. 44 ; J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XI, p. 335.

3. *Ibid.*

Fragmentary Copperplate Grant of the Valabhi King Silāditya IV (?)

The Undvi Plate.

Text*.

(१) [ओ] स्वास्ति विजयस्कन्धावारा[र]सावण्डिकवसेका[र]प्रसमप्रणतामित्राणां
मैत्रकाणामतुल्यलसंपनमण्डलाभोगसेसक्तप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापा [त] प्रतापोपनतदानमाज्ज्वो-
पार्जितानुरा [गा]

(२) [द] नुरकमौलवृत्तश्रैणीबलावात्तराज्यत्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभट्टार्कादव्यवच्छि-
नंराजवंशो मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्पः शैशवात्प्रवृत्ति रत्न—

(३) द्वितीयबाहुरेव समदगजघटास्कट्टेनप्रकाशितसत्त्वनिकयः तत्प्रतापप्रणताराति-
चूडारत्नप्रभासंसकपादनसरदिनसंहतिसंकलस्मिन्तिप्रणीतमा—

(४) र्गसम्यक्प्रेतपालनप्रजाहृदयरंजना[द]न्वर्त्यराजशब्दोः रूपकान्तिधैर्य्यगाम्भीर्य्य
बुद्धिसंपद्भिः स्वरशास्त्रादिराजोदधिनिदशगुरुधनेशान—

(५) तिशजोनः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्ताशेक्षंस्वकार्य्यफलंप्रार्थ-
नाधिकार्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादभारीः

(६) सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्यसुतस्तत्पादन-
रामयूखसन्तानविद्येतिजाह्नवीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्प प्रण—

(७) यिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसंपद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रितः सरभसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैः सह-
जशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापितारिलघनुर्द्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिगृष्टा—

(८) नामनुपालयिता धर्मदायानामपहर्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपद्रवाणां दर्शयित
श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य संहतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो

(९) विक्रमौघप्राप्तविजयपार्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादा-
नुध्यातः सकलर्जनानन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्यगितसमग्रमण्डलैः समरशतविज—

(१०) यशोभासनाथमण्डलाप्रयुतिर्भासुरतरान्तेपीठेव्यूङ्गुलमनोरथमहाभारः सर्व्व-
विद्यापरापरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतः सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखी—

(११) पपादनीयपरितोषः समग्रलोकागधगाम्भीर्य्यहृदयोपि मुचारेतातिशयसुव्यक्त-
प[र]मकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपतिबलविशोधनाधिगतोदप्रकीर्तिर्द्धर्मानु [प] —

* From the original plate and a photograph.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1 Read °वासकाय | 2 Read न्यवच्छिन्न |
| 3 Read °स्कट्टेन° | 4 Read संहतिः |
| 5 Read °स्मृति° | 6 Read °प्रतिपालन |
| 7 Read रंजन | 8 Drop visarga after °दो |
| 9 Read °शयानः | 10 Read °शेष° |
| 11 Read °कार्य्यफलः | 12 Read °चारीव |
| 13 Read विसृज | 14 Read °कल्पः |
| 15 Read संहति° | 16 विक्रमोपसंप्राप्त in grant of Sam 375 |
| 17 सकलजगदानन्द° in some grants | 18 Read दिङ्मण्डलः |
| 19 Read °युतिभासुर° | 20 Read °रंसि° |

(१२) रोधोज्वलतरीकृतात्यंमुखसंपदुपसेवानिरुद्धधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परम-
माहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुणेश्वर गुणस्यात्यादरव [ता]

(१३) समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्तौ परमभद्र इव धुर्यस्त [दाज्ञा]
संपादनैकरसतयैवोद्वेहं खेदमुखरतिभ्यामनायासितसत्त्वसंपत्तिः प्रभावसंपद्वशी [कृत]

(१४) नृपतिशनशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपादपीठोपि परावज्ञाभिःभैनसाहसानालिङ्गित-
मनोवृत्तिः प्रगतिमेकां परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुष्यामिमानैरप्यरातिभिरना [सा] -

(१५) दीर्घप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवनमोदविमलगुणसंहति^० प्रसमविघटित-
सकलकलविलसितगतिरतिनीचजनावगाहिभिर्दोषैरंशैरनामृष्टालुव्रतहृदयः प्रख्यातपौरुष्या-

(१६) छत्रौशलतिशयगणतियविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयंभेदःप्रकाशितवीरपुरुषप्रथम
संख्याधिगमः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीखरग्रहस्तस्य सुतत्पादानुध्यातः सर्वविद्या-

(१७) धिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनपरितोपातिशयसैत्वसंपदा त्यागौदार्येण च
विगतानुसंधानैः समाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथरथक्षेमंगः सम्य -

(१८) गुणलक्षितानेकास्त्रकलालोकचरितगह्वरविभागोपिपरमभ [द्र] प्रकृतिरपिरुहे-
तृमप्रभयोपि विनयशोभाविभूषणः समरशतजयपता -

(१९) काहरणप्रत्यलोदयंवाहुदण्डविध्वन्सितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदम्प्यंदयः स्वधनुप्रभाव-
परिभूतास्त्रकशलाभिर्भैनः सकलनृपतिमण्डलाभिनन्दित -

(२०) शौपनः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्यानुजैः तत्पादानुध्यातः सुचरिताति-
शयितसकलपूर्व्वनरपतिरतिदुस्ताधनानां साधयिता विपर्य -

(२१) णां मूर्तिमानिव पुरुषकारः परिदृष्टगुणानुरागनिर्भरचित्तवृत्तिर्मनुरिव स्वमभ्युप-
पन्न (प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः कान्तिमात्रैश्च -

(२२) तिहंतुरकलङ्कः कुमुदनाथः प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगितदिगन्तरालः प्रैध्वन्सितध्वान्त-
राशि सततोदितःस्ववितर्ता प्रकृतिभ्यः परंप्रत्ययमर्त्यवन्तमति -

(२३) बहुतियप्रयोजनानुबन्धमागमपूर्णं विदधानः सन्धिविग्रहसमासनिधयनिपुणं
स्थानानुरूपमादेशं ददद्गुणवृद्धिवि -

21	Read	राजलक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्तां
23	Read	०भिमान०
25	Read	संहतिः
27	Read	०स्वयंग्रहप्रकाशित०
29	Read	०मनःवरि०
31	Read	०संधानसमा०
33	Read	०प्यकृत्रिम०
35	Read	०विध्वंसित०
37	Read	०कौशला०
39	Read	०नुजसि०
41	Read	०निर्वृति
43	Read	प्रध्वंसित
45	Read	सविता

22	०बोद्धवन्
24	Read ०दित०
26	Read दोषैरंशैर्ष०
28	Read सुतस्तत्पा०
30	०पातिशयः
32	Read ०रपाक्षमंगः
34	Read ०प्रत्ययो०
36	Read स्वधनुःप्रभाव०
38	Read ०भिमानसकल०
40	Read विषयाणां
42	०हेतु०
44	Read ०राशिः
46	Read निपुणः

(२४) धानजनितसंस्कारस्साधूनां राज्यसालातुरीयतन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि करणामृदुहृदयः श्रुतवानप्यगर्वितः

(२५) कान्तोपि प्रशमी स्थिरसौहार्दोपि निरसिता दोषवतामुदयसमयसमुपजनितजनानुरागः परिविहितभुवनसमर्थितप्रयित—

(२६) बालादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीभुवसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादकमलप्रणामधरनिकपणजनितकिणलांछनललाटचन्द्रशक—

(२७) लः शिशुभाव एव धवणनिहितमौक्तिकालंकारविभ्रमामलधुतिविशेषः प्रदानसलिलक्षालिताग्रहस्तारविन्द [:]

(२८) कन्याया इव मृदुकरग्रहणादम [न्दी] कृतानन्दविधिः^{४७} र्वसुन्धरायाः काम्मुको धनुर्वेव इव संभावितांशैपलक्षकल्लोप—

(२९) प्रगतसामन्तमण्डलोत्तमातङ्गधृतचूडारत्नायमानशासनः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरचक्रवर्ति श्रीधरसेनः॥

A. S. GADRE.

47 Read राज्यशालातुरीय^०

49 Read ^०विधि

48 Read ^०नुरागपरिपिहित^०

50 Read ^०कल्लोपः

Sanskrit Culture in Modern India

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Mahamahopadhyaya
HARAPRASAD SHASTRI

M.A., C.I.E., Hon. D. Litt.
CALCUTTA

BY THE
FIFTH INDIAN ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

LAHORE

1928

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I need not say that you have done me a great honour by asking me to preside on this historic occasion; for tender feelings of gratitude are better felt than expressed. You called me and I considered it a call of duty; and I am here in spite of the fact that between the call and the coming I had a fall which broke a bone and which confined me to bed for one hundred days and that in excruciating pain. The writing of this address had to be postponed for one hundred days. Under these circumstances, I am afraid, you will not be pleased with my performance, to which I could not give as much attention and time as the great occasion required. You have heard the songs of many young cuckoos;—this time, perhaps you will have to hear the cawing of an old crow,—shivering from the effects of storm and rain. But I could not resist the temptation of coming,—as these conferences are the only occasions, in which people who are not politically minded, can come and join their comrades of the same trade. In these days of strife and party-feeling, of communal and sectarian opposition, of bickerings and recriminations these literary conferences are places where peace and good feeling reign,—where people make smiling faces and open hearts and learn much by the association of really learned men in the land. One should not miss such a conference even at the risk of his life, and so here am I before you in this august Assembly.

I am a Sanskritist by heredity, training and pro-

fession, and I feel an instinctive love for everything connected with Sanskrit, including Indology. I am now at the fag end of my life and it has been my privilege to see oriental studies decay in our country during the period of over 70 years that I have been studying Sanskrit. I have seen the old style of deep and intensive learning flourish and decay, and I have seen the new school of study come into being and take the field; I have seen the old order giving place to the new. The old tradition is just passing away and a new one is coming in. Great changes have altered the face of India—and also its heart—during one life time. I think it is now time for us to take stock of the change to cast a retrospective glance; and we might even question ourselves which way is our ancient classical learning to go and how far the path that oriental studies are taking now has been suitable for the preservation of the old learning of the land and in what way a combination of the two can be effected. I shall place some of my readings of this history and some of my views before you for what they are worth.

Sanskrit, the
medium of edu-
cation

The age of the
great Indian
jurists

The 18th century of the Christian era was the palmy day of Sanskrit literature in India. Maharashtra Brahmins, whose ancestral profession was teaching Sanskrit were the dominant power in India throughout the century. They not only encouraged Sanskrit learning themselves but their example was inspiring light to others to encourage the study of Sanskrit. This was the age when great Indian jurists flourished. The earliest of them was Anantadeva, a Maharashtra Brahmin who wrote in his own native district by the Godavari his learned works called the various Kaustubhas under the patronage of Baz Bahadur Chandra a Raja of distant Kumayun in the Himalayas. The next was Vaidyanatha Payagunde—another Maharashtra Brahmin settled at Benares whose erudite commentary is still the admiration of lawyers in India. The third was—Jagannatha Tarka

pañcānana of Bengal who was brought at the Government House in Calcutta by the first Governor-General, Warren Hastings, with military band sounding, for the purpose of writing an exhaustive code of Hindu Law to be administered by the courts in British India. There were lesser lights all over India, eleven of whom in Bengal compiled the original Sanskrit work on Hindu Law of which Hallhead's "Gentoo Law" was the English Translation. [The name of the work is Vivādārṇava-Setu. It was published from Bombay years ago as the Code prepared under orders of Maharaja Ranjit Simha, the Lion of the Punjab].

Not only was Law the only subject which flourished in Sanskrit, but other branches of knowledge in the same language flourished in exuberance. Nāgoji Bhatta the great Mahārāṣṭra Pāṇḍit wrote his exhaustive commentary on the Mahā-bhāṣya in Grammar and other commentaries too, on almost all branches of Sanskrit literature. His learning was phenomenal, his character was exemplary and his presence inspiring. His was perhaps one of the last examples of the height to which human mind can be raised by a liberal education through Sanskrit only. Princes and Potentates yielded with one another in doing him honour.

Southern India produced great Pandits like Ahobala, who fleeing from the converting zeal of Tipu Sultan, came as a fugitive to Benares almost in tattered rags, and was received with open arms by the Pandits of the holy city. His learning, too, was equally phenomenal and he allowed Benares to utilise it fully.

On the top of these came Rāma Śāstrī, the Nyāyādhīśa or Chief-Justice of the Poona Durbar, famous for his learning, famous for his boldness and intrepidity and famous as an administrator of justice and a patron of education. For half a century, he was the earthly Providence of the Pandits of India, and

no one with real learning came back disappointed from him

Western in
fluence spread
through the
classics of India

But a change of spirit came with the advent of the 19th century. The English were the dominant race throughout the century, and they were anxious to bring their own language and its literature, their own sciences and their culture for the benefit of India. But they were very cautious in the beginning. They wanted to impart education through the classics of India whether Sanskrit or Arabic and Persian. But audacious ignorance at this period created an impression both in England and among the Court going people of India that Sanskrit and Arabic could afford no culture. It was thought that Sanskrit specially had no literature worth naming except disputations in Grammar and Logic. It had, no science, no poetry, no art, and no culture. This, in fact, was the opinion of Thomas Babington Macaulay.

Macaulay and
his terrible
minute and its
influence on the
educational sys-
tem of India

Relying on this opinion, Macaulay wrote his terrible minute against education through the medium of Indian Classics and threw the entire weight of his name, of his learning and of his position for imparting education through the medium of English, and the English Government acted, to his advice. There came a revolutionary change in the educational system of India. Old style Sanskrit Colleges—Tols as we call them in Bengal—and Pathasālas came to be deserted, and English schools on the other hand began to be filled. A little knowledge of English gave comfortable livelihood to clerks and lower grade officers not only in the administration of British India, but also in the offices of merchants and industrials, who for the first time began to start firms in India. I have seen with my own eyes in the sixties and seventies of the last century, how the Sanskrit Tols became empty and English schools flourished. There is a bit of personal history here, but I hope you will tolerate it as it is a commentary on what I have just said. My father died in 1861 and the charge of distri-

buting honoraria to learned Pandits assembled on religious, festive and social occasions in our neighbourhood devolved upon me though I was then very young. I remember, in 1864, there was a tolerably big assembly in my neighbourhood; and I distributed honoraria on behalf of the master of the house, to one hundred Pandits, all engaged in teaching Sanskrit in their own residences from Navadvipa to Calcutta, on both sides of the Ganges. Fourteen years later in 1878, on the occasion of the Śrādh ceremony of the father of our great novelist the famous Bankim Chandra Chatterji, I was requested to ascertain how many Pandits were engaged in teaching in their residences within this area, and I found only 26 ! A fall of 74 % in 14 years !

After the quelling of the Mutiny, a feeling of despair took possession of the Indian mind that the old Indian literature, old Indian culture, old Indian sciences and arts whether Hindu or Mohammedan would perish; and that, at no distant future. The situation was really desperate. Manuscripts were perishing in heaps in the houses of Pandits who were the leading educationists of past generations, or were being carried to all parts of Europe as the last remnants of *Indian culture*.

I will give you some account of how Manuscripts migrated and were destroyed. In the wars of the English in the 19th century, Mss. were an object of loot. In the year 1886 within a month after the proclamation was issued for the annexation of Upper Burmah, Prof. Minayeff who was residing at Milan in Italy received a telegram from St. Petersburg to proceed to Mandalay at once. The Professor went there and found that the common soldiers were using the pages of the Mss. in the splendid Royal Library of Burmah as cigarette-papers. He complained to General Pendergast who at once put a stop to that abuse, and allowed Prof. Minayeff to take as many of the Mss. as he liked. The Professor

Loot of Mss.

came to Calcutta and brought to me an introduction from my revered Professor, Mr C H Tawney I believe he took this precaution simply to save me from the attentions of the Police for having anything to do with Russians He was in Calcutta for several days, but he spent several hours with me One day I went to his place and he showed me 7 big packing cases containing the Mss spoils from Mandalay I could not see the Mss because the boxes were then all nailed, but the Professor gave me a glowing description of their contents Some of the Mss looted in the First Burmese War in 1826 are to be found in the Bishop's College library

- 4 The Bhagavad Gita which Peshwa Baji Rao II used to read is to be found in the India Office Library

The Arabic Mss looted from Tipu Sultan's library at Serangapatam are to be found in the Asiatic Society's rooms

But there is one satisfaction, and that great one in the fact that the Mss loot have been carefully preserved much better preserved than probably it would have been their lot in India at least for some time

Destruction of
Mss material

The way Mss have been dissipated and destroyed in the house of Pandits is simply a dismal story A Pandit who in the early years of 19th century was a great educationist and considered his Mss to be his best treasures and housed them in the best room of his house, carefully dried them in the sun after every rainy season, kept them tightly packed in thick cloth, died His son, who had learned A, B, C, read Murray's spelling book and the Azimgarh English Reader, had secured a small berth in the local Collectorate where his pay and perquisites, fair or unfair, amounted to at least ten times what his father could have ever earned He saw no good in the Mss and removed them from the best room in the house, first, to the store room and then to the kitchen where a thick coat of soot en

veloped the whole collection. The house-wife who was greatly troubled for dry fuel for preparing her husband's early meal, discovered that the Mss. were kept between two wooden-boards. These she exploited for the purpose of fuel but could not use the paper or palm-leaves for the same purpose, because there is a superstition that the paper or palm-leaf on which there is any writing is the very self of Sarasvatī and should not be consigned to fire. These papers got mixed up when the boards and the strings fastening them were removed and became a heap which in the course of a year or so were thrown in the kitchen-garden, there to rot.

Some old Pandit apprehensive of the fate of his old valuable Mss. in the hand of children who he could see would not care for Sanskrit threw them in the Ganges, thus giving the river goddess the most valuable offering he could make. At Navadvipa I have seen heaps of old Mss. rotting on the road-side. They are often used as waste-paper to cover holes in thatched roofs, or in the mud-wall, and often are sold to buyers of waste-papers, so much to the maund.

discovery of
hotra.

I will give one instance which happened at Udaipur. An old woman used to bring Mss. to a Bania and take whatever price he offered. But one day she brought a goodly Ms. and demanded -4/- annas because she was in sore need, but the Bania would not give her more than two annas, so they were higgling over the price when a Charan or Rajput bard came and asked the old woman what the matter was. On examining the Ms. he thought it must be something very important, and he asked her to accompany him as he would be able to give her a better price. He took the woman to the Maharaj-Kumar, and the enlightened Prince, got the Ms. examined there and then by his Court-Pandits. They all declared it to be Śāli-Hotra, a treatise on the horse and its diseases. Now the Śāli-hotra so long was lost in Sanskrit—it was known only from

a Persian translation and some people are said to have re translated it from the Persian The Maharaj Kumar was delighted at this discovery and gave the old woman Rs 50 Mahamahapadhvaya Morardan while at Udaipur, heard the story and got a copy made for himself I got a copy from Morardan's son and it is now deposited in the Asiatic Society's rooms

Story of Nepal

The history of the Ms collection in the Durbar Library, Nepal is very very interesting In the 18th century there were three big and many small principalities in the Nepal Valley the utmost extent of which is 15 by 15 miles All the princes for generations were collectors of Mss charts maps pictures on religious subjects But at the Gorkhali conquest of 1768 their collections were all looted so much so that the existence of a State Library was unknown In 1868 the Resident Mr Lawrence published the list of Mss which were considered at his time to be rare by the Pandits of Nepal Maharaja Sir Bir Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana made a resolution to have a State Library He collected together all Mss in the Palaces of Nepal and housed them in the College building where I saw them in 1897 It was a most interesting collection containing palm leaf Mss more than 1000 years old Sir Bir Sham Sher assured me that he will collect all the important Mss in the Nepal Valley and put them in a Darbar library and that he was constructing a library building with a clock tower in a most prominent place in the city In 1907 I found the building complete and the library housed there There were 16 000 Sanskrit Mss on palm leaf and paper, the whole of Buddhist literature in Tibetan and the whole of Buddhist literature in Chinese It was a splendid place for research students The idea was mooted by Sir Bir and executed by his brother Maharaja Sir Chandra Shamser Jang Bahadur Rana Sir Bir made immense efforts to collect Mss A Bengali Pandit family resident

was actually made to utilise part of the grant for Archæological purposes. But since, they have done good work in Madras and the peripatetic party has brought to light immense quantity of Sanskrit works, peculiar to South India.

The result of the action taken by Lord Lawrence.

Sixty years have passed, and it is time to take stock of what has been done and what remains to be done in this direction. Already in the early years of the 19th century inspite of what audacious ignorance might have said to the contrary, Horace Hayman Wilson declared, and the historian Elphinstone echoed the same idea, that Sanskrit had more works than Latin and Greek put together. After the institution of the search, the German scholar Hofrath Bühler made his celebrated tour through Rajputana and Kashmir and brought to light new branches of literature, new schools of Philosophy, new schools of rhetoric and produced a report which will be read with admiration by all who are interested in Sanskrit. Following in his wake, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Prof. Peterson of Bombay brought to light many important works in all the branches of Sanskrit. The vast field of Jaina literature, both in Sanskrit and Prakrit, was brought to public notice by the exertion and scholarship of these two eminent Orientalists. The peripatetic party in Madras has recently brought to light the works of the Prābhākara School of Mīmāṃsā of which only a small work of 150 pages was *all that* was known upto that time. We in Bengal have also done our mite. By including Nepal within the field of our operations, and working on the wake of Brian Hodgson, we have given publicity to the Buddhist literature in Sanskrit and the Śaiva and Tāntric literature of the last 500 years of the first millennium of the Christian era.

Catalogues of Mss. taken to Europe stimulated the spirit of cataloguing in India.

All the Mss. that were carried away from India to Europe, have been catalogued; and this stimulated the spirit of cataloguing in India and the European catalogues of Sanskrit Mss. are an object lesson to all

of us in India who are interested in Sanskrit. It would be curious to know that the French with whom intellectual culture is instinctive instituted a search for Sanskrit Mss. in the early part of the 18th century when Dupleix was the Governor of Chandernagore, and he sent about 400 Mss. to Paris. Where they will be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Some of the Smṛti works of this collection were written by one of the eleven Pandits who helped Halhead in the production of his "Gentoo Law" in 1772. But all this is by the way; let me proceed with my main theme.

sixty
preli-
iod.

All that has been done during the last sixty years is only a preliminary survey. Mss. were very shy of coming out. The Pandits were to a very great extent professional men who earn their livelihood by the study of these manuscripts; and as no one can be blamed for not revealing the sources of his income, the Pandits cannot be blamed for concealing their manuscripts and for not even giving information about them to strangers. During the preliminary period, however, we have trained the Pandits to show their Mss. and even to part with them. The spirit is also changing with the time. Pandits and their scions now want to make their ancestral inheritance the common property of man as it is no longer a bread-earning business. I will give some examples. I went to Dacca in search of Mss. in the year 1891 with one of my veteran assistants trained by Raja Rajendralal Mitra and was further assisted by a number of patriotic Pandits of the Eastern Capital of Bengal. The result in the direction of cataloguing or acquiring was not at all encouraging at the time. But after more than 30 years, the same area which we had surveyed, has given the Dacca University, nearly 5000 manuscripts. The search in Mithila by Raja Rajendralal and myself was not very encouraging either, but it has enabled the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, within the last 10 years, to produce

a big volume of catalogue for the Smṛti literature alone. The recent search in the District of Puri is likely to be still more successful ; for I am sure there are more than two lacs of Mss. in the 32 Śāsana villages inhabited by Brahmins alone.

The work of the last 60 years was carried on by scholars who had other avocations of life, and that arduous ones, too, at their leisure hours, assisted by ill-paid Pandits and often interfered with by unscholarly administrators of funds.

The work done
in the last sixty
years.

On the death or retirement of one scholar devoted to the search it was very difficult to find a successor, for the work was honorary. There were other drawbacks, too. Still, in sixty years it has produced marvellous results. The Mss. are not so shy of coming to public notice as they had been before. Besides, Indian Princes have helped and are helping the work of search in British India. Many of them have instituted search, within their own dominions, with excellent results. The ultimate end of the search is to find good works, and to publish them. The Sanskrit series instituted for publication by the enlightened Governments of Mysore, Travancore, Baroda and Kashmir are doing excellent service. They are everyday bringing out marvellously ' New ' works of ancient fame. The Mysore Government should be proud of the achievements of Shama Sastri in finding, editing and translating Kauṭilya's Artha-Śāstra in the Mysore series. The Travancore Government should be equally proud of the late T. Gaṇapati Śāstri's achievements in finding, in editing and in commenting upon the works of Bhāṣa, besides a whole host of other works. The Kashmir Darbar should be proud of Pandit Madhusūdana Koul's achievements in finding, editing and commenting upon numerous works on Kashmir Śaivism. The Gaekwad's Government should be proud of the achievements of Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya for publishing and commenting upon the Tattva-Saṁgraha of Śāntarakṣita

and its commentary by Kamala-śīla, the Sādhana-mālā and other works of Later Buddhism.

The works published are deserving of the patronage of the Government and princes.

The works, which these series published are worthy of the Governments patronising them and of the scholars engaged in editing them. They are all of such a nature that private publishers could not venture to undertake them. So it is the patriotism of the Princes that must come forward to bring our ancient literature to public notice. They are the richest inheritance we have received, from our ancestors, and they should not be allowed to lie idle in boxes of monastic Bhāṇḍārs, on bamboo scaffoldings in private houses, and on the shelves in the public libraries, with the imminent risk of being destroyed and lost to the world for ever any day.

Utility of hidden Mss. for historical and archæological purposes.

The preliminary period being over, the Princes and people of India should take intense interest in finding Mss. and when worthy publishing them. Every collection of manuscripts wherever found, can be expected to contain something strikingly new. Sanskrit ceased to be the medium of liberal education since the political destiny of the country passed into the hands of others. It remained as a professional study of Brahmins for the purpose of earning a livelihood, as priests and religious advisers as well as for preserving the Hindu society in tact, a duty which they took upon themselves in the absence of Hindu political powers. So, in every collection you would find, as a rule, current works and standard works,—works mostly of recent date. But every Pandit family had some hidden source of professional income and influence, unknown to others, in the shape of some unique manuscript. This they would not part with or show to others. But, now, after 150 years of British Government, when their profession is well-nigh gone, there would be no objection to these unique manuscripts being used by others—for historical and archæological purposes.

The calculation of Horace Hayman Wilson and

others that Sanskrit contains more works than Greek and Latin put together, has been left far behind by the preliminary work of these sixty years. The number of works in Sanskrit now is nearly double of what was known 100 years ago. Add to these the immense number of Buddhist works known through translations in the languages of Buddhist countries. In Tibetan there are Bstan-Hgyur and Bkash Hgyur collections which are said to contain the translation of about 8000 Buddhist Sanskrit works of which only 200 are known in the original Sanskrit. How many Sanskrit works were translated into Chinese, we do not know. Nanjio's catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka alone contains about 1300 names of Sanskrit works ; a few only of which are extant so far in the original. A full stock taking of Chinese literature translated from the Sanskrit we shall be enabled to make when Dr. Probodh Chandra Bagehi of the University of Calcutta completes the publication of his monumental work on Buddhist literature in China of which the first volume bringing the history upto the Tang period (beginning of the 7th century) has so far appeared. The original Sanskrit works of these translations are to be sought and discovered before they are irrecoverably lost. They will certainly add much to the huge mass imperfectly guessed by Wilson.

In every Sanskrit work of any authority, either in Smṛti, or in Alankāra, or in Grammar, or in Philosophy or in Artha-Śāstra, or, even, in Kāma-Śāstra, we get quotations by hundreds from preceding works ; those ancient authorities are not always forthcoming. A search is to be instituted for them without any loss of time. Sometimes the book quoted is available, but the quotation is not there. That may mean that the work quoted had many recensions. These would be a deserving object of search.

The work of search is nowhere needed so badly as in the case of the Purāṇas, the Tantras, the Rāmāyana

The works in Sanskrit now nearly double of what was known one hundred years ago.

The books referred to in later works should be deserving objects of search.

The work of search badly needed in the case of the Purāṇas, the Tantras, the Rāmāyana and the Mahā-bhārata which have apparently undergone three, four or five revisions.

and the Mahā-bhārata. I have shown elsewhere, how these works have been revised often and often during the long centuries after the time of their original composition. Some of the Purāṇas have apparently undergone, three, four or five revisions. Some have been so revised as to go almost out of recognition. Others have been so revised as to go out of existence. In many of the Purāṇas we find two or three recensions, differing from one another in toto; e.g., the Skanda-Purāṇa: one recension of it is divided into seven Khaṇḍas, all dealing with religion, rituals and the holy places of Northern and Western India, and another is divided into 6 Saṁhitās and 51 Khaṇḍas dealing with all sorts of Paurāṇic subjects; a third, more ancient than the other two, is a work by itself without any division,—now lying in Ms. in the Darbar Library, Nepal, written in the Gupta character of the 6th or 7th century A.D.

Some of the Purāṇas like the Brahma-Vaivarta, have an 'ādi' recension which has nothing to do with the current ones.

Mahā-bhārata, an epic poem in the original turned into a history of the Kaurava race.

The Mahā-bhārata which was an epic poem in the original was so revised as to form a history of the Kaurava race, and as the idea of history expanded from that of mere chronicle and annals to that of a history of society in all its aspects,—it was revised again and again and many episodes were thrown into it, till it assumed the magnitude of a lakh of verses or more.

Rāmāyana—converted into the history of the Solar race.

The Rāmāyana, too, though in the form of an epic poem was converted into the history of the Solar race with one hundred episodes thrown into it.

It is a curious fact, that in the matter of the Rāmāyana, the Mahā-bhārata and the Purāṇas no two manuscripts agree; and I believe, every district has its peculiar recension. As regards the Rāmāyana, the Bombay recension differs materially from the Bengal recension and the different recensions of

Every district has its peculiar recensions in the matter of Rāmāyana, Mahā-bhārata and the Purāṇas

Bengal differ from one another. If this be so with a comparatively short work, from the Sanskrit point of view, as the Rāmāyana with 24000 verses is, one can imagine how the number of recensions of the Mahābhārata, which is four times as large, must have increased and multiplied.

The differences
accounted for.

To account for these differences one should remember that the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata were composed at a time when writing was unknown ; and they were memorised by bards who sang them before an appreciative audience. The Rhapsodists often used their own talents in adding and subtracting interesting episodes according to the tastes and propensities of the hearers. Their successors took the cue from them and improved upon it. So, there would be many schools, and schools within schools. It is expected that when writing was introduced, these differences would cease, but they did not. So there are an infinite number of recensions.

The Purāṇas
and their variety.

The number of the Purāṇas is nearly a hundred. Their average extent is 20,000 ślokas. Of these 18 are called Mahā-purāṇas, 18 are called Upa-purāṇas, 18 more are unsuccessful candidates for a place in the Mahā and Upa-purāṇa lists ; the rest are miscellaneous works. But, as I have already told you, the same Purāṇa has two or three distinct forms. Sometimes, a Purāṇa of the same name is in both the lists ; but they are distinct works.

The characteristics
of a Purāṇa.

The characteristics of a Purāṇa are differently estimated ; some say, they have five characteristics : they must describe, e.g. (1) Creation, (2) Details of creation, (3) Genealogies, (4) Manu-ages and (5) Biographies of distinguished kings. Others, e.g., the Bhāgavata-purāṇa says that they have ten characteristics. But the definition given by the Matsya-purāṇa is the most comprehensive. It practically says, "Anything old is Purāṇa."

In the matter of the Purāṇas every manuscript

Every single Mss. of the Pūrāṇas has its peculiar feature.

has a peculiar feature, and so, all manuscripts are important from the point of view of a collector and a scholar.

The Tantras.

The Tantra is a vast literature but very little is known of it and very little indeed has been studied. I obtained two very old manuscripts : one Kubjikāmatam or Kulālikāmnāya written in the 8th or 9th century, and the other Nihśvāsa-Tattva-Saṁhitā, in the 9th or 10th century characters. The first work, now in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, gives us the information that the Tantras came from beyond India, and spread all over India at a time when the Vedic and the Paurāṇic cults were rather weak. The other manuscripts now in the Darbar Library, Nepal, treats of two different principles ;—the Mūla and the Guhya, i.e., the original and the mystic, or in other words, the Vedic and the Tāntric ideas and practices.

Two characteristics of Tantras

There are two characteristics of the Tantras :—
 (1) That it evolves the images of gods and goddesses from the letters of the alphabet ((Bijākṣaras) and
 (2) that they prescribe the worship of deities in union with their consorts (Saśakti, or Yuganaddha). The latter when put forth in codices produces the Yāmala or couples and there are so many of them, like the Viṣṇu-Yāmala, Rudra-Yāmala, Śakti-Yāmala, etc. The Tantra literature was very fruitful in the 7th 8th and 9th centuries. In these centuries the literature produced a vast number of works. The Vaiṣṇava-tantra works were named Pāñca-rātras, and their number is nearly 200. Only a few have been discovered and one has been published by the German scholar Schröder from Adyar, the Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā. The rest are to be sought for and studied. The Kashmir Śaiva School of Philosophy, founded in the last half of the 9th century, was based on a large number of Śaiva Tantras written in previous centuries. Only a few of these original Tantras, have as yet been recovered, and I believe,

only two or three have been published in the Kashmir Sanskrit series. Here also is a wide scope for research which may lead to very very important results. The Matta-mayūra sect which flourished in the 9th century near Gwalior, was a great builder of Śaiva temples, and their works, regarded as original Tantras, are vast in extent. Some of these works were found in the Darbar Library of Nepal, and one at Trivandrum in the extreme South of India. This has been edited by that indefatigable scholar the late T. Ganapati Śāstrī. The work is by Isāna Siva. The rest are to be searched, studied and published.

Schools of original Tantras followed by those of compilers and commentators.

There are so many schools of original Tantras that it would be tedious to enumerate them. The period of original Tantras was over, I believe, in the 10th century A.D. Then came the period of compilations and commentaries. Some of them are admirable works. Of the commentaries the most comprehensive is that of Rāghava Bhaṭṭa of Central India, 15th century, (entitled Padārthā-darśa) on the Sāradā-Tilaka by Lakṣmana Gupta one of the very famous Śaiva philosophers of Kashmir (10th century). Of the compilations the best is by the revered Tāntric scholar of Bengal, Kṛṣṇānanda Āgama Vāgīśa (16th and 17th centuries) entitled Tantra-sāra. How the Buddhist Tāntric ideas were absorbed into Brahmanism is exemplified in the works,—numerous and voluminous as they are—of Tripurānanda, Brahmānanda, and Pūrṇānanda, three successive gurus who flourished in Eastern Bengal during the whole of the 16th century A.D. These compilations are as common as black berries to quote the rather irreverent proverb and they afford ample scope for research, study and publication.

Study of the Vedas by the Orientalists.

European scholars have done a great deal for the study of the Vedas. The Vedas being the oldest literature in India, the attention of the Orientalists was very much attracted to them. The Samhitās of

Divisions and
Sub-divisions of
the Vedas.

From a study of the Purāṇas it appears to me that Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana analysed the heaps of mantras into three parts; (1) Ṛk, (2) Sāman and (3) Yajus, and he assigned each to one of his pupils. The differentiation into Śākhās began with their pupils and pupil's pupils for some generations. Each Śākhā has its Brāhmaṇa and its six Aṅgas. Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads were regarded as parts of the Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads are not books in the modern sense of the word by one author, but a compilation of dicta of the ṛṣis in sacrificial assemblages. The compilation of these dicta under certain principles, either by a great ṛṣi or by a committee of ṛṣis is a Brāhmaṇa. The Brāhmaṇas of so many Śākhās of the Vedas may not be extant upto the present day after so many revolutions. But it is believed that many more Śākhās may be discovered over and above those already known. These afford much scope for research, study and publication.

The Aṅgas.

A search for the Aṅgas of the different Śākhās may also be very fruitful. We have already a very large number of Śikṣās published, and many yet may be found. Pāṇini's influence has killed almost all the Śākhā Grammars; but still some may yet be found, for he mentions at least 10 of his predecessors in his Sūtras. We ought to be certain which of these is a Śākhā grammar and which is a comprehensive one. The only Nirukta is that of Yāska, but he mentions several of his predecessors. Are the works all lost? Only one small work on Vedic astronomy is extant. The Śākhā astronomies have been all killed by the later Saṁhitās and Siddhāntas. Only a scrap of a Śākhā astronomy would be of immense value to us. Every Śākhā had its own Chandas, but Piṅgala has killed them all, and Piṅgala has a large following.

The Śākhā-kalpas and their divisions.

have been irretrievably lost but many may yet be recovered. These Kalpas are divided into three parts viz., (1) Śrauta (2) Gṛhya and (3) Dharma.

The Śrauta works.

Each Śrauta work produced many schools, represented by different commentaries. From commentaries came treatises on sacrifices; from these treatises on sacrifices came Prayogas or rules, and Paddhatis or rituals of the sacrifices. This branch of literature is still living, though not a vigorous life. From great sacrifices they have come down to merely lighting the sacred fire, and pouring a little clarified butter into it. There are but few Vedic rites prevalent at the present day, but even these few have many Prayogas and many Paddhatis.

The Gṛhya and Dharma concern life in general, and give rise to metrical Smṛtis.

The other two branches of the Śākhā Kalpa. viz., Gṛhya and Dharma, bloomed forth, during the Brāhmaṇa domination in India from 200 B. C. to 200 A.D., into metrical Smṛtis. They are not like the Śrauta-Sūtras, only concerned with sacrifices and high religious life; but they concern life in general. They regulate domestic and social life in all its aspects and, therefore, they have even now a vigorous existence. The metrical Smṛti treatises began to develop their commentaries; and with the new development of life and ideas in India, the commentaries expanded their bulk and became more and more comprehensive. The Śāstra broke into sections like Ācāra, Vyavahāra, Prāyaścitta and so forth. But since the 11th century, when the Mahommedans set their foot in India, kings and Brahmins became alarmed for the very existence of the Varṇāśrama community and began to write many local compilations, called Nibandhas. Fifty of such compilations are extant in full and are still guiding the lives of millions of Hindus; and, 200 more are known in seraps only. The recovery of these Nibandhas in full would be a great service to Hindu society, as well as to Sanskrit scholarship.

Divisions and
Sub-divisions of
the Vedas.

From a study of the Purāṇas it appears to me that Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana analysed the heaps of mantras into three parts ; (1) Ṛk, (2) Sāman and (3) Yajus, and he assigned each to one of his pupils. The differentiation into Śākhās began with their pupils and pupil's pupils for some generations. Each Śākhā has its Brāhmaṇa and its six Aṅgas. Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads were regarded as parts of the Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads are not books in the modern sense of the word by one author, but a compilation of dicta of the ṛṣis in sacrificial assemblages. The compilation of these dicta under certain principles, either by a great ṛṣi or by a committee of ṛṣis is a Brāhmaṇa. The Brāhmaṇas of so many Śākhās of the Vedas may not be extant upto the present day after so many revolutions. But it is believed that many more Śākhās may be discovered over and above those already known. These afford much scope for research, study and publication.

The Aṅgas.

A search for the Aṅgas of the different Śākhās may also be very fruitful. We have already a very large number of Śikṣās published, and many yet may be found. Pāṇini's influence has killed almost all the Śākhā Grammarians ; but still some may yet be found, for he mentions at least 10 of his predecessors in his Sūtras. We ought to be certain which of these is a Śākhā grammar and which is a comprehensive one. The only Nirukta is that of Yāska, but he mentions several of his predecessors. Are the works all lost ? Only one small work on Vedic astronomy is extant. The Śākhā astronomies have been all killed by the later Saṃhitās and Siddhāntas. Only a scrap of a Śākhā astronomy would be of immense value to us. Every Śākhā had its own Chandas, but Piṅgala has killed them all, and Piṅgala has a large following. Any scrap of information about a Śākhā Chandas in any Purāṇa, Tantra or commentary would be a valuable discovery.

Many of the Śākhā Kalpas are still extant. Many

The Śākhā-kalpas and their divisions.

have been irretrievably lost but many may yet be recovered. These Kalpas are divided into three parts viz., (1) Śrauta (2) Gṛhya and (3) Dharma.

The Śrauta works.

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What the Brahmins did to save the Hindu society from the onslaughts of foreigners invading India.

The Brahmins are much maligned for their selfishness, bigotry, short-sightedness and what not. But there is no doubt that they saved the Hindu ideals in India on two great occasions; once in the 3rd century B.C., when Aśoka wanted to level down distinctions of caste and creed and take away all privileges which the Brahmins enjoyed in matter of punishments and law-suits they had no other alternative but to put their house in order and really deserve the respect of the people by writing the *metrical Smṛtis*, by making the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* available to the people who were being lured away by Buddhism with its gorgeous ritualism and its democracy. Once again in the 11th century they saved Hindu society by writing these *Nibandhas* from the onslaughts of Mahomedan preachers. They were equally clever in absorbing all conquering races into the bosom of the Hindu society in some of the most crucial turns of its history. Where are the Huns? Where are the Jātṭas? Where are the Śakas? Where are the Yueh-chis? They form an integral part of the Hindu society. May they yet do the same and absorb Western and Mid-eastern culture into their own !!!

The influence of Indian culture.

Audacious ignorance was certain in the early 19th century that Sanskrit literature and for the matter of that even Arabic and Persian literature could afford no education. But I have shown before that Northern, Eastern and Southern Asia were saturated with Indian culture; and I am in a position to assert that at one time even Persia and the Eastern Roman Empire came greatly within the influence of Indian culture. Apart from other evidences found in those regions, we find also in a palm-leaf manuscript copied in Bengal, in the early 11th century (the *Vimalaprabhā*, commentary on the Buddhist *Kālacakra Tantra*, now in Bengal Asiatic Society) it is asserted that the Buddhist scriptures were translated in Persia and in *Nīlā-nadyuttare*—Ruhma-deśe i.e. in

the Ruhma or eastern Roman country in the North of the Nile.

The mischief done by making English the medium of education.

Education through the medium of the English language was started with the idea that Sanskrit and Arabic can afford no culture. Hundred years after that mistake, as I consider it, it now appears that the whole of Asia and the Eastern portion of Europe was saturated with Indian culture. The value of Arabic in the preservation and dissemination of culture in the mediæval and early modern world, whether in Western Asia or in Europe need not be dilated upon by myself. The mischief in relegating Sanskrit (and Arabic) culture to a secondary place, and in not, modernising it (like what has been done in the mediæval universities of Europe with the Latin culture) has been great. Reparation is not yet impossible, and as a student of Sanskrit of the old type which is apparently going out of fashion, I hope that the forces against Sanskrit are not strong enough to kill it outright but that it will appear and reappear throughout in its pristine vigour but in a modified form to greatly influence the forces that may get the upper hand. In the 3rd century B. C. Vedic ritualism was not revised but modified into Paurāṇic religion. In the 11th century A.D. Sanskrit become strong by absorbing much that was not Hindu. In the 21st century it may do the same and absorb most of the western ideas but what shape it will take it is now too early to predict.

The progress made in the 20th century and a partial realisation of the dream of Rādhā Kṛṣṇan.

With the advent of the 20th century, a change came over the spirit of the dream. The long vision of Rādhā Kṛṣṇan had perhaps seen something of it. All of a sudden, the princes and potentates of India were seized with a patriotic fervour and started the publication of Sanskrit works. At the end of the 19th century, there were some attempts made by the Maharaja of Darbhanga and the Raja of Vizianagram to issue series of Sanskrit works but they were not

very successful. But, nevertheless, they showed the way. The first decade of the 20th century saw the Mysore and the Trivandrum series start their useful career with magnificent contributions from ancient Indian authorship. The next decade found the Gaekwad and the Kashmir Darbars engaged in the same intellectual work and I anticipate, the whole body of princes and potentates of India will be busy with publishing ancient Sanskrit works of great value found within their territories. His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has started a series of Arabic and Islamic works. But he occupies the very heart of the ancient Hindu civilisation in the Deccan. Many of the capitals of ancient and mediæval Hindu rule are situated within his dominions. For the sake of his Hindu subjects and for the sake of the wider culture of modern India—he, the premier Indian Prince and true patron of arts and letters and founder of the first Vernacular University in India would only be acting according to the traditions of his great house, if he ordered not only a thorough search of Sanskrit manuscripts and manuscripts in Sanskritic Languages within his dominions, but also the publication of a Sanskrit series, the value of which would be simply enormous. Already his archaeological department has made many important discoveries, the most important of which is the Maski edict establishing the identity of Aśoka with Priyadarśi; his Government has undertaken as a most enlightened measure the conservation, preservation and maintenance of the famous Buddhist and Brahmanical cave temples of Ajanta and Ellora. Starting a Sanskrit series will, I suppose, be of equal value with all these. Numerous Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Jaina and Buddhist sects had their origin within his dominions, and some of these great seats of ancient learning are situated there like Paithan and Warangal. The exploration of this vast but virgin field at his instance will bring the present ruler—already distinguished by the above enlightened measures, honour and glory

as a patron of learning irrespective of caste or creed equally with that of an Akbar.

The Bibliotheca Indica and its value with regard to the spread of knowledge in Sanskrit.

We often hear of retrenchments made in this department of work on economical grounds. Such retrenchments are surely a bad economy. It is a spirit of parsimony wholly unbecoming of the great Indian states. The return from the outlay on Sanskrit series—even in pound, shilling and pence,—is not discouraging. I will give one example. The Bibliotheca Indica series was started by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1849, and within these 80 years it has published 1729 fasciculi of nearly a hundred pages each, 289 of distinct, separate and independent works ;—sold books worth Rs. 400,000 and has a stock of double that value, none of which, I believe, will prove to be a dead stock. Under proper advertisement and even supervision the sale is increasing. The Government which financed, does not even want to take back its original capital. So the capital and profit all go to the fund. But that is a small matter. Look at the enormous knowledge that has disseminated throughout the world which would otherwise have been locked in illegible manuscripts, written on perishable material. One would be inclined to think that the entire Indology has been pushed forward by the publication of this ancient series, the name of which should be written in letters of gold—the BIBLIOTHECA INDICA.

They are valuable inspite of their defects.

One charge generally levelled against the Bibliotheca Indica series is that some of the works are not properly edited, to which the short answer of Dr. Hoernle was that they at least multiplied bad manuscripts and that the very multiplication is a service. But in that series for one such badly edited work there are scores which are really excellent.

The Bombay series.

The Bombay Sanskrit series is another well edited series, but this seems to have aimed more at educational needs of Colleges and Universities than those of scholars who want to push forward research.

Different character of the various series started under the patronage of Indian princes.

But the various series started by the princes of India have a very different character. They do not get their inspiration from Europe. The editors are Indian scholars trained in India, belong to ancient Sanskrit families which are celebrated for learning and piety and are or have been devoted to the study of Sanskrit as a part and parcel of their very lives. These scholars work with a single minded devotion and their selection of works is more choice than in many other series; for instance, Madhusūdan Kaul of Kashmir selects only those works on Śaiva Philosophy which in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries made Kashmir famous. He also chooses those Tāntrika works on which that system of Philosophy was based viz., Sacchanda Tantra, Mālinī-vijaya Tantra, Tantrāloka and others. It is a pity however that the great work of Kashmir, Abhinava-Gupta's commentary on Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra should be forestalled by the Gaekwad Series at Baroda which has taken the entire credit in publishing the chapters on dance with illustrations for each dance pose from ancient Southern Indian sculpture. The first volume only is published, and the others are awaited with the highest of expectations. The Gaekwad series opened with a wonderful work,—entitled the Kāvya-Mīmāṃsā,—a work on literary criticism of the highest value which has been edited by that excellent scholar the late Mr. C. D. Dalal. But it is very unfortunate that only a small fraction of a big series of books has been discovered and published; for it is said that the work consisted of 18 such parts;—the other 17 parts are irretrievably lost.

The value of Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, Sādhān-mālā and Tattva-Saṃgraha in the field of research.

We were hearing of quinquennial assemblies in ancient India in Aśoka's inscriptions, in Hiuen T'sang's accounts but the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā gives us an inside view of these royal assemblages for rewarding merit in science and art. The book is replete with literary legends and traditions of ancient India and was written in the beginning of the 10th century A. D. The publication of the Sādhānā-mālā in this series

completes the Buddhist iconographic literature of India. These Sādhanaś were composed by professors of later Buddhism,—of Mantra-Yāna, of Vajra-Yāna, of Sahajā-Yāna and of Kālacakra-Yāna,—schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism during the 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era; and they were collected together in the form of Saṁgrahas in the 12th century. They are entirely Indian in character. We know from Tibetan sources that about this time an opinion gained ground in the Buddhist world that in the art of painting and sculpture, India, as known intimately to the Tibetans, i.e., Magadha and Bengal, excelled; next came the Newars of Nepal, the Tibetans came next, and the Chinese last of all. This statement has been fully justified so far as Magadha and Bengal are concerned by the iconographic sculpture that we have been getting during the last 20 years in all parts of Eastern India. The latest great work of the Gaekwad Series, is the Tattva-saṁgraha of Śānta-rakṣita who was the first great Lama of Tibet. It is a wonderful book. It refutes twenty other systems of Philosophy in India and establishes the Mahā-yāna system. It gives us materials in plenty for settling the chronology of a great deal of the Philosophical literature of India. The eighth was a wonderful century in which all the religious and philosophical sects of India put forth their best endeavours to establish their supremacy over others. Early in the century Kumārila, with his Śloka-vārtika, Tantra-vārtika and Tūp-Tikū on the Śabara-bhāṣya, endeavoured to establish the supremacy of the Vedic culture. Then came the voluminous writer Haribhadra reputed author of 1400 treatises to do the same thing for Jaina culture, Jaina religion and Jaina philosophy. The third was Śānta-rakṣita, from the Dacca District. He was closely related to the family of Indra-bhūti, a Rājā of Orissa who advocated the Vajra-yāna system of the Mahā-yāna School. He was also closely associated with his brother-in-law Padma-sambhava who

converted the Tibetans to Buddhism and is regarded by them as a second Buddha. His work the *Tattva-saṁgraha* with a commentary by his pupil *Kamala-śīla* is a very brilliant achievement and H. H. the Gaekwad's Oriental Institute gets all the credit in publishing it. At the end of the century came Śaṅkarācārya with his vast learning, refuting all sectarian opinions and establishing a monism which holds its ground all over India. Śānta-rakṣita and *Kamala-śīla* are very brilliant men of the 8th century.

The Mysore
series.

In the 20th century the first series that came out under the patronage of a big state was the Mysore series. It began to publish choice works and choice commentaries on Vedic and philosophical works. It at once attracted public attention, and people became anxious to see new issues. Two works appeared which are of immense importance for the elucidation of ancient Indian society. One is the *Gotra-Pravara-Prabandha-Kadamba* i.e., a collection of treatises on *Gotras* and *Pravaras* by which the Brahmins or rather the members of the twice-born castes distinguished themselves from one another. The great attraction of the book was an index of *Gotras* with about 4000 names, and a chart showing the relation amongst the *Pravara ṛṣis*. The word *Pravara* was very little understood even by the great jurists of India, but this Mysore treatise gave its real meaning; and the real sense of the term is that it means those *ṛṣis* in whose names the sacrificial fire is to be invoked. The theory was that in a sacrifice if a man invoked the Fire-God in his own name, he, the Fire-God would not respond. If the Fire-God was invoked in the name of all the human ancestors of the sacrificer he was not likely to respond either. But if the God was invoked in the name of that *ṛṣi* ancestor of the *Yayamāna* or sacrificer who was a friend of the God, then the deity would know him and would come to his descendant's sacrifice. The publication of this collection of authoritative works on the genealogies of the ancient

Kauṭilya, however, was not the first writer on Arthaśāstra but very nearly the last. He quoted 15 or 16 different authorities and names of four different schools advocating from the primitive coercion to the regulation of the entire life of a nation. Adam Smith speaks of four different stages of development of political ideas in Europe from the Dark Ages onwards. The first is the protection of life and property alone in the Merovingian and Carolingian times, 800 to 1200 A. D. Kings during this period thought that if they protected the lives of their subjects, they did all their duties. Commerce and trade they would not protect. That was left to the traders themselves. These began to combine to protect their trade. Nearly 150 cities of Northern Europe thus combined to protect their commercial interests. But the united traders often defied their kings. That led kings to come forward and protect trade, a fact which finally brought about the dissolution of the Hanseatic league about the 15th century. We have here the second stage. Then came the third stage. After the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire, 1453 A. D. and the Reformation of Luther, later, it became apparent to many states in Europe, that the leadership of the Church, i.e., the control of religion should no longer remain in the hands of the Pope, but should be vested in the state. The king of England became the protector of religion, and England's example was followed in other Protestant countries. As ideas advanced Government thought it fit to control the liberal education of the entire nation and we have the fourth or the last stage in the development of national polity.

Kauṭilya and
Adam Smith.

This is the history of the advance of political life in Europe. Kauṭilya gives the history of political advance of India in a few sentences. He says Śukrācārya thought that kings should learn Daṇḍanīti only i.e., merely coercion for the protection of life and property. Vṛhaspati thought that kings

should learn not only Daṇḍanīti but also Vārtā, which includes agriculture, trade and pasture. Manu thought that they should impart to them higher culture also, but Cānakya and his Ācāryas thought that they should include the Trayī or the Vedas also. A comparison between the progress of political ideas in Europe and India will show that Cānakya's political ideas were those of modern Europe. Cānakya was not like Adam Smith a promulgator of a new science but the heir to a long series of development of political ideas.

The importance of the publication of the Arthaśāstra cannot be over-rated. It has already made Doctors by the score, in the Universities of India and Europe; but the inner meaning is very little understood owing to the want of intimate and extensive acquaintance with Indian literature which a mastery of such a work as the Arthaśāstra requires. In this connection one cannot help admiring Prof. Samashastri who is doing every thing to help students in this direction. I may repeat: he has twice edited the work; once translated it into English; given an all-word index to it and edited the Sūtras of Cānakya in the hope that they may throw light on his Arthaśāstra. He has not only done much himself, but also inspired others. The late lamented Mahamahopadhyaya Ganapati Sastri had edited the work with a commentary of his own, and Prof. Jolly has given a fourth edition of it with the help of a new manuscript at Tübingen. Messrs Motilal Banarsi Das the well-known Sanskrit publishers of this city have given Prof. Jolly the hospitality of their series.

I mention the Trivendrum Sanskrit series at the end simply because I wish to say something about the late lamented Ganapati Sastri who without any knowledge of English had edited a wonderful series of works—with prefatory notices in Sanskrit which will be admired all over the world for their boldness and insight into the spirit of Sanskrit litera-

Bhāṣa.

ture. He began with very select works, which can not be found anywhere but which were very valuable to students of Sanskrit and gave valuable information about ancient India. He surprised the learned world by the publication of the 13 works of Bhāṣa;—wonderful dramas giving a thorough insight into the life of India some centuries before Christ. He was criticised and the criticism was adverse to his Chronology. Some said the Sanskrit of these dramas was not so old, others said the Prākṛt was not so old. Some found in the epilogue the name of a Kāṇva king. But, I believe, that Mahamahopadhyaya Ganapati Sastri was right in putting Bhāṣa in the 4th century B. C.; for there are many things in the Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyana in the Svapna-Vāsavadattā and in the Pratimā-nāṭaka which show that, they can not be written later. The enumeration of the royal families of Northern India to which Mahā-sena, the king of Ujjayini could marry his daughter can not be written in later centuries, when all memory of Mahā-sena was lost. The worship of the stone images of ancestors as given in the Pratimā-nāṭaka has raised a huge controversy; one party saying that the custom was in vogue at the time of the Śiśunāgas; others say that they were much later. But it is a curious fact that in the Jāṅgala country i.e., Bikaner, all royal personages from Bika downwards have their stone images and to these stone images offerings of food in the shape of Puris are made to the extent of nearly a maund. In many old capitals, now in ruins, are found images of royal personages on horse-back when they died in battle, and in other positions when they died a natural death. Cremation is an old custom; to mark cremation grounds with Stūpas was also an ancient custom. But the custom of erecting stone images there is not yet known from ancient works. But Ganapati Sastri, wrote to me to say that, in the Pratimā Nāṭaka a custom is recorded of throwing sand in the enclosure, and this is found in Āpastamba's work

only, and Āpastamba belongs to the 5th century B. C.

But the publication of Bhāṣa's works is not the only thing on which Ganapati Sastri's fame rests. He has published in three volumes of the Mañju-śrī-mūla-Kalpa, a Buddhist work belonging to a very early period on which the Mantra-Yāna and other subsequent Yānas of the Buddhists are based. How he got the Buddhist work in the extreme South of India is one wonder, and how he unravelled the mysteries of a complicated Buddhist ritual is another. The publication of this ancient Buddhist work is likely to lead to further discoveries of the Guhya-samāja school of Buddhism which branched off from Mahā-yāna, leaving philosophy behind, and proceeded straight to mysticism: "The Bija or seed proceeds from Bodhi which is nothing else but Sūnyatā. From Bija proceeds the image and in the image there are internal and external representation," and this is deep mysticism indeed. This is the same as making the letters of the alphabet represent deities only expressed in mystic and Buddhist language.

The third great work which M. M. Ganapati Sastri produced is the Śaiva-paddhati by Iśāna-śiva-guru-deva. In the 10th century an association of Śaivite learned men was formed in Central India,—known as the Matta-mayūra-vaṁśa. The Gurus of this association ended their names with the word Śiva, viz., Iśāna Śiva, Vimala Śiva, etc. They were great builders of temples and converted many chiefs to their faith. Some of their works are to be found in the Darbar Library, Nepal. Ganapati Sastri got hold of one of their works and published it,—giving a key to the whole literature.

The versatility of M. M. Pandit Ganapati Sastri is very striking. He has handled works on all Śāstras with equal facility; Śilpa, Nīti, Pāñca-rātra,

Mañju-śrī-mūla-Kalpa.

Iśāna-śiva-guru-paddhati.

The versatility of M. M. Pandit Ganapati Sastri.

Philosophy, Architecture, Philosophy of Grammar, Rhetoric, Lexicons, Jyotiṣa, Sphoṭa, Music,—all are welcome to him. To lose him has been a great loss to Sanskrit scholarship in India. He enjoyed all the blessings of a liberal education without knowing any English. Government made him a Mahamahopadhyaya and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland made him an Honorary Member. All this was high appreciation indeed but not high enough for a man of so much industry and so great intellectual powers.

I have already said that it is a sign of the 20th century that the Indian Princes came spontaneously and patriotically, without any impetus from outside to start the various Sanskrit series. The four series already started I have mentioned before. But other series may also be started. Appeal should be made to the enlightened Ruler of Bikaner to utilise nearly 7000 Mss. lying idle in the fort of that city. These Mss. are very well preserved in strong worm-proof almirahs with an exhaustive nominal catalogue from which any Ms. may be immediately got. It is a storehouse of codes of Smṛti written during the Mahommedan period. It has all the books of the Law codes written by Hemādri, by Toḍarmall, by Madana-Simha, by Ananta-deva the son of Kamalākara, by Dinakara and his son Kamalākara combined, by Mitra Misra of Bundelkhand, and so on. You get only one or two books of these valuable codes and digests in other libraries, but in Bikaner, the codes are nearly complete. Where any book is wanting the Librarian has invariably put in some Sanskrit word to mean 'missing.' The philosophical section of the library is extensive. It has works written at all times,—modern, mediæval, ancient,—and in all parts of India,—especially Bengal. It has many works of unique importance, not to be found elsewhere. The library has indeed long ago published a descriptive Catalogue, edited by Raja Rajendralala Mitra. But

it contains very summary descriptions of only 1619 Mss.

Alwar State
library.

The Alwar Darbar obtained the services of Mr. Peterson to prepare a catalogue of the state collection of Mss. and it is a very useful one. There is enough material in his library to start a series.

Jodhpur State
library.

Jodhpur has a collection of about 2000 Sanskrit Mss.—well-kept in a room in the fort where worms will not be able to ruin these works. But there is no catalogue and nothing has come out of it.

Bundi State
library.

Bundi has a collection of about 2000 Mss. well kept in a cave-like room on a broad road leading to the palace. But there is also no catalogue.

Jaipur and Rewa very carefully guarded their treasures of Mss. and never allowed strangers to use these—though very recently I hear, they have been opened up to the vulgar gaze.

All the states of Rajputana have their own collections of ancient Mss. but they have not caught the enthusiasm of Mysore, Travancore, Baroda and Kashmir to issue series of rare Sanskrit works and thereby spread the old light in the modern world.

Private libra-
ries of Rajputana.

We are all along speaking of the Raj Libraries of Rajputana. But in Rajputana, every learned Brahmin has his collection of Mss. Every Jaina monastery has also its collection of Mss.—called Bhāṇḍars. Many Cāraṇas have rich collections of Mss. In one of the Jain Upāśrayas or monasteries in Jodhpur I found the medical work by Vopadeva still used.

Private enter-
prises.

Private enterprise has also done much. Since the establishment of the Printing Press in India, many many religious-minded people have undertaken the task of printing or multiplying copies of religious books, such as the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Smṛtis, the Purāṇas, etc., and distribute them among

learned Brahmins. Private religious bodies also did the same thing. Pandits with business habits often undertook the publication of Sanskrit works as a matter of speculation. Traders, book-sellers often undertook the printing and publication of Sanskrit Mss. for profit. In some cases, valuable series of Sanskrit Texts were started, such as the Anandasrama series and the Kavyamala series. Some confined themselves within one or two branches of Sanskrit literature according to their own choice. One published the works of the Mādhva School only; another, of Śāṅkara School only. Individuals often published books of their choice either for money or out of love for these works. But these enterprises often failed, because Sanskrit works cannot bring handsome profit within a short time. The "Pandit" of Benares after a glorious career of 40 years has now disappeared. Then it reappeared under the name of the Benares Sanskrit Series; but that also, I believe, is now moribund, if it has not disappeared. The Vizianagram Series after publishing 10 or 12 works died out. The Chowkhamba Series of Benares after publishing 400 fasciculi now appeal to the public for fresh patronage, which it fully deserves. The Arya Samaj is also doing a great lot,—not only by the dissemination of the Vedic Texts among the people but by also publishing other books in other branches of Sanskrit literature. Other religious communities and organisations like the Jaina, the Vaiṣṇava of North and South India have done meritorious work in publishing their sectarian literature.

Anandāśrama
and Kāvya-mālā.

Benares Sanskrit series.

Chowkhamba.

Ārya-samāja.

Other Religious organisations and Skt. literature.

The publishers
Motilal Banarsi
Das.

But in this department of activity among the most enterprising are (1) the proprietors of the Nirṇaya Sagara Press of Bombay, (2) the Sanskrit publications by the late Jivananda Vidyasagar of Calcutta and (3) Messrs. Motilal Banarsi Das & Co. of this city. The name of the Nirṇaya Sagara Press is a household word wherever Sanskrit is seriously studied whether in India or outside India; and their

Jivananda
Vidyasagara.

accurate and cheap editions of the Sanskrit classics have been a great helper in the proper study of the Śāstras as well as Sāhitya. They are an old firm; and I need not dwell much on the good work they have done and for which they have deservedly won the gratitude of scholars. Jivananda's Sanskrit series is also well-known and deserving of praise. The firm of Motilal Banarasi Das have absorbed nearly the whole of Indian and much of European book-trade on Indology. They have enlisted the co-operation of some of the best men in Europe and in India in giving to the world choice books on Indian subjects; they obtained the help of men like Dr. Thomas to publish the Vārhaspatya Sūtra, a work on economics evidently more ancient than even Kauṭilya. They entrusted men like Jolly to publish the Mānava-dharma-Sūtra and like Caland to publish the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the Kāṇva Śākhā. The Śatapatha has two recensions,—Mādhyandina in 14 and Kāṇva in 17 Kāṇḍas. The Mādhyandina was published long ago by Weber and others, but the Kāṇva was not published before this; yet the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad which Śaṅkara commented upon belongs to the Kāṇva and not the Mādhyandina Śākhā. Therefore the publication of the Kāṇva Śākhā will be of great importance not only to the Vedic scholars, but also to the scholars of Advaita philosophy. Another noteworthy publication of this firm is Dr. R. C. Mazumdar's work on Campā—the first publication of the Greater India Society, a body which has taken upon itself the laudable enterprise of making known to the intelligentsia of India, the story of what India achieved abroad. Time and space will not permit me to give details of the work done in the field of Sanskrit by many publishers in the various provinces who have used provincial characters and not Devanagari which has within recent years become a sort of national character for Sanskrit: and the same apology I make for many European editions in Roman.

Greater India
Society.

Mahā-bhārata
Committee—
Poona.

The great epic Mahā-bhārata is a towering wonder in the world's literature. Its bulk is extensive and it includes within its panorama practically the whole of ancient Indian life. But when the original Mahā-bhārata was composed, perhaps the art of writing was not yet invented or writing materials were very scarce. So it passed from mouth to mouth, village to village, city to city, changing everywhere to the taste of the people hearing or reciting it. Even when writing came in vogue, different districts produced different recensions of the Mahābhārata. Then there were revisions. Originally, it was an epic poem; then it became a history in the form of interlocutions. Then, as the idea of history expanded, there was expansion of the Mahā-bhārata too. In this way a poem of 24000 verses gradually developed into a bulky work of a lakh of verses. When the Mahā-bhārata first went to Europe, scholars there thought of collating it. With that view they collated all Mss. of the Mahā-bhārata found in Europe, and then sent it down to India for further collation. The Bhandarkar Research Institute undertook the work and called upon the Visva-Bharati to assist them. The work is proceeding slowly. The Mahā-bhārata Committee, consisting of five young scholars trained in Europe and America, is proceeding with the work slowly. I have seen only one part of it containing two chapters, and I see that the Committee has done its best to go to the bottom of the thing. They have mercilessly rejected verses not found in authentic manuscripts. They have appended a critical apparatus which is admirable. I think, the bulk of the Mahā-bhārata will be considerably reduced. My idea is that the work has undergone five revisions. Originally it seems that it was a short work with a table of contents in two verses only—the well-known Ślokās—Duryodhano manyu-mayo mahādrumaḥ, etc. The next revision was in the form of an epic poem with a table of contents running up to 150 verses—half of which are in the Triṣṭubh metre from 'Pāṇḍur jitvā bahūn deśān,' etc., to the

end of the Anu-kramanikā chapter. The third revision was in the form of a history in interlocution,—the table of contents being the first half of the Anukramanikā chapter. Then it was divided into 100 parvans—it was set by Vyāsa himself. The table of contents of this was given in the first-half of the Parvasaṃgraha chapter. Then came the full-fledged Mahā-bhārata with 18 major parvans and 84836 verses, which when reduced to a unit of 32 syllables has become 100,000 verses. I offer this suggestion of mine to the Mahā-bhārata Committee for consideration for whatever it is worth. It is a great undertaking and I wish them every success. After the success of this edition of the Mahā-bhārata, the 18 Mahā-purāṇas should be subjected to the same critical method of examination. I think, that they too, have undergone several revisions ;—some are revised out of existence ; some are revised out of recognition ; some encyclopædias have been transformed into the shape of Purāṇas. /

The Purāṇas.

The prevalent idea that all the 18 Mahā-Purāṇas are from the pen of Vyāsa cannot be proved. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is by Vyāsa's father Parāśara. The Bhāgavata is by Vyāsa's son Śuka. The Mārkaṇḍeya does not speak of Vyāsa, and the Bhaviṣya does not mention him. The three encyclopædias, Garuḍa, Nārada and Agni have him as one of the latest interlocutors,—i.e., only in the first and in the last chapters. So the idea that Vyāsa is the author of all the Purāṇas is to be given up.

Śrīvidyāpīṭha
of Etwa.

The Śrī Vidyāpīṭha of Etwa founded by Sri Swami Brahmanath Siddhasrama, has the noble aim of making an index of all important branches of knowledge in Sanskrit, of all manuscripts in that language and in its derivatives, and all proper names and technical terms to be found in them. The Swami is no more but his disciples and admirers are sticking to the movement. It is a spontaneous Indian move-

the Department, but much wonderful discoveries have been made during the same period outside India in Gobi and Taklamakan deserts, in Java and Anam by archæologists of various nationalities. The discovery of a large number of Mss., objects of Buddhist worship, Buddhist flags and so on, from the cave of the thousand Buddhas in the Gobi desert, read like a romance. The sands of these deserts have preserved fresh many palm-leaves and Chinese papers within two feet of their surface. Japan is busy with Sanskrit Mss. and their translation in the Chinese. Takakusu has projected an edition of the whole

ment and the Indian public should look upon it with a favourable eye and, if possible, encourage it.

Archæological
Department.

Another department of Oriental studies is Archæology. I have in my address as President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1919, spoken of the advancement of Archæology under the guidance of Sir John Marshall. Eight years have passed since then, they were years of intense activity and wonderful results. During these years in the East we have the example of mixed Buddhists and Hindu culture of the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries at Pāhārpur. Nālanda has been excavated down to the ground level revealing sculptures of the best period of Indian Art. Sarnath has yielded further treasures of inestimable value; Sanchi has been thoroughly explored and a guide-book prepared for the benefit of excursionists. Excavations at Taxila have gone to the Persian strata of the place, below the Indo-Greek and the Parthian, the Mauryan and the Macedonian. On the top of all these come the ancient treasures of Harappa and Mahenjo-daro, revealing remains of something like a new Culture. Who the originators of this culture were, has not yet been settled or could not properly be investigated. But we get in our ancient works like the *Mahā-bhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and some of the old *Purāṇas* that the border land of India on both sides of the Indus was inhabited by a race very *different from the heroes of these epics*. They would eat (the text says 'they smell of') garlic and onions, would drink camel's milk and their sexual morality was very loose. They sold their daughters in marriage. They were people without religion. The names of these peoples were : Madra, Kekaya, Vāhlika, Sindhu and Sauvīra. So from every ancient times Aryans knew that Sindhus and Sauvīras did not belong to their stock, though they often had to contract political and matrimonial alliances with them.

Thanks to Sir John Marshall, Indian Archæology has made great progress during his incumbency in

the Department, but much wonderful discoveries have been made during the same period outside India in Gobi and Taklamakan deserts, in Java and Anam by archæologists of various nationalities. The discovery of a large number of Mss., objects of Buddhist worship, Buddhist flags and so on, from the cave of the thousand Buddhas in the Gobi desert, read like a romance. The sands of these deserts have preserved fresh many palm-leaves and Chinese papers within two feet of their surface. Japan is busy with Sanskrit Mss. and their translation in the Chinese. Takakusu has projected an edition of the whole of the Chinese Tripiṭaka with notes and commentaries. The French in the Eastern peninsula are bringing to the public notice relics of forgotten Hindu empires even on the borders of the Pacific. The Dutch are doing a lot of things in their possessions in the Indian Ocean to bring the remnants of ancient Hindu empires superseded centuries ago by Mahommedan conquests. All these vindicate the ubiquity of Indian culture all over Asia and discredit the audacious ignorance which pronounced that Sanskrit can afford no culture.

Conclusion.

In this long address, I have not been able to say many things; and one hundred days of compulsory rest may justify my putting up a plea of want of time. But the activity of the twentieth century in these departments has raised my hopes, that Sanskrit literature will not die, and I again thank the memory of Pandit Rādhā-kīṣan of Lahore for raising the alarm in time and giving India the signal of the danger that was ahead, and for being instrumental in enabling India to preserve and give out to the world her noblest heritage—her ancient Sanskrit literature and in this way vindicating her position among civilised nations of history.

Warnings.

But at the end of my address I think it to be my duty to give you a warning. At the present moment there is a large body of men who go as Sanskrit

scholars without knowing a letter of Sanskrit. There are others again who tax the brains of poor Sastris and make big name as Oriental scholar. At the conference of Orientalists held under the Presidency of Sir Harcourt Butler in 1911 a very great man told the august assembly that without two Sastris at their elbows they can not be Oriental scholars. Such Oriental scholarship should be discouraged. The Sastris should be trained for Oriental scholarship. A historical sense should be awakened in their minds.

Do not believe
in translations.

I often see big works on Sanskrit literature and special branches of it, compiled mainly, if not, wholly from translations of Sanskrit works in English, French, German and other European languages. They have a value. They advertise Sanskrit literature and bring profit to the authors, but translations are never reliable. Thibaut's translation of the Śaṅkara Bhāṣya was tinged with Rāmānuja's ideas, because the Sāstri at his elbow belonged to the Rāmānuja school. Dr. Deussen's translation, is a little better because he told me at the age of 48 that he had carefully read through the Bhāṣya twenty-two times and then translated it. But he wanted one thing—the Indian tradition of the interpretation of the Bhāṣya. In a similar way all translations should be regarded as unreliable and all books based on these translations should be taken at their worth.

The Chinese translation of Buddhist Sanskrit works are free translations, therefore not reliable. The Tibetan translations are too pedantically literal and therefore often unintelligible. The original Sanskrit should be always sought for and consulted, if procurable, to cure the defects of these translations.

Do not make
Orientalists of
Europe your
spiritual guides.

The Oriental scholars of Europe have done Sanskrit literature a great service by infusing a historical sense in those who are interested in it in India. But in the present day there is a tendency amongst the younger generation of India, to make

the Oriental scholars of Europe their Gurus or Spiritual guides in all matters relating to India. Not being in touch with the soil of India and its traditions the interpretation of Indian life by Europeans should always be received with caution, criticism and discrimination. They should not be slavishly followed by Indians in matters relating to India. One instance will suffice. The Indian literary chronology set up by Oriental scholars of Europe, I do not think, will stand. It will be not only greatly modified, but I think, should also be thoroughly revised.

With this warning I again say that my hopes have been greatly raised by the spontaneous action of the patriotic Indian States for the publication of valuable treasures of Sanskrit works and I hope that Sanskrit will not die. It may or may not prove strong enough to resist the influence of the almighty European culture, but it will certainly modify that influence to such an extent as to have a new character.

es of the Creator's person, Adam was made of the dust of the ground in God's image and after his likeness. The lord God breathed into his ribs the breath of life, and caused him to become a living soul. The Creator of Adam thinking that it was not good for man to be alone, made a companion for him, bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh—helpmate for him, fitted to aid and comfort him. The Creator of Virāta, however, instead of arranging for the comfort of his creation left him to the arduous task of austere penance.

(3) *The Greek Myth*.—This myth attributed by Plato to Hristophanes summed up by Mr. Finck in his book on "Romantic Love and Personal Beauty".* It is as follows:—"At the beginning there were three sexes; the male, descended of the sun-god; the second, female, descended of the earth; and the third, which united the attributes of both sexes, descended of the moon. Each of these beings, moreover, had two pairs of hands and two faces, and the figure was round, and in rapid motion revolved on a wheel, the pairs of legs alternately touching the ground and describing arcs in the air. These beings were fierce, powerful, and vain, so they attempted to storm heaven and attack the gods. As Zeus did not wish to destroy them—since that would have deprived him of sacrifices and other signs of human devotion—he resolved to punish them by diminishing their strength. So he directed Apollo to cut each of them into two, which was done; and thus the number of human beings was doubled. Each of these beings now continually wandered about, seeking its other half. And when they found each other, their only desire was to be reunited by Vulcan and never be parted again."

The following characteristics of the Sexes stand in relief in the three myths given above:—

1. That the sexes are complementary.
2. That they have a divine origin.
3. That the process of division is precedent to sex-differentiation.

mentary chronogram "नदात्रुम" is an inaccurate copy of "नदात्रुम" of the India Office Ms.

Rāmakṛṣṇa wrote a commentary (Bijaprabodha) on the Bijaganita. We have proved already in the last issue of the Annals¹ that this commentary was written in Śaka 1609. The date of the present work as interpreted above comes also to Śaka 1609. This shows that Rāmakṛṣṇa completed both these commentaries in Śaka 1609 (= A. D. 1687). There is nothing unusual if an author keeps himself engaged on two different works on one and the same subject by working alternately on each and carries both of them to completion in one and the same year.

(ii)

THE TERMINUS AD QUEM FOR THE DATE OF
KULAPRADĪPA OF ŚIVĀNANDA-SAMVAT 1765
(= A. D. 1709).

Aufrecht mentions five Mss of this work, which is a treatise, in verse, in commendation and exposition of Tantric doctrines, in seven chapters (prakāśa) by Śivānandācārya. Out of this number the following two Mss belong to the Government Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute :—

(1) No. 932 of 1887-91, dated Samvat 1925.

(2) No. 474 of 1895-98, dated Samvat 1885.

The other three Mss. referred to by Aufrecht are :—

(3) Paris (D 31).

(4) Oudh XII, 48.

(5) IO, 1265.

Aufrecht does not mention the date of composition of this work in all these entries. The India Office Ms. No. 1265 does not give the date of composition of the work. It is dated Samvat 1788. The entry "Paris (D 31)" refers not to a printed catalogue but to a hand-written list and hence is not available for reference. So also the entry Oudh XII, 48.

Besides these five Mss. mentioned by Aufrecht there is a sixth Ms. in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

1. Vol. X, Parts I & II, pp. 160-161.

It is No. 5585 described on p. 4348 of Vol. XII of the descriptive catalogue of that Library. This Ms. also does not give the date of composition of the work.

Out of the two Mss of the work at the B. O. R. Institute referred to above No. 932 of 1887-91 has the following colophon:—

“ इति श्री शिवानंदाचार्यविरचिते कुलप्रदीपे सप्तमप्रकाशः ॥
॥ पंच पद सप्त चंद्राब्दे पौषे शुद्धादिके बुधे
पुस्तकं कुलप्रदीपस्य नवीनं पूर्णतां ययौ ॥ १ ॥
श्री गोस्वामिचतुर्भुजद्विजपतेभ्यो विलोक्यागमे
सकौलव्रत शालिनी ह नियमाश (स) कृतचित्तस्य दि
विख्यात क्षितिमंडले शुचिमति गोविंदनामा जय-
द्वेन्द्रादि विलिलेख पुस्तकमिदं कौलप्रदीपाभिर्ध ॥ १ ॥
सं. १९२५ ”

It appears from the above colophon that this Ms. is a modern copy of an earlier copy completed (पूर्णतां ययौ) in Samvat 1765 (पंच पद सप्त चंद्राब्दे) by one Govinda.

The dates of the Mss. of this work so far available are the following:—

Samvat 1788 (= A. D. 1732)—India Office Ms. No. 1265.

„ 1885 (= A. D. 1829)—No. 474 of 1895-98 (B. O.
R. I. Ms.).

„ 1925 (= A. D. 1869)—No. 932 of 1887-91 (B. O.
R. I. Ms.).

Ms. No. 932 of 1887-91, being a copy of another copy completed in Samvat 1765 as remarked above, we must regard Samvat 1765 (= A. D. 1709) as the *terminus ad quem* for the date of composition of *Kulapradīpa* of *Śivānanda*.

(iii)

DATE OF MALLAPRAKĀŚA ASCRIBED TO MALLADEVA (Between A. D. 1551 and 1568)

1. *Mss. of the work*—Aufrecht mentions three Mss. of *Mallaparakūśa* viz.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| (i) W. p. 295 | } by Malladeva |
| (ii) Bik. 649 | |
| (iii) Peters. 3, 399 by Lokanātha | |

No. (i) is No. 956 described by Weber in his Catalogue of Mss. in the Berlin Library (1853). This is only a fragment containing folios 27-47.

No. (ii) is No. 1417 described on p. 649 of the Descriptive Catalogue of Bikaner Mss by Rajendralal Mitra (1880) —26 folios—dated *Samvat 1658*. The work is devoted principally to the examination of the pulse.

End—" निर्मथ्य मल्लदेवेन सदायुर्वेदसागरम् ।

गल्लप्रकाशनामायं कारितः सङ्ग्रहः शुभः ॥

इति श्री मल्लप्रकाशनामालोकनार्थं विरचितः सम्पूर्णः ।

सम्यक् १६५८. ॥ "

No. (iii) is No. 435 of 1884-86 of the Government Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. -58 folios-It is dated *Samvat 1635*.

End—" निर्मथ्यमल्लदेवेन.....शुभः " as in No. ii

इति श्री वायस्यवंशावतंस शौरुनाथकविविरचितः श्रीमल्लप्रकाशनामा ग्रंथ समाप्तः ।

Before the verse "निर्मथ्य मल्लदेवेन etc." we find the following nine verses containing information about *Malladeva* :—

" हिमशिशिरवसंतर्षाभ्रवर्षाशरत्नु
स्तनतपनवनाभो हर्म्यमिष्टाज्यपानैः ।
सुसमनुभवराजंस्त्वद्विषो यांतु नाशं
दिवसकमललज्जाशर्वरीरेणुपंकैः ॥ १ ॥

शीतोद्भवं दोषचयं वसंते विशोधयन्त्यभ्रजमभ्रकाले ।
घनात्यये वार्षिकमाशु सम्यक् प्राप्नोति रोगानृतुजान्नजातु ॥ २ ॥

श्रुतचरितसमृद्धे कर्मदक्षे दयालो
भिपजि निरनुबंधे देहरक्षां निवेश्य ।
भवति विपुलचेताः स्वास्थ्यकीर्तिप्रभावः
स्वकुशलफलभोगी भूमिपालत्रिरायुः ॥ ३ ॥

अभिनवकवित्वरचनेनाद्रमिहकोविदापतः कुर्युः ।
तस्मादार्पवचोभिर्निबध्यते नत्वसामर्थ्यात् ॥ ४ ॥

आसीद्योधपुरे पुरंदरपुरी पूर्णार्धिकामे पुरी ।
गीर्वाणागमगानमानवगणा गीतः स गागेयवत् ॥
गंगाहो गुणयानदानरसिको राटोडराजो मु.....
स्यद्वूपशिरोमणिश्च नलसत्पादाविद्वः रुती ॥ ५ ॥

तत्पुत्रः पूर्णसन्नः सुरसरिदमल.....विन्नः समिन्न-
स्तेजोभिः प्रीतिमिन्नं मदनरसकलाकल्पनावत्कलयः ।

भूमीशो महद्देवो जगति विजयते वैरिभिः प्राच्यंसेवो-
 दानाभिःकुम्भरिणीकृतमितमलधिघातसत्त्वादिदेवः ॥ ६ ॥
 तेनायुर्वेदस्ताकाग्रहमधनान्कारितो दृष्टयोगो
 पंचोऽथ भूरियुक्त्याकुलगदिगदहन्महद्देवमकाशः ।
 पं दृष्टा वैद्यविद्याकुलनिजमनियुक् स्वस्थवह्न्ययुचो-
 राजानं वा जनं वा मुनिजनमथवा वीतरोगं करोतु ॥ ७ ॥
 यदिचरकमुक्तोऽं सुश्रुतायुक्तमुक्तं
 वचनमिदमिहार्प मेडपाताशरायं ।
 ममकायितमिहस्ते किंचुधौवैद्यवृद्धाः
 परमिति मम नेत्राग्राभूतिश्रमोस्ति ॥ ८ ॥
 पठतु यदि चिकित्साज्ञानयोगे मनः स्यात्
 निस्तिलमुनिनिघट्टाः संहिता भूरिवादाः ।
 मम नु मतमिदं यत्प्रत्ययादेव रोगो-
 पशम इह चिकित्सा सत्फलं संपन्नेः किं ॥ ९ ॥

The verse " निर्मेथ्यमहद्देवेन शुभः " occurs at several places, for instance :—

- (1) on folio 3 after verse 23,
- (2) " " 12,
- (3) " " 18,
- (4) " " 30,
- (5) " " 39,
- (6) " " 50,

The Ms. begins with the verse :—

“ नत्वा गोपालबालं गिरिशगणपतीसारदामाजनेनयं
 भानुं रामं भवानीं निजगुरुचरणौ मानसे स्वे निधाय ॥
 मूले हस्तप्रपाटी विधिमिह गदिनामर्तिनाशाय पूर्व-
 रत्नस्तां दृष्टयोगां विहितचहुक्लां लोकनाथः समासात् ॥ १ ॥ ”

It is clear from this beginning and the end of the Ms. quoted above that the Kāyastha Lokanātha was the composer of the work, who ascribed the work to his patron Malladeva. The father of this Malladeva, we are informed further, belonged to 'योधपुर' and was called 'गांग' (गांगाह) and that he was a Rāthor King (राठोरराजः).

2. Identification of Malladeva with Māladeva of Jodhpur :—The marks for identification furnished by verse 5

above viz. (1) that the father of this Malladeva belonged to योधपुर, (2) that he was called गंग and (3) that he was a राठौर enable us to identify this Malladeva with the prince *Māladeva* of Jodhapur, Son of Gangā, who was a contemporary of the Emperors Humayun and Akbar. *Māladeva* came to the throne in Vikrama *Samvat* 1588 (= A.D. 1551-2) and died in Vikrama *Samvat* 1625 (= A.D. 1568-9). It was this prince that refused asylum to Humayun in his flight and thus forced him to take refuge at Umarkot in the sandy deserts of Thar in 1541-2, but had to submit to Akbar shortly before his death¹

The dates of accession and death of *Māladeva* mentioned above viz. Samvat 1588 and 1625 are in harmony with the dates of the Mss. of *Mallaprakāśa* viz. Samvat 1658 and 1633 of the Bikaner and the B. O. R. Institute Mss. respectively. The B. O. R. I. Ms. being written ten years after the death of *Māladeva*, is the oldest dated Ms. of the work so far available. From the foregoing facts we can reasonably infer that Lokanātha must have composed the work *Mallaprakāśa* between A.D. 1551 and 1568.

P. K. Gode,

1. I am indebted to Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, for this identification.

As the date of our Ms is *Sahvat* 1652 or A. D. 1596, the work itself must have been composed between A. D. 1569, the date of Jam Sattarsāl's accession to the gādi and A. D. 1596 the date of the present copy. Our copy, therefore, is a contemporary copy from the original of the court poet Śrīkantha, who must possibly have been living during this period of 27 years (A. D. 1569 to A. D. 1596) of Jam Sattarsāl's reign, within which the date of composition of *Rasa-koumudī* has been fixed by us. In view of the facts mentioned above we can safely infer that the work must have been composed *about 1575 A. D.* i.e. five or six years after the accession (to the gādi) of Jam Sattarsāl.

P. K. Gode.

EPIIC STUDIES

BY

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

IV. MORE TEXT-CRITICAL NOTES.

The Mahābhārata Textual Criticism is unquestionably making progress: slow but steady progress. There are many things in it still that are obscure, but some things have undoubtedly been cleared up. Thus there seems to be consensus of opinion among scholars now on the following points

The Mahābhārata textual tradition, as we know it, is far from being quite uniform. There are now two main streams of tradition, the Northern Recension and the Southern Recension. Each recension is further sub-divided into a number of provincial versions, which differ *inter se* in many particulars. But the text of the Mahābhārata must have been in a fluid state for a very long time, almost from the beginning. Clearly therefore a wholly satisfactory restoration of the text to its pristine form—even the late so-called śatasāhasrī saṁhitā form—would be a task now beyond the powers of criticism. All that we can attempt now is to reconstruct the oldest form of the text that is possible to reach on the basis of the MS. material available. The peculiar conditions of the transmission of the epic necessitate an eclectic but cautious utilization of all MS. classes. The Kāśmīrī version (*textus simplicior*) has proved itself so far to be unquestionably the best Northern version; and the Malayālam, which in many respects is superior to the Grantha, is likewise the best Southern version (*textus ornatior*). The agreement between the Kāśmīrī version and the Southern recension (or sometimes even merely the Malayālam version) can be taken as an indication of originality. But contamination between the different versions was inevitable and must be admitted. The Telugu MSS. are generally and the Grantha MSS. frequently contaminated from Northern sources. Even the Malayālam version, which is on the whole free from Northern influence, may show some contamination, in unexpected places.

In fact, all versions, with the possible exception of the Kashmiri, are contaminated in various degrees. It is, therefore, often a very ticklish question to decide which agreements are original and which secondary. Notwithstanding these difficulties, experience has now shown, the case is not as desperate as it might at first appear. For one thing, there is a considerable bulk of text where the Northern and Southern versions are in full agreement, where there are no variants at all, or—more frequently—only unimportant variants: this part of the text is fortunately certain. There is then the question of the "additional" passages, that is, passages found in only one of the rival recensions. There is only one rational way of dealing with these "additional" passages: they must be carefully segregated from the rest of the text, and examined individually. The onus of proving the originality of these "additional" passages will naturally rest on him who alleges the originality: the documents speak naturally against them, but their evidence is not by any means conclusive.

These are some of the principal findings of the *Prolegomena*. It is assuring to find that these conclusions have been restated and endorsed emphatically by so cautious and judicious a critic as Prof. M. Winterintz in his recent review of the *Ādiparvan* volume, in the pages of these *Annals* (Vol. 15, pp. 159-175). The outlines of the reconstruction may, therefore, be taken to be correct, and the method of reconstruction sound. There is bound to be difference of opinion as regards details. When there are hundreds of thousands of readings to be considered and weighed, it is natural that all the selections would not satisfy all readers; and there are bound to be small slips in so enormous and difficult a work as this. But the reader has the advantage of having the full critical apparatus before him, prepared with all possible care and presented in a convenient manner. The reader may easily substitute in the text any reading that appeals to him better. Prof. Winternitz has thus shown his preferences, in the article mentioned above, in a certain number of cases, where he differs from me as regards the choice of readings. They are passages, as he tells us, which he came across in reading parts of the Critical Edition with his pupils in the Indologisches Seminar at Prag. He has thus published these criticisms after much thought and discussion with

other scholars. I gladly take this opportunity, therefore, to present my view of the case, setting forth the reasons which have guided me in the choice of the readings adopted by me in the Critical Text.

1. 3. 60 : *girā vā śamsāmi*.

I have indeed assumed that agreement between K (strictly speaking, between the original Kāśmīrī version, or at least the Śārādā MS. Ś.) and S is a sufficient though not a necessary proof of originality. But there is no agreement here between K and S. Ko, it is true, represents the version K in a comparatively pure form (Prolegomena, p. L); but Ko is not K; and K₁ is, on the whole, decidedly a better representative of the Kāśmīrī version than Ko (Prolegomena, p. XLIX). Now here Ko and K₁ have different readings: Ko agrees with S, and K₁ with the rest of N! This fact has been ignored by Winternitz. As for the agreement of N₁ and S, I have pointed out, in the Prolegomena (p. LIX), that "even the manuscripts of distant Nepal are not wholly free from contamination from some Southern source or sources (direct or indirect)." Thus the agreement between N₁ and S cannot be considered as compelling evidence, by any means. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that this agreement between Ko N₁ and S concerns merely the omission of one syllable; and it is clear that this trifling omission could quite easily take place *utterly independently* in the respective groups. Therefore, even the documental probability in favour of the reading preferred by Winternitz is not at all strong. It is, in fact, considerably weakened by the following (intrinsic) consideration. N has *vā* and a dodeka (hypermetric) line; S omits *vā* and has the eleven-syllable (normal) line. This is a circumstance suspicious in itself. It is by no means certain or necessary that all the pādas of our Triṣṭubhs should be of the eleven-syllable pattern. Some of these hypermetric pādas can indeed be made normal by the omission of one or more of the additional syllables, often merely of an expletive. But there are many lines which defy such athetization; for instance, the second pāda of the very *next* stanza (1. 3. 61 : *nāsatyadasrau sunasau vajayanlau*). Such lines ought to

warn us against giving hasty preference to these normalizing readings. I have cited elsewhere (Prolegomena, p. XCIII) clear instances of efforts made by redactors to correct hypermetric pādas of Ślokas. Similar efforts are to be found among the variants of our Tristubhs. But as the scheme of the Tristubh is more variable and arbitrary, or at least more complicated and obscure, it is difficult to prove the alterations made by the different scribes or editors. In this particular instance, however, it seems to me, there is no reason to assume that the original pāda was not hypermetric, because our pāda is a standard hypermeter—a type of which Hopkins has cited numerous instances. Cf. No. 6 of the typical, oft-recurring varieties (mentioned by Hopkins in *The Great Epic*, p. 275):

— — — — — | — — — — —

The scansion of our line is:

— — — — — | — — — — —

which, it will be seen, is a pāda of the identical pattern.

From the examples given by Hopkins, I will cite here only the following:

3. 13. 193 *mamaiva (tau) vāmyau parigṛhya rūjan*

5. 42. 9 *atāṛnu (te) yānti na taranti mṛtyum*

5. 48. 77 *vegana(iva) śailam abhihatya Jambhah*

13. 94. 13 *na (hy) utsāhe draṣṭum iha jīvalokam*

Hari. 2. 72. 44 *vī-añjano jano ('tha) vīdvān samagrak*

Are we to omit the bracketed syllables—or some similar syllable—in each case, on the ground that they disturb the metre, if not the sense? We do not possess yet the collations of all these passages; but I am confident that there will always be some MSS. if not versions (or even a whole recension), which omit these extra syllables, for one reason or other. There is this other consideration. The ancients had as good an ear for the rhythm of their Tristubhs as we have, if not better. Why and how was the offending syllable first inserted, and then tolerated by generations of editors? All N MSS. except D₂ contain the hypermeter. Is it not, under these circumstances, more probable that the *original* was a hypermetric line, which was amended by some redactors in conformity with the later ideas of the regular Upaśti metres?

This particular hypermeter is moreover antique, for we find (as Hopkins has pointed out) already an example of it in Muṇḍ. Up. 3. 1. 6 :

yatra (tat) satyasya paramam nidhānam,

with the scansion — — — — — | — — — — —, which differs from our line as regards the quantity of the first two syllables only ; ours has an iambic opening, the Muṇḍaka line trochaic. Here, also, we can with impunity omit the bracketed syllable (*tat*), and get a line which is metrically a "better" line, but obviously not the original one. I am, therefore, fully persuaded that in all such cases we have original hypermeters. These old stanzas were not built at all on the pattern of the later, more regular, classical metres, but followed some other finer rhythmic principle, which escapes our methods of rough analysis by syllable-counting. — Now as regards the sense. The exact explanation of the phrase *girū vā śamsūmi* is, I admit, difficult. Nīlakaṇṭha offers the facile explanation : *vāśabdas cūrthe* (i. e. *vā* = *ca*), which can hardly be considered satisfactory. Devabodha analyses the phrase into *girāv + ā + śamsūmi* (with *girau*, loc. of *giri*), but that hangs together with his interpretation of the Aśvins as the Sun and the Moon, which is not very convincing. It is possible to interpret the words as *girū vā "śamsūmi* (i. e. *tai + āśamsūmi*), as is done by some editors. On the other hand, it is also possible to emend *vā* to *vām* ("ye two," acc. dual), which would give a satisfactory sense. This reading, which is mentioned as a *pāṭha* by Arjunamīśra, is found in only one of our inferior MSS. (D₂). It seemed to me such an obvious emendation that I did not like to adopt it on such slender MS. evidence, and I have hesitatingly (as shown by the wavy line) set in the text the old Northern reading *vā*, which is unquestionably a *lectio difficilior*. The whole hymn is, however, obscure and full of interpretative and other difficulties. It will have to be studied and dealt with more minutely before we can be sure of its text and meaning. But I am fully persuaded that *vā* (or some such word) did form part of the original line, and it would be a mistake to omit it.

1. 3. 145 *Kurukṣetre nivasatām.*

Why Winternitz should have any doubts about *nivasatām*, I fail to understand. It is merely an augmentless imperfect, and

augmentless imperfects are most common in the Mbh., especially in the case of verbs with prepositions, as in this case. Even Whitney (*Sanskrit Grammar*, § 587d) remarks: "Besides the augmentless aorist-forms with *mā* prohibitive, there are also found occasionally in the later language augmentless imperfect-forms (very rarely aorist-forms), which have the same value as if they were augmented, and are for the most part examples of metrical license. They are *especially frequent in the epics*¹ (whence some scores of them are quotable)." To this, in 1884 (that is now more than fifty years ago), Holtzmann added the note:

"Beispiele von fehlendem Augmente des Imperfects sind ziemlich häufig, besonders in Compositum und hier wieder in solchen, die mit auf *a* auslautenden Präpositionen, *ava*, *upa*, *apa*, zusammengesetzt sind: aber nicht ganz vereinzelt ist der Mangel nur bei *bhavan* sie wurden 3, 110, 3 = 9970. 11, 27, 14 = 813. 16, 1, 9 = 9 u. a."

He has given the following examples: *pr̥cchat*, *pātan*, *cintayan*; *manyadhvam*, *budhyetām*; *vyapagacchatām*; *adhyavasayan*, *avabudhyata*, *avatiṣṭhata*, *avekṣetām*, *avapadyanta*, *parjavasthūpayat*; *abhyupamantrayat*, *upatiṣṭhetām*, *upanṛtyanta*; *abhiṣṭuvan*, *abhidhūvetām*, *abhyarcayat*; *samutiṣṭhan*, *utthāpayan*, *uccārayan*; *paripālayan*; *nirartayetām*; *nirjayat*; *saṃgrhñitām*; *svīkarot*. The Critical Ed. has, besides *nivasatām*, the following: *rdhyata* 1. 58. 8, *avabudhyata* 120. 11, *avatiṣṭhat* 189. 11, *avamāṃsthāḥ* (no v. l.!) 189. 21, *sambhidravat* 218. 28. There are many others, less certain. A number of instances will be found in the Tentative Edition of the *Virāṭa-parvan* by Mr. Utgikar; the Critical Edition of this parvan, I may add, will again contain quite a few instances of this particular solecism. How many examples are really needed before it is admitted that augmentless imperfect-forms occur regularly in the Mbh., and we cease to take of "correct" and "incorrect" forms? The augmentless forms are quite as "correct" as the other as far as the Mbh. is concerned. Winternitz points out that the "correct" form "is given by the Kāśmīrian transcript Kr, by the Maithili and Bengali MSS., by Arjunamīśra, and by some Southern MSS.," and therefore he prefers it. It is a wonder that

¹ Italics mine.

it is not given by more MSS. ; because the tendency is always to change an " incorrect " form into the " correct " one. We have here to look not to the MSS. which have the " correct " form, but to those which have not the " correct " form ! Let us look at it in another way. If *nivasatām* be the original reading, then there are two ways of improving the text : (i) keep *vasatām* of the original and change the word to *nyavasatām* and thus make it " correct " (Central sub-recension and Malayālam, *independently*), or (ii) keep *ni-* intact, and change the word to the present *nivasataḥ* (" K " version) ; both are represented here. If, on the other hand, *nyavasatām* were the original reading, no one would think of changing it later to *nivasatām* ; and *nivasataḥ* of K would also be quite unintelligible. The text reading *nivasatām* thus explains, to a certain extent, how the other readings may have arisen and has therefore been preferred. And I think there cannot be much doubt about its correctness and originality.

1. 3. 163 *prabrūhi vā kim kriyatām dvijendra.*

If Winternitz prefers *me kim*, he must, at the same time, also prefer *karāṇiyam adya t yēnūsi kārṇyēṇa* etc., found in N (except K B₄ D_{2.5}) ; but he did not realize it. The *me kim* of the Vulgate cannot be joined to *kriyatām dvijendra* of K B₄ D_{2.5} S. There is no MS. which reads *prabrūhi me kim kriyatām dvijendra śuśrūṣur asmy adya vacas tādīyam*. The reading of the line proposed by Winternitz will be like an animal with the head of a horse and tail of a donkey ! The text reading of the entire line—nay, of the entire stanza—occurs *verbatim* in K₁. 3. 4. I think, the original Northern reading was probably *prabrūhi vā kim*, as in text. If *vā* be useless after *prabrūhi*, it is more than useless after *kim*, where Winternitz would have it. It is conceivable that the (original) Northern reading (preserved in K₁. 3. 4.) is corrupt, and we ought to give here preference to S. That is another matter. Not being convinced that *vā kim* of K₁. 3. 4. was " secondary " or corrupt form of *kim vā* of S, I have adopted, in the text, *vā kim* underlining it to show that it is less than certain. But *mām kim*, *mām yat*, *me kim*, *me tvam*, *vākyam* of the Northern MSS. are clearly all secondary, and need not be considered at all.

1. 55. 3 *śrotuṃ pātraṃ ca rājais tvam.*

I have taken the Śāradā MS. only as the *norm* for my edition ; I have not undertaken to reproduce its text *verbatim*. The *śrotṛpātraṃ ca rājais tvām* of Ś. K is opposed by *all other MSS.* And, moreover, as there is agreement between B D and S—more or less independent versions—on the reading *śrotuṃ pātraṃ ca rājais tvam*, this reading is indicated as the original, and has been adopted, without wavy line ; a procedure quite in accord with the principles of text reconstruction laid down in the Prolegomena (p. XCI). Winternitz finds *śrotṛpātraṃ ca rājais tvām* of K “better Sanskrit,” but I must frankly confess that I could not make head or tail of it, and I cannot understand it even now. The text reading is the same as the reading of the Vulgate and of the Southern recension, and is besides quite clear, and, as far as I can judge, flawless Sanskrit. It may be translated : “And thou art, O King, a fit person to hear (Vyāsa’s Bhārati Kathā),” a sense which suits the context admirably. Further more, K has here an entirely different reading for the whole stanza. If we adopt the reading preferred by Winternitz, then we must read the stanza as :

*śrotṛpātraṃ ca rājais tvām prapñeyam Bhārati śubhā
guror vaktraparispandaṃ mudā prcśāhātva mām ||*,

which is appreciably different from the text. But the variants of the other versions do not at all suggest that this is the *original* reading. Our text represents the reading of the Southern recension, which has here, in my opinion, the greatest probability.

1. 56. 8 : *katham iyatikraman dyūte.*

It is natural that W. should demand wavy lines for this verse. I admit the line is most puzzling, and I only lighted upon the solution of the puzzle by accident, after prolonged wrestling with it. An explanatory note was really called for, because the first line is absolutely unintelligible unless one knows the particular meaning of the root *iyatikram* intended here, which is “to wrongly submit or surrender oneself to, wrongly take to (a thing or person, acc.)”. It is a rare meaning, but not unknown. It is given in the dictionaries of Monier Williams (ed. 1899, s. v.

vyatikram), and Macdonell (s. v. *kram*). It appears not to be given in PW, but pw has (s. v. *kram*): "verkehrter Weise sich einer Sache (Acc.) hingeben". One example of the use is (B.) 12. 174. 36 :

*atha ye buddhim aprūptā vyatikrāntās ca mūḍhatām ।
te 'tivelāṇi prahṛṣyanti saṁtūpam upayūnti ca ॥*

Here *vyatikrāntās ca mūḍhatām* must mean "those who have surrendered themselves (wrongly) to folly"; no other meaning will fit, as far as I can judge. Our stanza is, therefore, to be translated thus :

"How (indeed) did the two sons of Prthā, as well as the two sons of Mādri, (tamely) surrender themselves to the tiger among men (Yudhisthira), who was being cheated at dice by those wicked men, and (how did they) follow him?"

This strange submission consists in their consenting, in the first instance, to be used as pledges or stakes in that dire game of dice, and acquiescing dumbly to everything that Yudhisthira did. The Southern recension is unanimous on the point that the doubtful word was some form of *vyatikram*; and the eight readings recorded in our crit. app. show that it must have been some word which was as unintelligible to the scribes and editors as it is to Winternitz. Winternitz is again mistaken in thinking that the S reading is *vyatikramadyūte*. This is the reading not of S but of only two MSS. (G2.6) out of the thirteen Southern MSS. of our crit. app. I myself have followed S in reading *vyatikramadyūte*, which is the reading of five of the Southern MSS. In fact, my text represents the reading of the majority of the Southern MSS., and is, therefore in a sense, the true S reading. It is needless to add that *vinirjitam* of "K" and *vyasaninam* of the Central sub-recension, are emendations, made by those who could not make head or tail of the original. For it is clear that no one would change *vinirjitam* or *vyasaninam* to any of the Southern readings, while the reverse would be the most natural thing in the world. It is further worthy of note that while the Northern MSS. have the easier reading, there is no agreement between the Kāśmīri and the Central sub-recension. They must therefore represent independent alterations of a third original. — Following certain other S MSS. P. P. S. Sastri has adopted the reading

vyatikramaṁ dyūte (without recording any v. l.); but I am inclined to think that this is a wrong analysis of **kramandyūte* which in S MSS. stands for both **kramaṁ dyūte* and **kraman dyūte*. — Now that I have explained how the awkward word is to be interpreted, I have no doubt that Winternitz will agree with me that the text reading is correct.

1. 57. 20: *kriyate *ucchrayo nrpañ.*

There has been extraordinary reluctance among scholars to face the fact that the Mbh. text once contained far more examples of hiatus than what one deems right or reasonable for such an ancient and venerable text. But there is hardly any excuse now for such hesitation. On p. XCIII of the Prolegomena, I have given numerous instances of the surreptitious efforts of scribes and redactors to eliminate hiatus, which show that hiatus was an anathema to them. It is well known that the Sandhi is not rigidly observed in the Vedic Samhitās, the Brāhmanas, and the Upaniṣads, in Pali, and in Prakrit works. Why must the Sandhi then be rigidly observed in the popular epic, a work which has its roots firmly embedded in the soil of the heroic poetry of the Sūtas, and which has throughout preserved vestiges of its humble origin. The only reference (so far as I know), in the poem itself, to the Mbh. being a *Kāvya* (*kṛtaṁ mamedam bhagavan kūryaṁ parama-pūjitaṁ*) has now disappeared with the Brahmā-Gaṇeśa interpolation in the Ādi, and we are thus left only with a Purāṇa, Itihāsa or Ākhyāna. A specimen of this class of work may surely contain sporadic instances of hiatus, without our being scandalized. It is futile, I may add, to try to apply to this category of popular literature the rules of the dialect of the high-brow Śiṣṭas. We may expect every conceivable solecism in the language of the Mbh., and we find, in fact, an amazing variety of them; the hiatus, which was extremely common, is only one of such so-called irregularities. But for this strange modern antipathy towards hiatus, Winternitz would have recognized that the emendation is quite legitimate and certain. Winternitz considers the Northern readings but wholly ignores the Southern, which is fatal to his argument. S does not contain either *ati* (or *abhi*) which is found only in certain N MSS., and is besides superfluous.

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vyatikramaṁ dyūte (without recording any v. l.); but I am inclined to think that this is a wrong analysis of **kramandyūte* which in S MSS. stands for both **kramaṁ dyūte* and **kraman dyūte*. — Now that I have explained how the awkward word is to be interpreted, I have no doubt that Winternitz will agree with me that the text reading is correct.

1. 57. 20 : *kriyate *ucchrāyo nṛpaḥ*.

There has been extraordinary reluctance among scholars to face the fact that the Mbh. text once contained far more examples of hiatus than what one deems right or reasonable for such an ancient and venerable text. But there is hardly any excuse now for such hesitation. On p. XCIII of the Prolegomena, I have given numerous instances of the surreptitious efforts of scribes and redactors to eliminate hiatus, which show that hiatus was an anathema to them. It is well known that the Sandhi is not rigidly observed in the Vedic Saṁhitās, the Brāhmanas, and the Upaniṣads, in Pali, and in Prakrit works. Why must the Sandhi then be rigidly observed in the popular epic, a work which has its roots firmly embedded in the soil of the heroic poetry of the Sūtas, and which has throughout preserved vestiges of its humble origin. The only reference (so far as I know), in the poem itself, to the Mbh. being a *Kāvya* (*kṛtāṁ mamedāṁ bhagavaṁ kāvyāṁ parama-pūjitaṁ*) has now disappeared with the Brahmā-Gaṇeśa interpolation in the Ādi, and we are thus left only with a Purāṇa, Itihāsa or Ākhyāna. A specimen of this class of work may surely contain sporadic instances of hiatus, without our being scandalized. It is futile, I may add, to try to apply to this category of popular literature the rules of the dialect of the high-brow Śiṣṭas. We may expect every conceivable solecism in the language of the Mbh., and we find, in fact, an amazing variety of them; the hiatus, which was extremely common, is only one of such so-called irregularities. But for this strange modern antipathy towards hiatus, Winternitz would have recognized that the emendation is quite legitimate and certain. Winternitz considers the Northern readings but wholly ignores the Southern, which is fatal to his argument. S does not contain either *ati* (or *abhi*) which is found only in certain N MSS., and is besides superfluous.

TG have recast the line : *kurvantī eḷe dhvajocchrayam*, with *kurvantī* (note the active voice !), that is, a form of the root *kr* (like *kriyate* of N) at the head of the pāda. All these versions have the verb, it may be noted, in the *beginning* of the pāda. M contains the same three words as ours *kriyate*, *ucchrayah* and *nṛpāḥ*, but transposes *kriyate* and *ucchrayah*, reading *ucchrayah kriyate nṛpāḥ*. This is the key-reading, which gives a clue to the original. You can explain everything else, but you cannot explain the *transposition* in M (which normally ought to agree with TG), unless you start from the hypothetical *kriyate *ucchrayo nṛpāḥ*. If you argue, on the other hand, that the reading of M is an arbitrary variant, which is in no need of a special explanation by means of an emendation, then there is no need of a critical edition either; because all MSS. contain approximately the same text and the same story, and the few differences could be regarded as arbitrary variations which needed no explanation. With this reading, containing the opprobrious hiatus, you can explain *all* the variations. N inserts a futile and innocuous *abhi* (corrupted in some MSS. to *atī*) to destroy the hiatus. M transposes the *ucchrayo*, which is the chief cause of the trouble; TG recast the original, and substitute a reading which fits badly in the context, with an active *kurvantī* (having no proper subject), after *kriyate* in stanza 19. That is how I regard this little complex of readings, and hence the emendation, of whose correctness I myself have no doubt whatsoever.

1. 57. 21 : *hūsyarūpeṇa śaṁkaraḥ*.

This reading is undoubtedly, as Winternitz rightly observes, the *lectio difficilior*, but there is not the slightest doubt about its being the original reading, judging by *documentary evidence*, and therefore, there is absolutely no need of underlining it. It is, in the first instance, the reading of the *whole of M*, which Winternitz appears not to have realized. I have stated, as my opinion, that the Malayālam version is the best representative of the Southern recension (Prolegomena, p. LXXIII). I am glad to note that Winternitz (*Annals*, Vol. 15, p. 170) agrees with me, and that even my learned friend Vidyāsāgara Prof. P. P. S. Sastri now endorses it. In the introduction (p. iii) to Vol. IV of his edition

of the Southern Recension, Sastri writes: "Not having been subject to Nāyaka influence in any manner whatsoever, the tradition handed down by the Malayālam Manuscripts preserved the Grantha text, in a purer and more unmixed form than even some comparatively early Grantha manuscripts, as the Malayālam MSS. do not at all seem to have come into contact with the Northern Recension till very recent times."¹ Now this reading of the Malayālam version is supported by the reading of the Kāśmīrī version; for though Śi is missing, yet K₁ (India Office 2137) has the corrupt *hūmyahūmya*² (for *haṁsa*³ of the rest of N), and it is well known that in Nāgarī copies of Śāradā MSS. *s* is frequently transcribed wrongly as *m*; so that we have to read *hūsyahūsyi* (dittography). The reading is further borne out by Devabodha's gloss (the MS. reads *hāsa*⁴ for our *hūsyā*⁵): *hūsarūpeṇa kṛīḍāvatārarūpeṇa* (cf. p. 990 of the Crit. Ed. for the gloss), where *haṁsa*, in any case, would not fit, for it is not clear how *haṁsarūpa* would be *kṛīḍāvatārarūpa*. Further, *śaṁkaraḥ* is the reading of all MSS. except B; Dn, which have *īśvaraḥ* (an obvious emendation) and TG which has *vīśvamaḥ* (which must likewise be an emendation), originally, perhaps, only a gloss. Here practically the whole of N is supported by M. *śaṁkaraḥ* is here not a name of Indra, but only an epithet, an attribute meaning "auspicious, beneficent". Thus in (B.) 3. 229. 6 *śaṁkara* is used with reference to Skanda: *lokūnām śaṁkara bhāta*. In (B.) 3. 201. 29 the epithet *maheśvara* ("great lord") is applied to Viṣṇu: *tenyi utyān maheśvara*. Further in 1. 58. 43, the epithets *īśa* ("lord") and *śaṁbhu* ("auspicious") are applied to god Brahmā: *prabhavaḥ sarvabhūtānām īśaḥ śaṁbhuh prajā-patīḥ*. This shows that the words *śaṁkara*, *śaṁbhu*, *īśa*, *maheśvara*, and so on, which are now generally regarded as proper names of Mahādeva, were still not specialized, but were applied to other gods as well, as mere epithets, descriptive of their beneficence or omnipotence.

1. 57. 58: *āvaṇor dṛṣṭāntor ebhāh*.

Here it is not difficult to see on what authority the adopted reading rests. The footnotes give here the reading of N⁶ V; B 1)

¹ Italics mine

(except D₅) of the Northern, and of G of the Southern recension. The adopted reading (which is partly supported by the *dr̥ṣṭayor* of G₃) is, therefore, the reading of the remaining MSS. K D₅ T M (since Ś₁ is missing, as mentioned on p. 244, at the beginning of the adhy., or as may be seen from the table on p. XXIV of the Prolegomena). The Vulgate lacks here the support of the Grantha version, which has an entirely different reading :

āvayot ca katham brahman bhaviṣyati samāgamaḥ ।

The Grantha version dispenses altogether with the troublesome *dr̥ṣṭatoḥ* of the original (or the unsuitable v. l. *dr̥ṣṭayoḥ* of the Vulgate), thus revealing its secondary character. The line was recast in the archetype "Sigma" (see the pedigree in the Prolegomena, p. XXX). The textual relations here are ideal, being clear as crystal. Winternitz is right in regarding it as pass. part. praes. with active ending. Passive forms with active endings are quite common in the epic. I adduce a few examples to dispel the remaining doubts of sceptics : 1. 11. 15 *iṣyati* (v. l. *iṣyeta*, *arhatī* etc.); 16. 15 *ākṣipyataḥ* (no. v. l. !); 34. 13 *mokṣyanti* (v. l. *mokṣyante*); 47. 9 *sambhriyantu* (v. l. *°bharantu*, *°bhavantu*); 48. 12 *dahyatām* (no v. l. !); 48. 13 *pacyatām* (v. l. *jvalatām*, *dahyatām*); 48. 22 *diriyati* (v. l. *śiryati*); 53. 6 *vidūyatū* (no. v. l. !); 71. 44 *dr̥ṣyet* (v. l. *paśyet*); 124. 24 *uhyantah* (v. l. *uhyante*); 147. 8 *vyucchidyet* (v. l. *ucchinḍyūt*, *chidyeta*); 165. 24 *hriyasi* (v. l. *gṛhyase*, *hriyase*, *prayāsi*); 202. 19 *adr̥ṣyadbhiḥ* (v. l. *adr̥ṣyais ca*, *adr̥ṣyau tau*); 217. 13 *mathyataḥ* (v. l. *manthane*); 218. 49 *praviśiryataḥ*; 219. 5 *adr̥ṣyan* (v. l. *adr̥ṣyā*, *nyapatan*).

1. 92. 2 : *Gaṅgā śrīr iva rūpīṇi*.

The configuration of the MSS. as well as the intrinsic merit of the readings are different in the two lines. That is how Ś₁ K₁ appear to be of greater authority in the first line than in the second. The *salilāt* of the text is found in all MSS. except Ś₁ K₁ (S only transposing the word : Text *salilāt tasmāt*, S *Gaṅgā salilāt*), and is, therefore, for one thing, obviously far better documented than *ṣayanāt* of Ś₁ K₁ only. In the second line, therefore, we have, practically, only two readings : *ṣayanāt* of Ś₁ K₁, against *salilāt* of the rest; therefore the reading of Ś₁ K₁ has been rightly re-

jected. Such is not the case in the first line. Here we have *three* nearly independent readings (Ś: K: *Gaṅgā śrīr īva rūpiṇī*: Vulgate *G. strīrūpadhūrīṇī*: S *lobhanīyatamūkṛtīḥ*, which latter is our *fourth* pāda). Here, while the two Northern readings are somewhat allied to each other, the Southern reading is entirely different, having very little connection with the Northern. None of the readings can be mechanically derived from the other, and intrinsically they are all more or less of the same value. Such being the case, the Northern tradition was, as usual, followed. Winternitz does not say why he thinks *strīrūpadhūrīṇī* is better than the other. The reason why I chose *śrīr īva rūpiṇī* ("beautiful like Lakṣmī") is that it is nearer in sense to *lobhanīyatamūkṛtīḥ* ("with a most enticing form") of S, than *strīrūpadhūrīṇī* ("assuming the form of a woman") of the Vulgate. I have here explained in detail the exact reasons which have weighed with me in making the difficult choice, but as a matter of fact, they are all three epic *śrīrū*, and these *śrīrū* keep alternating with each other indiscriminately. In such cases, it is impossible to decide, with certainty, which is original and which is secondary, and the matter is also of no great consequence. The uncertainty of the text; tradition has been duly indicated by a wavy line.

1. 92. 7: *rājan kanyām varastriyam*.

I am glad Winternitz has drawn my attention to a wrong reading which has crept in here, through oversight, and I gladly take this opportunity to publish a correction. The reading I had intended to adopt, or at least I should have adopted, is precisely the one advocated by Winternitz: *rājan kāmīyām varā*, that of the Kāśmīrī version (Ś: Ko-2.4). The fact is that just for first two words of the last pāda of this stanza, there is a confusing array of readings in Northern MSS., all meaning, more or less, the same thing: *rājan kāmīyām* (Ś: Ko-2.4), *rājan dīvyām* (K₃), *dīvyām kanyām* (Vulgate), *kāmīyām dīvyām* (B), *dīvyām kāmīyām* (N_{1,3}). Under these circumstances, clearly, the Kāśmīrī reading should have been adopted, according to the principles enunciated in the Prolegomena, but through a clerical error *kanyām* (of the Vulgate)

has crept in, in place of *kūmyām* (of the Kaśmīrī), which was intended.—I do not agree with Winternitz however when he says that the epithet *kanyā* is “not very appropriate for Gaṅgā”. It would be quite appropriate, as far as I can see. It would imply that she was an unmarried virgin, which is the regular meaning of *kanyā*; compare :

1. 57. 63 *uvāca matpriyān kṛtvū kanyāiva tvān bhaviṣyasi*

1. 104. 12 *prūdāc ca tasyūh kanyūtvān punah sa paramadyutiḥ*

(B) 3. 307. 16 *sā mayā saha saṅgamya punah kanyā bhaviṣyasi*

It would then answer Pratiṣa's objection (1. 92. 6) :

nāhañ paratṛiṇyān kāmūt gaccheyān vṛavaraṇin.

But *kanyām* is not supported by the MS. evidence, and *kūmyām* is : that is the main point. The constituted text should therefore be corrected accordingly by changing *kanyām* to *kūmyām*.

1. 92. 45 : *na ca tām kṛmcanovāca.*

Here I do not agree with Winternitz. I am fully persuaded that the text is quite in order. The first mistake Winternitz makes is in thinking that *sa* is the reading of Ś₁K; it is actually given in the crit. app. as the reading of Ś₁ K_{0.3.4} D₅. Winternitz has overlooked the fact that Ś₁ differs from K₁, which is in itself suspicious; and K₂ is also excluded from the group. If *ca* has to be translated by “but”, there is no help for it; for *ca* has frequently to be rendered in that way. For the Mbh., I may add, *ca* and *tu* are almost synonymous, *tu* having entirely lost the specific adversative force. It is quite clear that there must have been a period in the history of Sanskrit, as it was spoken, in which the two small particles *ca* and *tu* were confused in the mouths of the common people, and were used indiscriminately. That is, in fact, the only explanation of the curious particle *cu* one comes across in certain Aśoka inscriptions, which is evidently a combination of *ca* and *tu*. The Śāradā MS. undoubtedly offers a “better” reading, but, as a comparison of the different versions shows, it is a clear innovation or emendation. That the original had something like *na ca* (of the text) is proved by TG, which has *na tu*, only in a slightly different combination :

uvāca kiñcin na tu tām. M differs from TG, and has a third combination, with a new word *vacanañ*, not found in the other versions: *uvāca vacanañ kiñcit*, which has neither *na ca* nor *na tu*, and which does not help to solve our difficulty. The *sa* of some of the Kāśmīrī MSS. is not necessary for the context, as the subject *mahīpatiḥ* ("the king") occurs in the same line.

1. 92. 50: *aśfeme Vāsavo devūh*.

Practically all the MSS. except those of the D version begin with *aślau*, which makes it probable (if it does not directly prove) that the original must have begun with *aślau*; therefore *imeślau* (one of the readings preferred by Winternitz) must be ruled out, as an emendation, probably of a *lectio difficilior*. The (final) *me* of Ś: K: and the initial *ime* of some Nāgarī MSS. suggest that the original was the conjectural **aśfeme*, which combines the characteristics of these groups, and which is very close to the *aśfa me* of N₃. It is also suggested, to a certain extent, by the Bengali *aślau ye*. The conjectural *aśfeme*, is in fact, the hypothetical form to which the various readings *aślau me*, *aśfa me*, *aślau ye*, *aślau hi*, and *imeślau* seem to converge. The convergence is not a matter of which a mathematical proof can be supplied. If Winternitz does not see the convergence, he may substitute for the text reading any of the five readings found in the MSS. I did not know which to choose; hence the emendation. The change is not quite unmotivated. The motive appears to have been the seemingly irregular Sandhi (double crasis): $aślau + ime = aśtū + ime = aśfeme$. But as a matter of fact, there need not have been any irregularity at all in the Sandhi, for *aśfeme* may simply be resolved into $aśtū + ime$, or $aśfa + ime$, since besides the heavier *aślau*, both the forms *aśtū* and *aśfa* were in use, of which the latter (*aśfa*) particularly was used, I think, in all periods of the language (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar § 483). The translation of Winternitz is not quite accurate; at least it is not literal. The stanza has no word for "obtained birth," which Winternitz interpolates into it. In order to justify the reading *me*, "of me," which he has further to explain as "in my body". Translate: "Those gods, the Eight Vasus, had on account of Vasiṣṭha's curse become men (lit. attained the state of men)."

1. 93. 1 : *mānuṣīm tanum āgatāḥ*.

The agreement between S and \tilde{N} V₁ Da D₁ signifies absolutely nothing for the *original* reading; it is purely the result of confusion. V₁ is, moreover, not a *version*; it is merely a single MS. written in Maithilī script, and as such, capable of showing any reading at random. Again, the agreement of \tilde{N} V₁ with Da and S against B Da is most unnatural and thoroughly suspicious. In other words, the MS. evidence here is extremely confused. Ordinarily I would have adopted the Ś₁ K reading *mānuṣatvam upāgatāḥ*, which has occurred already in the previous adhy. (1. 92. 50), and occurs again in (B) 3. 83 66; but owing to the *mānuṣīm* of B, which recurs in S, I have given here preference to the reading of the Bengali version. I may point out that it is the reading of the entire Bengali version, and not of a few unimportant MSS., as Winternitz imagines. The readings are these:

Ś₁ K *mānuṣatvam upāgatāḥ*
 B *mānuṣīm tanum āgatāḥ*
 S *mānuṣīm yonim āgatāḥ*,

This being the constellation of the readings, *mānuṣīm* and *āgatāḥ* are as good as certain, as suggested by the agreement between B and S. Therefore the real variant is only *tanum* : *yonim*. It is likely that the *original* was *yonim* which was corrupted, in N, to *tanum*, and then the original pāda *mānuṣīm tanum āgatāḥ* (preserved in Bengali only) was replaced by the recurrent tag *mānuṣatvam upāgatāḥ*; but it is most unlikely that the latter was the original which was changed in B to *mānuṣīm tanum ā*, and in S to *mānuṣīm yonim ā*. In any case, the Kāśmīrī reading must be rejected here as secondary (cf. Prolegomena, p. LXII), as shown by the evidence of B and S. Da D₁ appear to have got their *yonim* from S (ibid. p. LXVII), and \tilde{N} V₁ possibly from Da.

1. 93. 11 : *devadevarṣisevitam*.

Winternitz is mistaken in thinking that the hermitage in question was frequented by Ṛṣis only, and not by gods as well. In fact, the talk is not about a hermitage at all, but about the

forest (*vaṇam*) containing the hermitage. Moreover, it was not an ordinary hermitage, but the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha, situated on the slopes of the celestial mount Meru (1. 93. 15 f.) :

Vasiṣṭho nūma ili sa khyāta ūpara ity uta || 15
tasyāśramapadaṁ puṇyāṁ nṛgapakṣigaṇānṛitam |
Meroh pūrve nāgendrasya sarvartukusumānṛitam || 16

The forest, therefore, in which Vasiṣṭha's hermitage was situated, was inhabited and frequented by divine ṛsis (like Vasiṣṭha) and by gods (like the Vasus). That is how, in fact, the Vasus found themselves in that hermitage on that fateful day. If the forest were not frequented by gods, the Vasus would not have come there at all. If we adopt the reading *devā devaṛṣisevitaṁ* (which is plausible), then the compound must be taken to mean " frequented by gods and ṛsis ", (and not by divine ṛsis, as Winternitz understands it). According to our text, the forest was frequented by gods and divine ṛsis. As will be seen, there is not much to choose between the readings, but I prefer the text, because only the divine ṛsis like Vasiṣṭha could reach those regions, not ordinary ṛsis. Moreover, such adjectives (forming the entire second half of the line) are extremely common in the descriptions of sacred forests, hermitages, tīrthas, with many variants, as may be seen from the following examples from the *Āraṇyaka* (Bom. Ed.) :

- 3. 82. 41 *devaṛṣipitṛsevita*
- 84. 46 *siddhagandharvasevita*
- 87. 5 *rūjarṣigaṇasevita*
- 89. 7 *devagandharvasevita*
- 89. 8 *devaṛṣigaṇasevita*
- 90. 21 *brahmaṛṣigaṇasevita*
- 156. 10 *siddhacūraṇapūjita*
- and 145. 41 *devadevaṛṣipūjita*.

which latter has our combination *deva devaṛṣi*, and in which *deva* cannot be separated from *devaṛṣi*, for the stanza reads :

latrūpṛṣṭya'a dharmūlmū devadevaṛṣipūjitaḥ |
Naranārūyaṇasthānaḥ Bhūgīratkhyopāśobhitam ||

The adjective *devadevaṛṣisevitaṁ* (or " *pūjitaṁ*) is used with reference to the most sacred and inaccessible regions like the

penance groves on Meru or Gandhamādana, or on the Himāślyan peaks. I do not wish to suggest that the simple phrase *devaṛṣi-sevītam* would not have sufficed here. I only want to show that there is nothing wrong with the text reading, which is proved by the Kaśinīrī version (Ś: K). From the graphical point of view, the difference between the readings (*devā* and *deva-*) is so slight that the documentary evidence actually counts here for very little. It is just owing to this uncertainty that the reading has been underlined in the critical text.

1. 214. 9: *Dharmarūje *atiprītyā*.

Here again we notice Winternitz's prejudice against hiatus, to which I had drawn attention in the discussion on 1. 57. 20, above. But here my case is stronger still. As far as the Vedic tradition is concerned, *e* (like *o*) remained unchanged before *a* which was generally elided in the written text, but, according to the evidence of metre, must almost invariably in the R̥gveda and generally in the Yajurveda and Atharvaveda, be pronounced whether written or not. According to the statistics prepared by Vedic scholars, it must be pronounced in the R̥gveda in 99 per cent of the cases, in the Atharvaveda and the metrical portions of the Yajurveda, in about 80 per cent of its occurrences. This shows that in the older stages of the language, at any rate, any Sandhi between final *e* (or *o*) and initial *a* was rare. The rule becomes more and more rigid as we advance, until with classical authors, ignorance or violation of the rule came to be regarded as a capital blunder. Now the Mbh., whatever its age be, stands unquestionably midway between the Vedic and the classical epoch, and therefore partakes naturally of the linguistic characteristics of both. In the Vedic literature, where the scribes or editors did not dare to add even a single syllable to the received text, the later antipathy towards hiatus shows itself in the efforts to coalesce, in the written text, the adjoining vowels, according to rules of (Sanskrit) grammar, leaving a correct but unmetrical and unreadable line. The subterfuge is however so obvious that no one hesitates to dissolve the Sandhi automatically and restore the hiatus. Much reluctance is felt, on the other hand, by scholars

in admitting that the epic text likewise contained originally many instances of hiatus, though of course they are not as frequent as in the Veda. The reluctance is due to two causes. Firstly the Mbh. text looks on the surface so like a classical text that scholars, who have so far studied the text mainly from printed editions, insist on applying rules of classical grammar to the text. The second reason is that the ancient redactors who had not the same compunction about making small alterations in the epic text (as is evident from our critical apparatus) as they had in the case of the Vedic texts, have not resorted to coalescence in order to remove the hiatus, but have boldly added little expletives like *ca*, *tu*, *hi* for saving their precious rules of grammar, a procedure which, as it leaves the line metrically intact, makes the detection of their nefarious interference difficult, if not impossible. Now though the Mbh. looks on the surface like a classical text, there are many peculiarities of Sandhi and grammar—even in the printed editions and the Vulgate—which distinguish it from a classical text. Coalescence unknown to classical usage is seen in *amale* "tmūnam (1. 68. 64), *te* "jñayū (1. 70. 41), *manya'e* "tmūnam (1. 198. 19). We have hiatus in a compound in *Nūrūyaṇa-urogataḥ* (1. 16. 35); Pragrhya Sandhi in *samupele* 'dbhute 'naghe (fem. du. 1. 14. 5), *jññūte* 'stravi śūradau (1. 57. 88) etc. Double crasis in *pañṇagūbhavm* (1. 21. 6), *Vasumanūbravit* (1. 87. 18), *jyayate* (1. 11. 13). Hiatus between pādas, caused by the change of *as* to *o* (1. 76. 35): *jagūma svīpuraṁ hr̥ṣṭo anujñūto mahātmanū*. Frequently we come across Prakritio Absolutives like *gr̥hya* (1. 2. 93; 9. 19; 39. 23, 30; 119. 16; 123. 12, 16, 50; 124. 20 etc.), *tośya* (1. 1. 109), *cintya* (1. 9. 2), *uśya* (1. 71. 58), etc. etc.; and the converse (*tvā* for *ya*) in *sam-pūjayitū* (1. 54. 15), *ū-nayitū* (1. 66. 12), *nī-śānitū* (1. 85. 18), *anu-śiṣṭcūnugatvā ca* (1. 133. 24), *prūpayitū* (1. 189. 25) etc., some of which may however, be explained as absolutives of verbs with separable prepositions. Such a separable preposition we have in 1. 65. 34:

prati śravanāpurvūṇi nakṣatrāṇi saśarja ha t,

where *prati* is to be construed with *saśarja*, as *pratiśarja*: a line often misunderstood by editors, commentators and translators alike. These violations of (Sanskrit) grammar are not so rare that one has to hunt for them with a microscope. There is an endless list of

them. One meets with them at every step. If these and scores of other irregularities do occur as a matter of fact, why could there not be *hiatus* as well? Scholars are not yet familiar with this phenomenon, because they have been dealing, so far, with the clarified text, from which most of these irregularities have been carefully expunged, as is evident from our critical apparatus, by purists who have had the handling of the epic text during a long succession of centuries. I have noted that even Böhtlingk, who was otherwise a careful and conscientious editor, has in editing Mbh. passages for his *Chrestomathie*, rigidly enforced Sandhi rules, even in prose passages, with a zeal which was worthy of a better cause, where there was not the slightest manuscript authority for doing so. My study of the Mbh. MSS. during the last ten years has convinced me now that it is the grammatical and metrical irregularities of the original that are responsible for quite a large fraction of the mass of variations which we come across in the MSS. The correctness of my reconstructions can be proved only by adducing the entire evidence, which it is not possible to do here, but which may be undertaken later on, when a large part of the text has been dealt with in a like manner. I am fully persuaded that the Critical Edition, as it advances, will supply material for confirming most of my conclusions.— To return to the case under consideration. Winternitz points out that *hi* is found in all N MSS., including Ś₁, but he ignores that K₁ shows here *tu*, not *hi*? Now K₁ is a clear transcript of a Śāradā MS., and agrees with our Ś₁ to such an extent that I have expressed it as my opinion that it is a copy of a Śāradā original very similar to our Śāradā MS. It is, no doubt, a very small and insignificant variation, but how would Winternitz explain it all the same? *hya* cannot be misread as *tva*, even in the Śāradā script. Why should just K₁ show here *tva*? Is it not, perhaps, because a not very distant ancestor of our Ś₁ and K₁ had still the obnoxious hiatus, as in our text? The Kaśmīrī version does contain many original features and archaisms.

1. 215. 2: *ekūṁ tṛptīm prayacchatām.*

prayacchatām of the text, I may point out, is not entirely wrong; it may be construed with *bhavantau*, understood, a more

respectful form of address than the second person. In stanza 5, however, the reading *saṃprayacchatam* has been accepted, because the subject in the second person (*yuvām*) is expressed. We cannot argue that since in 5 we have *saṃprayacchatam*, therefore in 2 we must have also *prayacchatam*. Because in the Mbh., which is not and never was polished literature, we do come across such strange yoke-fellows. Changes of subject and changes of construction are frequent. That is the view I had taken when I adopted the text reading. But on second thoughts I decided that *prayacchatam* would nevertheless be a better reading, and the correction now proposed by Winternitz had been already published by me, in the "Addenda et Corrigenda," at the end of the volume (p. 996).

1. 216. 10

*sasarja yat svatapasū Bhauvano bhuvanaprabhuḥ |
prajāpatir anirdeśyaṃ yasya rūpaṃ raver iva ||*

The matter is not simple as Winternitz imagines. Of course, with the reading *yam*, any one can see that the relative may be construed with *ratham* in 8. We then get two sentences: "Which (scil. chariot of Arjuna) was fashioned by Bhauvana ... by (the power of) his austerities," and "whose beauty was like that of the sun." But the reading *yat* is actually found in ŚrK (except Ko) V1G (except G1); i. e. in the Kaśmiri version (except Ko), agreeing with the Grantha version (except G1), plus the Maithili MS. How is it that so many MSS. give what Winternitz considers, an "impossible" reading? The reading is, in fact, not impossible at all; only the construction is a little involved and difficult to understand. By reading *yat* we actually get better sense. Construe: *yasya, raver iva, yat anirdeśyaṃ rūpaṃ, (tat) Bhauvanaḥ ... svatapasū sasarja*, "whose indefinable (or incomparable) loveliness (or splendour), like that of the Sun, Bhauvan had fashioned by (the power of) his austerities." This construction avoids the two disjointed and halting sentences *yam anirdeśyaṃ Bhauvanaḥ ... svatapasū sasarja*, and *yasya rūpaṃ raver iva* (or *yam Bhauvanaḥ ... svatapasū sasarja*, and *yasya anirdeśyaṃ rūpaṃ raver iva*), which result from the wrong reading *yam* for

yat. yat is almost a perfect example of the *lectio difficilior*, and a regular trap for unwary editors.

1. 218. 14 : *juladhārūmuco* "kulān.

Winternitz is here again mistaken in thinking that °mucutūlān is the reading of S. It is the reading of only five of the thirteen Southern MSS. (T₁ G_{1.2} M_{3.5}); three others (T₃ G_{3.4}) read °mucōmlān, three more (M₆₋₈) read *mumocivān*, two (G_{5.6}) read as in text (°mucokulān). The question is, in fact, what *was* the original reading of S. That question I have not been able to answer definitely, and I have, therefore, put in, as a *stopgap*, the reading of G_{5.6} which seemed to me not improbable, since initial *ū* is curiously enough, sporadically treated in the Mbh. text, like *a*. The reading °samākulān is useless; it is obviously a substitute for some reading which was difficult to understand or explain.

I have underlined *muco* in the text, but I now think that it is as good as certain. It is documented not only by the whole of S, but also by Ko.2,3 N V1D1. If *muco* be admitted, then *samākulān* of the Northern group becomes secondary, but with an important residue in the shape of the final *kulān*, agreeing with the final of °mucokulān of G_{5.6}, rhyming with °mucotulān of Ko.3 T₁ G_{1.3} M_{3.5}, and finally reflected faintly in *muconulān* T₃ G_{3.4}. The documentary evidence, therefore, points unmistakably to a reading *juladhārūmuco(x)lān*. Query, what is the value of *x*? The adjective *ākulān* ("confused") qualifying *meghān* would be not inappropriate, referring to the condition of masses of clouds confusedly hurled about by a cyclonic wind; not so appropriate, to my mind, the *atulān* ("incomparable") preferred by Winternitz, and adopted by P. P. S. Sastri, against the evidence of his basic MS. 31, which has our text reading. In Sastri's adoption of *atulān* and his ignoring of variants, which must have appeared to him meaningless corruptions or clerical mistakes, we have an illuminating example of how the readings get indiscriminately distributed, disturbing the relationships established by the *stemma codicum*, and how the *lectio difficilior* is gradually effaced.

1. 218. 27 : *vyātiṣṭhanta mahaujaṣaḥ*.

The text reading *vyātiṣṭhanta*, it must be confessed, has not been adopted because it is the reading of Ś1K1; it is a mere slip. I am thankful to Winternitz for drawing my attention to it. The reading *vyātiṣṭhanta* should be adopted without doubt.

*

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*

I may repeat here what I have stated elsewhere that the problem of the Mahābhārata Textual Criticism is a problem *sui generis*. Here the principles of textual reconstruction, which must be first evolved from a study of the MS. material and the MS. tradition, can be considered as finally settled only after considerable discussion and exchange of ideas on the subject. I would, therefore, repeat my request to Prof. Winternitz, made some years ago, to continue his searching and exhaustive examination of the fascicules or volumes as they come out, and give us the benefit of his ripe experience and valuable opinions and findings. His publications on a subject which has engaged his attention, off and on, for the last forty years cannot but throw some much-needed light on the obscure question of the Mahābhārata Textual Criticism (which has unfortunately not received much attention so far from scholars), and thus advance the cause of Mahābhārata studies.

In conclusion, I must express my grateful thanks to Prof. Winternitz for the very kind and encouraging remarks he has made regarding the work in general as also my keen appreciation of the uniformly courteous tone of his sympathetic and appreciative review.

THE CALCUTTA ORIENTAL JOURNAL

EDITED BY
KSHITIS CHANDRA CHATTERJI

(Reprinted from Vol. I)

CALCUTTA
1934

Some data for the identification of Virabhānu, the patron of the Poet Bhānukarā.

Dr. Hara Datta Sharma in his article¹ on 'the Poets enjoying the patronage of Muslim Rulers' refers to the poet Bhānukara and observes:—"Bhānukara was a contemporary of Sher Shah (1540-1545) and Nizam Shah and seems to have enjoyed the patronage of both. As Nizam Shah is the title of all the kings of the Nizamshahi Dynasty, Bhānukara refers to Boorhan Nizam Shah I (1510-1553) who was the contemporary of Sher Shah. He refers to a certain Hindu king Virabhānu in two of his verses but it is difficult to identify this king. Bhānukara seems to have enjoyed great popularity as 64 of his verses are quoted in the *Rasikajivana* and *Hārāvālī* quotes 11 verses. Bhānukara flourished in the middle of the 16th century A.D."

There are found kings of the name of *Virabhānudeva* in epigraphic records² but they do not belong to the 16th century whereas Virabhānu, the patron of Bhānukara flourished in the middle of the 16th century as stated by Dr. Sharma above.

I wish to record in this note some data about a Hindu king called *Bhānu*, who was the grandfather of the brothers Mādhavasinha and Mānasinha, the favourites of Emperor Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605), and father of Bhagavantadāsa. This information is recorded in the *Rāgamāñjarī* of Puṇḍarikā Viṭṭhala³ in the following verse:—

“श्रीमत्कृष्णवंशदीपकमहाराजाधिराजेश्वर-

तेजःपुंजमहाप्रवांपनिकरो भानुः क्षितौ राजते ।

तस्यामीदृगैवतदासतनयो वीराधिवीरेश्वरः

क्षोणीमंडलमंडनो विजयते भूमंडलाखंडलः ॥

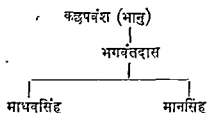
The subsequent verses tell us that Bhagavantadāsa had two sons Mādhavasinhārāja and Mānasinha and that both these brothers were the favourites of Akbar, that Mādhavasinha was the patron of Puṇḍa-

1 *IHQ.*, Vol. X (1934) pp. 478-485.

2 *Inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, Vol. III, by Rangacharya p. 2055—The Ganjam inscription (274) of Virabhānudeva is dated Saka 1275 (=A.D. 1353) while the Vizagapattam inscriptions (96-7) of the Eastern Gāṅga King Virabhānudeva is dated Saka 1298 (=A.D. 1376). *List of Inscriptions and Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India* by Robert Sewell, Madras, 1884, p. 47 (Stone Inscriptions)—The dates of these inscriptions of Virabhānudeva are A.D. 1235, 1237, 1238, 1239, and 1240.

3 Vide my note on the *Rāgamālā of Puṇḍarikā Viṭṭhala* (which is dated Saka 1498=A.D. 1576) in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XIII, p. 239.

rika Viṭṭhala who wrote the *Rāgamañjarī* at the instance of his patron. Their genealogy as given by Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala is as follows :—



If, as stated by Dr. Sharma, Bhānukara enjoyed the patronage of Nizam Shah between AD. 1510 and 1553, i.e. immediately preceding period of Akbar's reign viz. A.D. 1556-1605 and if the grandsons Mādhavasinha and Mānasinha flourished in the latter half of the 16th century which covers Akbar's reign, it is possible that their grandfather Bhānu styled as the 'कच्छपवंशदीपक' 'महाराजाधिराजेश्वर' and तेजःपुंज-महाप्रतापनिकरः' in the verse from the *Rāgamañjarī* quoted above, may have flourished in the early part of the 16th century which overlaps a part of the period of Nizam Shah's reign viz. 1510-1553 A.D. Both the verses quoted by Dr. Sharma containing references to वीरभानुनृपति and वीरभानु describe प्रताप or prowess and the description fully harmonizes with the epithet "तेजःपुंजमहाप्रतापनिकरः" applied to king Bhānu of the Kacchapavamsa referred to above. The expression, तेजःपुंजमहाप्रतापनिकरो भानुः may possibly be a versified equivalent of the name वीरभानु. The only epithet of which I have not been able to find proper explanation is the reference to लङ्का in Bhānukara's line viz. लङ्काधामनि वीरभानुनृपतेः प्रेक्ष्य प्रतापोदयं quoted by Dr. Sharma. Evidently the poet is describing the prowess displayed by his patron on the battlefield of Laṅkā but it is difficult to identify this allusion with any known historical event of importance from the meagre details of this verse.

To the list of Sanskrit writers who enjoyed Muslim patronage we may add Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala himself who wrote mainly on Saṃgīta and enjoyed both Muslim and Hindu patronage. "He flourished in the court of a Mahomedan king Burhan Khan of the Pharaki family which ruled between 1370 and 1600 A.D. at a city called Ānandavalli in Khandes in the South. The father and grandfather of this Burhan Khan are given as Taj Khan and Ahmed Khan."

The Southerner Viṭṭhala latterly went to the north and wrote his *Rāgamañjarī* under the patronage of Mādhava Sinha of the Kacchapa

4 *Later Saṃgīta Literature* (Journal of the Music Academy, Madras) by V. Raghavan, p. 18 of the reprint of his paper.

vamśa, who was the grandson of king Bhānu as we have stated above.

Additional data about Virabhānu is contained in the following verses appearing on folio 31A of a Ms. of *Sārasaṃgraha*⁵ of Śambhūdāsa Paṇḍita (No. 5443—Asiatic Society of Bengal) :—

“लङ्काधामनि वीरभानुनृपतेः etc... कण्ठस्थले विभ्रति”

(This is one of the two verses of Bhānukara quoted by Dr. Sharma in his article.)

“दिल्लीशो द्वारदेशे नमति गजपतिस्तत्पुरस्तादुपास्ते .

गौडेन्द्रो नम्रमूर्द्धा तदनु नरपतिर्गुर्जराधीश्वरोऽपि ।

श्रुत्वाैवं वन्दिशुन्दादवनतवदनो गौरवं तत्र कुर्वन्

वीरश्रीवीरभानो रचयसि पुलकं वीरलक्ष्मीकपोले ॥

The above-verse indicates the importance of Virabhānu. He is waited upon by the Emperor of Delhi (दिल्लीश), by the king Orissa (गजपति), by the king of Bengal (गौडेन्द्र) and by the king of Gujrat (गुर्जराधीश्वर). All this description harmonizes with our hypothesis as all these kings belong to North-India and king Bhānu of Kacchapavamśa whose grandsons were favourites of Akbar appears also to have a North Indian origin. The verse, however, does not furnish any definite clue for purposes of identification.

P. K. GODE

Janārdana's Commentary on the Raghuvamśa and its probable date—Between A. D. 1192 and 1385.

Mr. Nandargikar makes the following remarks regarding the commentary of Janārdana on the *Raghuvamśa* in his edition:¹

“In writing his commentary on the spurious stanzas viz. “केशेन महती etc.” and “स जघान etc.” between the verses 79-80 of the XII canto the pupil² of Vijayānanda observes :—“इति जनार्दनटीकायां श्लोकद्वयमधिकं”. Janārdana then appears to be one of the commentators on the *Raghuvamśa*.”

That Janārdana was a commentator on the *Raghuvamśa* of some importance is proved by the following verse appearing in the commentary of Guṇavinayagaṇi³ which was composed in A.D. 1590 :—

5 *Descriptive Catalogue of Mss.*, Vol. II.—Kāryas (1934), p. 355.

1 *Raghuvamśa* with Text, Translation, Notes etc., (1897)—p. 23.

2 The Ms. described by Mr. Nandargikar is No. 65. of 1871-72 of the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The name of the author is not mentioned but he is said to be ब्रह्मचान्दस्त्रीचरसेनक.

3 Manuscript No. 448 of 1897-01 in the Govt. Ms. Library at the B. O. R. Institute (folios 1, 23, 76, 91, 97).

“दिनकरवल्गुभचारितवर्द्धनाग्रिमजनार्दनाभिख्यैः ।

कविभिर्विहिताः स्वहितास्तद्वृत्तौः प्रथममुपजीव्य ॥५॥”

It would thus be seen that Guṇavinaya has depended on Janārdana for his commentary to a certain extent as late as A.D. 1590.

Aufrecht⁴ records only one Ms. of जनार्दनटीका viz. “B. 2, 100.” There is another Ms. of this commentary in the library of the B.B.R.A. Society⁵—No. B.D. 131. I find that in this Ms. the author's name is repeated at the end of each canto in the following manner:—

Fol. 29 (जनार्दनकृते भाष्ये); Fol. 40 (तद्भाष्ये न जनार्दनेन कृतिना); Fol. 48. (जनपराङ्मनस्कृतभाष्ये); Fol. 64 (भाष्ये । एकादशं सर्गवरं समाप्य जनार्दनः etc); Fol. 76 (भाष्यमिदं ततान्) etc.

On folio 76 the author of the भाष्य is said to be born from महावीर. I am not sure if we are to understand by the expression “श्रीमन्महावीर-शरीरजन्मा) that महावीर was the name of the father of Janārdana.

Peterson describes a Ms. of “मेघदूतभाष्य” by जनार्दन in which three previous commentators viz. स्थिरदेव, वल्लभ, and आसह (or आसह) are mentioned. वल्लभ, as we know, is also the commentator of the *Raghuvamśa*. It seems possible that Janārdana, the author of *Raghuvamśa-bhāṣya*, a Ms. of which has been examined by us is identical with the author of the *Meghadūtabhāṣya*.⁷ I am unable to verify my present presumption as the Cambay Ms. of the same described by Peterson is not available to me. If my hypothesis of the identity of the two Janārdanas is accepted we may be able to narrow down the date of Janārdana's *Raghuvamśabhāṣya* to a period between A.D. 1192 and 1410 as shown below.

We know that Āsaha (or Āsada) has been referred to by Janārdana in his *Meghdūtabhāṣya* in the following verse:—

“स्थिरदेववल्लभासहकृतानि भाष्यान्यिकरचनानि ।

अवलोक्य सद्विशेषं विरच्यते बालावबोधाय” ॥४॥”

Āsaha wrote his *Vivēkamanjari* in Samvat 1248 i. e. A. D. 1192.⁸ This fact gives us one terminus to Janārdana's date. The other terminus

4 *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 487a.

5 See Velankar's *Descriptive Catalogue* of B.B.R.A.S. Mss. Vol. II, p. 312.

6 Peterson: *Third Report*, p. 321 (See also p. 19), (1884-86)—This is the only Ms. of this commentary recorded by Aufrecht.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 Jain Granthāvalī, (1909), p. 188.

is furnished by the date of the Cambay Ms. of the *Meghadutabhāṣya* itself viz. Saṃvat 1466 (=A.D. 1410.)

We can further narrow down this period (viz. A. D. 1192 to 1410) if the following statement of Mr. Nandargikar¹⁰ is taken as correct:—

"It is clear that this pupil of Vijayānanda lived after Chāritravardhana¹¹ and was also a contemporary to Dinakara, who composed his commentary in A. D. 1385".

We have seen in the beginning of this note that the pupil of Vijayānanda refers to जनार्दनटीका in his commentary on the *Raghuvamśa*. If he was a contemporary of Dinakara, as stated by Mr. Nandargikar, who composed his commentary in A. D. 1385, it follows that the commentary of Janārdana on the *Raghuvamśa* was composed prior to A.D. 1385.

The period of Janārdana's date will thus be narrowed down to a period between A. D. 1192 and A. D. 1385. We are, therefore, inclined to assign Janārdana's commentary on the *Raghuvamśa* to the latter half of the 13th century.

P. K. CODE

The *Tattvāloka* or *Vedāntatattvāloka* of Janārdana and its reference to Bhūsanakāra, the author of the commentary *Nyāya-bhūṣana* on Bhāsarvajña's *Nyāyasāra*.

Dr. Das Gupta in his *History of Indian Philosophy* Vol. II, p. 49, states that Ānandajñāna (called also Janārdana) wrote his *Tattvāloka* on the lines of the Vedantic interpretation of *Śāriraka-bhāṣya-prakāṣārtha*. Further (on p. 205) he informs us that Rāmādvaya in his *Vedānta-kaumudivyākhyāna* refers to Janārdana, which is Ānandajñāna's name as a householder and that Janārdana lived in the middle of the 13th century. We are also told by him (p. 50) that though Ānandajñāna wrote his *Tattvāloka* on the lines of *Prakāṣārtha* referred to above, his views were not the same as those of the author of the *Prakāṣārtha*. Dr. Das Gupta further remarks (p. 193) that *Tattvāloka* still remains to be printed and that the *Tarkasaṃgraha* and *Tattvāloka* (attributed to Janārdana which was probably the name of Ānandagiri or Ānandajñāna when he was a householder) seem to be Ānandajñāna's two independent works. In the *Tattvāloka* its author refutes the doctrines of many other philosophers including Bhāskara's pari-

¹⁰ Nandargikar: *Raghuvamśa* (1897)—Critical Notice, p. 23.

¹¹ I have shown in my Note XIX in the *Annals*, Vol. XV, (1934) that Chāritravardhana flourished between A.D. 1172 and 1385.

गच्छे² श्रीसागरचन्द्रसूरिशिष्य वा³ मदिमराजगणितच्छिष्य वा⁴ दयासागरगणिना समलेखिः
अथोऽयं । श्रीमद्विद्यानिधान कवि आचार्यसरस्वतीनां वेदान्ततत्त्वालोकः ॥”

The last line of the above colophon tells us that this copy belongs to कवि आचार्य सरस्वती. Mr. Tripathi states that this is a reference to कवीन्द्राचार्यसरस्वती who lived in Benares and who was highly in favour with Shah Jahan and his son Dara. (See Stein's *Cat. of Jammu MSS.* Intro. p. 35.)

In the present note I am concerned with the reference made by Janārdana to भूषणकार on folio 3 of the MS because the late Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa states that no MS of न्यायभूषण, the oldest commentary on the *Nyāyasāra* of Bhāsarvajña, has yet been recovered.⁵ This commentary has been mentioned by Maḍadhārī Rājasekhara (1348 A. D.) and Guṇaratna (1409 A. D.) and quoted by the Buddhist sage Ratnakīrti in his *Apoḥasiddhi* (about 1000 A. D.) and by the Jain sage Jayasinha Sūri in his *Nyāyatālparyadipikā*. Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa believes न्यायभूषण to be identical with the work of the same name quoted by the Buddhist sage Ratnakīrti referred to above, who lived about 1000 A. D. and concludes that the latest date for Bhāsarvajña is, therefore, 1000 A. D.⁶

As the above references are by Jain and Buddhist writers; the reference to भूषणकार made by Janārdana or Ānandajñāna about 1250 A. D. in his *Tattvāloka* described above though not an appreciative one will be found interesting. I, therefore, quote below an extract from the MS of *Tattvāloka* containing the reference :—

Folio 3 of the Ms—“स्तोत्रभागस्यैव पक्षीकरणेऽपि स्वाध्यायविधिपरिग्रहीतत्वादि-
तरभागवदनाप्रापणीतत्वावधोरणामित्यतैव वेदस्यैत्युच्यते ॥२॥ यदपि भूषणकारेणाभाशि
—शब्दोऽनित्यः, सामान्यत्वे सत्यस्मदादिबाल्येन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वात्पटवदिति तदप्यभद्रं ध्वनिभागे
तदाकांतभागे च सिद्धसाधनत्वाद्दर्शात्मकः शब्द इति पक्षे विशेषेण कक्षीकरणेपि भागासिद्धौ
हेतुः ।” etc.”

Evidently this is a criticism of the भूषणकार, the author of the न्यायभूषण of Bhāsarvajña. The manner of reference of the Vedāntin Janārdana is quite identical with that of Vallabhācārya in his *Nyāyatilāvati* where

2 Compare the following from खरतरगच्छपट्टावली (*Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvalī Sangraha* by Sri Jina Vijaya, Calcutta 1932) p. 32—“श्रीजिनभद्रमूरयः सं १५१४.

मागेशीधं वदि कुंभल मेहनगरे ख मे प्र तः.”

3 *History of Indian Logic*, p. 371.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*, p. 358.

nama doctrines Dr Das Gupta also states that a MS of this *Tattva loka* has unfortunately not been available to him

There is however, a MS of this work in the Government MS Library at the B O R Institute, Poona It is No. 762 of 1891-95 and consists of about 25 folios Unfortunately folio 1 is wanting I have cursorily perused this MS and note here the references made by the author to other authors and schools of philosophy —

Folio 2—उदयनादे, तार्किना, आचार्यवर्या, कालिदासादि,

Folio 3—तार्किना, आयुर्वेदवत्,

3—भूषणकार, उदयन,

Folio 4—मीमांसना नैयायिका, उदयन, वैशेषिका, भगवतो भाष्यकारस्य मत, तार्किना,

Folio 5—भट्टादीया, वेदान्तिन, सुगतनैयायिकप्रवृत्तय, छादोग्ये पष्ठे प्रपाठके,

Folio 6—Colophon of canto I—श्रीमदनुभूतिस्वरूपान्नायशिष्येण श्रीमता जनार्दनेन विनिर्मिते तत्त्वालोके etc वैशेषिकाणा

Folio 8—भास्कर्या, स्मृतय, ब्रह्मप्रकाशिकाकार, भास्वर,

Folio 11—काणाद, कपिल, सौगत, दिगवर, लोभ्यायविक, ममीमांसन, सर्वज्ञसूत्रकार वचन, उदयन,

Folio 12—तार्किना, भट्टाद्या, नैयायिक

Folio 19—नैयायिक

Folio 21—भाट्टमत, प्राभाकरा, द्वादशलक्षणा मीमांसाया,

Folio 25—Ends—"शारीरकमहाभाष्यप्रस्तावनिवधन ।

जनार्दनो निरीक्ष्येम तत्त्वालोकं विनिर्ममे ॥१॥

न विद्यते यत्र विशालजाल मायाकुलगतानिक्लाकलाप ।

शुद्धस्वभाव परमार्थरूप वेदान्तवेद्य तदहं भवामि ॥२॥

श्रीमदनुभूतिस्वरूपान्नायशिष्येण विद्वत्पदारविन्दप्रणतकन्दरेण श्रीमता जनार्दनेन विनिर्मिते तत्त्वालोके द्वितीयोऽध्याय । सवत् १५३४ वर्षे माघमासे शुक्लपक्षे १३ दिने श्रीखरतर

1 The Leipzig MS supplies us the beginning of the Ms The following verse shows the purpose of the work —

‘प्रकटावनिवन्ध्याभेरुद्धृत्यावरदकै ।

वितनोति तमोधस्ये तत्त्वालोक जनार्दन ॥”

The *Pralaṣarthabandha* referred to in this verse is the *Sararakarīlāṣa* *pralāṣarthā* referred to by Das Gupta (See Cata of Leipzig Mss (1901) by Aufrecht p 283) The date of तत्त्वप्रकाशिका commentary on the तत्त्वालोक is A D 1376 (See Leberson's Report (1884-86) p 208)

गच्छे १ श्रीसागरचन्द्रसूरिशिष्य वा ० मदिमराजगणितच्छिष्य वा ० दशसागरगणिना समलेखिः
अचोऽयं । श्रीमद्विद्यानिधान कवि आचार्यसरस्वतीनां वेदान्ततत्त्वालोकः ॥”

The last line of the above colophon tells us that this copy belongs to कवि आचार्यसरस्वती. Mr. Tripathi states that this is a reference to कवीन्द्राचार्यसरस्वती who lived in Benares and who was highly in favour with Shah Jahan and his son Dara. (See Stein's *Cata. of Jammu MSS.* Intro. p. 35.)

In the present note I am concerned with the reference made by Janārdana to भूषणकार on folio 3 of the MS because the late Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa states that no MS of न्यायभूषण, the oldest commentary on the *Nyāyasāra* of Bhāsarvajña, has yet been recovered. This commentary has been mentioned by Maḍadhāri Rājasekhara (1348 A. D.) and Guṇaratna (1409 A. D.) and quoted by the Buddhist sage Ratnakīrti in his *Apoḥasiddhi* (about 1000 A. D.) and by the Jain sage Jayasinha Sūri in his *Nyāyatātparyadīpikā*. Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa believes न्यायभूषण to be identical with the work of the same name quoted by the Buddhist sage Ratnakīrti referred to above, who lived about 1000 A. D. and concludes that the latest date for Bhāsarvajña is, therefore, 1000 A. D.

As the above references are by Jain and Buddhist writers; the reference to भूषणकार made by Janārdana or Ānandajñāna about 1250 A. D. in his *Tattvāloka* described above though not an appreciative one will be found interesting. I, therefore, quote below an extract from the MS of *Tattvāloka* containing the reference :—

Folio 3 of the Ms—“स्वोभभागस्येव पक्षीकरणेऽपि स्वाध्यायविधिपरिग्रहीतत्वादि-
तरभागवदनाप्रापणीतत्वावधीरणामित्येव वेदस्यैव्यवदाति ॥२॥ यदपि भूषणकारेणाभाणि
—शब्दोऽनित्यः, सामान्यत्वे सत्यस्मदादिवाह्यद्रियप्राप्तत्वात्पटवदिति तदप्यभद्रं ध्वनिभागे
तदाकांतभागे च सिद्धसाधनत्वाद्गुणार्थकः शब्द इति पक्षे विशेषेण कक्षीकरणेऽपि भागासिद्धो
हेतुः । etc.”

Evidently this is a criticism of the भूषणकार, the author of the न्यायभूषण of Bhāsarvajña. The manner of reference of the Vedāntin Janārdana is quite identical with that of Vallabhācārya in his *Nyāyasilāvatī* where

2 Compare the following from खरतरगच्छपदावली (*Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāraṇkī Sangraha* by Sri Jina Vijaya, Calcutta 1932) p. 32—“श्रीजिनमद्रमुरयः सं १५१४.

मागंभीषे यदि कुंभल मेरुनगरे स्वर्ग प्र तः ।”

3 *History of Indian Logic*, p. 371.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*, p. 338.

he criticises the भूषणकार. in the line quoted by Dr S C Vidya bhusana —

“तदिदं चिरन्तनवैशेषिकमतदूषणं भूषणकारस्य अतिलपाकरम्”

I am of opinion that by भूषणकार Janardana the author of *Tattvalokā* means the author of the न्यायभूषण because that was perhaps the designation by which he came to be called and referred to in a familiar manner as is evident from the reference from the *Nyāyahlavati*, mentioned above

Mr Tripathi⁷ asserts that Ānandagiri (also called Janārdana or Ānandajñāna) was the spiritual head of the Dwaraka monastery of Śaṅkara. Dr Das Gupta has incorporated this information in his book⁸ but Mr M R Kavi in one⁹ of his articles contradicts Mr Tripathi. He quotes the following verse from the commentary on the न्यायरत्नदीपावली (तर्कविवेक VI) of Ānandagiri —

“कलिङ्गदेशाधिपतौ नरेन्द्रे भुवः प्रशासत्यमरेन्द्रतुल्ये ।

नृसिंहदेवे जगदेक्ष्वरे नरोत्तमेऽकारि मया नियन्ध ॥”

Mr Kavi remarks that this statement of Ānandagiri supports the opinion that he lived at Jagannath in Kalinga and not at Dwāraka.

If we can identify king-नृसिंहदेव who is mentioned in the above verse as ‘कलिङ्गदेशाधिपति’ we shall be able to know the exact date of Ānandagiri whom Dr Das Gupta assigns to about 1250 A D and Mr. M R Kavi considers a contemporary of Citsukha the commentator of Ānandabodha's *Nyāyamaṅgāranda*, who is generally assigned to A D 1200.

Mr Sewell in his ‘*Dynasties of Southern India*’ on p 45 gives a list of rulers of the Parlakimedi family. In this list there is one नरसिंहदेव whose dates are 1245-1265 A D. The Kalingadeśa referred to in the verse from Ānandagiri's commentary on the न्यायरत्नदीपावली comprised some of the territory where in the 13th century the prince¹⁰ of the Parlakimedi family ruled and if it can be proved on other evidence that नरसिंहदेव in Sewell's list is identical with the नरसिंहदेव in Ānandagiri's verse we may get the exact dates of Ānandagiri's literary activity.

P K GODE

6 *Ibid*, p 326 (p 33 of *Nyāyahlavati*)

7 *Tarlasamgraha* (G O Series Baroda 1917) Introduction

8 *History of Indian Philosophy* Vol II p 192

9 *Journal, Andhra Hist. Research Society*, Vol V, Part 3 p 188 (footnote)

HARIKAVI ALIAS BHĀNUBHATṬA A COURT-POET
OF KING SAMBHĀJI AND HIS WORKS :

(1) Śambhurājacarita composed in A. D. 1685; (2) Haiha-
yendracarita and its commentary ; (3) Subhāsītaḥārāvalī,

By

P. K. GODE, M. A.

I

The only Ms. of *Śambhurāja-carita* by Harikavi recorded by Aufrecht¹ is " Report XIII " which is the same as No. 191 of 1875-76 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. This Ms. is fragmentary and incomplete but is historically very important as it is a poem of a very high order dealing with the life of the Maratha King Sambhāji, the son of Shivāji, the founder of the Maratha Kingdom in the Deccan. This Ms. was acquired by Dr. Buhler in 1875² from Surat. Unlike *Rājārāma-carita*³ of *Keśavapaṇḍita* which bristles with the names of historical personages and events, the *Śambhurāja-carita*, judging from the fragment before us, is unfortunately lacking in historical details to such an extent that even the identity of Sambhurāja, the hero of the poem has got to be proved. In fact my friend Mr. V. S. Bendre, who first studied this Ms. in 1931 and whose zest for historical knowledge about King Sambhāji has led him to the establishment of an institution called *Sambhāji Caritra Kāryālaya* with the sole purpose of gathering materials for a historical biography of King Sambhāji, was disappointed in a further study of this fragment and consequently the fragment remains unnoticed since its acquisition in 1875 by Dr. Buhler.

I shall now proceed to show that King Śambhurāja, the hero of the poem, is none other than the renowned Sambhāji, son and

¹ *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, 637, 756

² *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Mss.* p. 13.

³ *Keśavapaṇḍita's Rājārāmacarita* or *Journey to Jinji* edited by V. S. Bendre, 1931 (B. I. S. Mendel, Poona, Granthamālā No. 36.)

successor of Shivāji the Great. This is clear from the following extracts culled at random from the fragment before us :—

Shivāji is referred to in the following extracts :—

folio 3 — “ इहासीन्नासीरं रुचिरतनुभाजां त्रिभुवने ।
शिवान्यो देशानामधिपतिरनेकाद्भुतगुणः ।
.....etc.— सर्ववनिताः ॥ २४ ॥

„ — “ वदान्यो नेहान्यो जगति शिवभूपाद्विजयते ” ॥ २५ ॥

The parentage of Sambhāji from Shivāji is clear from the following :—

folio 4 — “ प्रदीपो दीपांगादिव गगनरत्नादिव महा-
महः पुंजः पद्मादिव परमसीरभ्यनिवहः ॥
मुपांशुक्षीराब्धेरिव हरितरुनंदनवना- ।
दिवायं संभूतः किल शिवनृपाच्छंभुनृपतिः ” ॥ २९ ॥
„ — “ गुणानामाधारस्त्रिभुवनभवानां शिवभवो ।
यदेकोयं शंभुर्विलसति महीपालतिलकः ।
.....चमत्कारचतुरैः ॥ ३५ ॥

folio 79 — “ रणांगणविसर्पिणः शिवभवस्य भूपेशितुः etc. ”

folio 80 — “ शिवोद्भवनृपोद्वतौ ”

We get a glimpse of Sambhāji's youthful person in the following verse :—

folio 44 — “ आस्मिन्काले कमलनयनः कोटिकंदर्पकांतो ।
नानाकल्पयुतिपुथुवपुमैत्तमातंगगामी ॥
शंभुर्लीलासचिवसहितो मंदहासोल्लसद्भीः ।
शृंगाराख्यो रस इव चरन् राजमार्गं विवेश ॥ ”

He is referred to as शंभु, शंभुनृपति and शंभुराज throughout the Ms.

The poem consisted of 12 sargas or cantos and it is really a great loss to literature that only about 2-5 cantos are available to us in the present fragment. Mr. Bendre has not been successful in his attempts to get a complete copy of the work. The fourth canto deals with the poetic description of Sambhāji's marriage in quite a classical style and is concluded with the following colophon :—

folio 53 — “ इति श्रीमत्सूर्यपूरास्थितश्रीनारायणचरित्सूनुहारिकाविविरचिते
विजयांके श्रीशंभुराजचरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये श्रीशंभुराजविवाह-
वर्णनो नाम चतुर्थः सर्गः समाप्तः ॥ ”

In the 4th canto Śambhurāja's bride is referred to as चंपा in the following verses :—

folio 49 — “ चंपानाम्नीं रतिमिव जगन्मोहिनीं स्वां कुमारीं ।

तत्रानेपीदतिविलुलितः सूर्यजासेवकोपि ॥ ९८ ॥ ”

folio 49 — “ चंपाशंपाद्युतितितितिरस्कारिणी प्रादुरासीत् ॥ ९९ ॥ ”

” — “ चंपावत्याः सदनमखिलं शोचिषा शोभयन्त्याः ”

The following verse mentions the bestowal of चंपा in marriage to शंभु by her father “ तपनजादास ” who is mentioned in verse 98 quoted above as “ सूर्यजासेवक ” :—

folio 53 — “ पश्चात्तां समलंकृतां तपनजादासो ददौ शंभवे ।

भूषायाशु सदक्षिणं सुविधिना हर्षाभ्रमालाधरः ॥

तत्रज्ञोथश्चतुष्कमनयत्ती दंपतीसुंदरी ।

लाजाहोमाविधिं विधातुमुदिती ज्योत्स्नाशशांकाविव ॥ १३४ ॥ ”

” — “ सख्यं साप्तपदीनमाहुरपि ये etc. ॥ १३५ ॥ ”

The nuptials were celebrated at a city called variously as ‘ मिहिरनगर ’ or ‘ तपननगर ’ or ‘ तपनपत्तन. ’ सत्यादास was the अधिपति of this city and it was at his request that King शंभु proceeded to that city for his nuptials :—

folio 42 — “ सत्यादासोऽप्यथ नृपतये भूरिदायापि दत्त्वा ।

तारं हारं वलययुगलं निःप्रवाणिद्वयं च ॥

आवासाथं मिहिरनगराभ्यंतरे तं ययाचे ।

प्रौढप्रेमासकलपूतनासंयुतं सौधराजौ ॥ ३३ ॥ ”

People of the town gathered to have a look at King शंभु :—

folio 42 — “ जग्मुर्वासोरुचिरतनवः सर्वतः प्रेक्षणार्थं ।

लोकाः सर्वे नरपतिमणेः संवशः पण्यवीथ्यां ॥

संविभ्राणाश्चपलवपुषः पाणिभिर्वालकान्स्वात् ।

आधावन्तस्त्वरितमभितश्वासमुत्कुलनेत्राः ॥ ३५ ॥

And ladies were not behind men in their curiosity to have a peep at the King. Their hurried movements are described in the patent classical style. The following verse will serve as an example :—

folio 44 — “ भूपेक्षार्थं त्वरितगमनप्रोद्यता विद्युताभा- ।

ऽशक्ता गंतुं चपलचरणन्यासमौत्सुक्यनुज्ञा ॥

काचित्स्थूलस्तनयुगभराक्रान्तिसंस्तब्धचारं ।

सारंगाक्षी पृथुलपृथुलं स्वं नित्यं निर्निदं ॥ ५५ ॥ ”

सत्यादास got down from his elephant and welcomed King शंभु :—

folio 45 — “ इत्थं यातं मिहिरनगराभ्यन्तरे शंभुराजं ।
सत्यादासः सबहुविनयं सादरं कुंजरैर्द्रात् ॥
उत्तार्याथो विपुलललितप्रांगणे सौधराज्या ।
धृत्वा कांते करकिशलये प्राविशत्तान्निवेशं ॥ ६७ ॥ ”

After the marriage King Śambhu starts on his return journey in a chariot accompanied by his bride चंदा :—

folio 78 — “ उपेत्य शिविरं निजं सुभटराजिविभ्राजितं ।
नृपेद्रमुकुटः स्वकं श्वशुरवर्गमाज्ञाप्य च ॥
श्लथद्दृढदयपंकजं प्रचलदशुनेत्रांबुजं ।
चचाल चललोचनां समुपवेश्य चंपां रथे ॥ २६ ॥ ”

The Governor of तनगरत्तन accompanied the returning party for some distance but was asked by King Śambhu in touching words to return :—

folio 71 — “ ततस्तपनपत्तनाधिपतिमागतं दूरतो ।
निवर्त्य मनुजेश्वरः सविनयं ससैन्यं बलात् ॥
रहस्यतितरां पिबन्ध्वरत्तनोस्तनो रम्यतां ।
ततो बहुमुदान्वितो रमणमेतदूचे वचः ॥ ३० ॥ ”

King Śambhu returned to his capital and passed a few days of happy married life but shortly afterwards got the news of an enemy attacking his capital and forces :—

folio 74 — “ ततः किल स सुश्रुवान्स्वनगरीमतिव्याकुलाम- ।
रातिनिकरैः कृतामवसरं समासाद्य तं ॥
समेत्य सचिवैः समं तदनु मानसं भूपति- ।
दंधार गुरुनोदितो निजवस्त्राथिनी सज्जने ॥ ५८ ॥ ”

Personal prowess of King Śambhu in the battle is described :—

folio 79 — “ मुहुर्मुहुरतिस्वनन्पृथुलमंडलेष्वासनो- ।
लयांबुद इवाद्भुतां बहलबाणवृष्टिं सृजन् ॥
कराङ्कुरवरस्फुरत्कचकचंचलाप्रांचितः ।
समागमदथो नृपः प्रचलकंकणः कौंकणः ॥ ”

And Goddess of Victory crowned him with success in the battle :—

folio 81 — “ निर्गत्याहवसागराद्बहुसरद्रकीपकल्लोलिनो ।
बाणोद्भिन्नकरीन्द्रकुंभाविगलन्मुक्तावलीं विभ्रती ॥

वामं बाहुमयं विलोक्य नृपतेर्वीराश्रिया सेवितं ।
भेजे दक्षमसिप्रवेणिरुचिरा जाने जयश्रीरपि ॥ १२० ॥ ”

The guru of King Śambhu blessed him on the successful termination of the battle :—

folio 81 — “ आशीर्भिनन्दयित्वा गुरुरपि स गुरुं क्षमापतीनां सकंषां ।
चंपां तस्मै भयाढ्यां सकलभयहरायार्पयित्वा सहर्षं ॥
निश्चितोभूच्चरासोहसिततनुलता सापि दोभ्यां गृहीत्वा ।
न्यस्ता तेन स्वयनिबलजयकमला सेव्यमानेव रेजे ॥ १२२ ॥ ”

This guru of Śambhurāja by name श्रीकृष्णपण्डित was apparently an influential person as the following verses tell us :—

folio 82 — “ श्रौतस्मार्त्तागमीयाखिलविमलमहाधर्मकर्मप्रकर्ता ।
नानाशास्त्रार्थवेत्ता विबुधजनमनः कामितार्थप्रदाता ॥
सर्वेषामिष्टकर्ता सकलखलजनाखर्वगर्वप्रभेत्ता ।
श्रीकृष्णात्पंडितात्कस्त्रिभुवनाविषये कोविदक्लेपहर्ता ॥ १२४ ॥
साधूनामवधिर्विभावितविधिविद्यादयांभोनिधिः ।
सौभाग्यैकनिधिर्विदामात्रिसौजन्यवारांनिधिः ॥
दुर्नितिः परिधिः खलायुपविधिः प्रज्ञाप्रभाशेवधिः ।
र्यस्यास्ते गुरुरेक एव सुनिधिः कृष्णो गुणीघांशुधिः ॥ १२५ ॥ ”

The guru praises the achievements of the glittering sword of भयानी in the hands of King शंभु :—

folio 82 — “ राजन्किं घोषयामस्तव विजयमहो ते वयं मंदवाचो ।
वीरश्रीशोभमानः करतलविलसच्चंद्रहासो भयान्ध्यां ॥
चक्रे तत्तत्प्रमत्ताद्विरदगलचलद्भूरिभांकारपूर्णां ।
सा वीराशंसिनीभूस्त्रिजगति विजया शंसिनी यच्चकास्ति ॥ १२६ ॥
शंभो त्वत्त्वद्गवल्ली लसति समुदिता कालकादंबिनीव ।
ध्वांतालीं सैन्यधूलीं बत जगति समातप्य झत्कारवियुत् ॥
अस्त्रां सारिरपरिः प्रधनवसुमतीं प्रावयंती समंतात् ।
प्रौढक्षुण्णेभक्तुंभोद्भूतमणिकरकान्प्रक्षिपंती नितोती ॥ १२७ ॥
सूते नानापदार्थोस्तव यदसिलता शंभुराजाद्भुतं तत् ।
तापाकं कीर्तिचंद्रं विजयहुतभुजं नारकालीं गुणालीं ॥
झत्कारान्वियुदोघानापि रिप्कमलां भारतीमस्मदीयां ।
नारीणां शात्रवीणां नयनपुगसराबाष्पशेवालिनीश्च ॥ १२८ ॥

The numbering of folios breaks off at folio 82 and different numbering begins, the folios being numbered differently in black and red ink. Apparently a new chapter begins on folio 159 (red ink) with ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
1 (black ink)

Folio $\frac{160}{1}$ — King Śambhu and Campā, his queen, are shown as enjoying the pleasures of life. The following verse shows them in a sporting mood :—

“ कांतं चंपा त्वथ हिमचलद्वातसंजातकंपा ।
संप्रीचीभिः सहहिमक्रतुं संप्रवृत्तं समीक्ष्य ॥
सीरुयागारं श्रमभरसुखं लाघवार्थं स्वदेहे ।
लीलागेहे कुरुत ललितकंदुकक्रीडितानि ॥ १५ ॥ ”

The above chapter breaks off at folio $\frac{177}{18}$. Another chapter begins on folio $\frac{181}{1}$ with “ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ” The poet flatters his own style in the following verse :—

folio $\frac{181}{1}$ “ स्फूर्जत्सुकविथिक्तवाक्यरचना चातुर्यसारांतरा ।
शृंगाराख्यरसेशमर्मकलिताः नानामुणालंकृताः ।
सह्यालित्यमनोहरा हरिकवेर्वाचः प्रगल्भा इव ।
प्रोह्लासं रचयंतु यंतु विबुधा विंदत्यमंदं दिवि ॥ १५१ ॥ ”

Then follows the colophon of the 10th canto which is called ‘सूर्यास्तादिवर्णन’ :—

folio $\frac{197}{1}$ — “ साधुश्रेणिपदाब्जचंदनकरः संतोषपूर्णोतरः ।
श्रीनारायणसंभवो हरिकविर्नारायणोपासकः ।
चंपावलयनववयपयरचनाचातुर्यवियोजिते ।
तत्काव्ये खलु शंभुराजचरिते दिक्संख्यसर्गोभवत् ॥ १५३ ॥ ”
इति श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरस्थितश्रीनारायणसुरिसूनुहरिकविविरचिते विजयांके
शंभुराजचरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये सूर्यास्तादिवर्णनो नाम दशमः सर्गः ॥
ममाप्तः ॥ श्री ॥

The next canto begins on folio $\frac{198}{18}$. It contains a description of King Sambhu enjoying a bath with his queen Campā in the bathing apartments. The bathing accessories in royal style are described in the following verses :—

folio 2⁹⁰ "पात्रं नीलमरीचिमंडलगतं प्रौढेन्द्रस्नोद्भवं ।
 सोरभ्याञ्जुतसीमतैलललितं भृंगावलीगुंजितं ॥
 कालिंदीहृदमध्यसंस्थितमिव व्याकोशमिंदीवरं ।
 सांद्रामोदमरंदद्वंद्वसुभगं संभाति संभाव्यताम् ॥ १५ ॥"
 तैलाधारविनीलनिर्मतमहः पुंजप्रसारांतरे ।
 लोलंतः किल काकलीकलकलाः संभाति पुष्पंधयाः ॥
 कालिंदीपुलिनोदरप्रविलसज्जुंबालजाले मिथः ।
 खलंतो मालेनांगकाः कलरवासकास्तु बाला इव ॥ १६ ॥

This canto breaks off at folio $\frac{200}{3}$ and a fragment of another canto abruptly begins on folio $\frac{224}{11}$. It contains विष्णुस्तुति.

Shivāji was called 'गोब्राह्मणप्रतिभारू.' The following verse refers to 'गोद्विजचंद्रचूडगुरुपु भक्ति' as perhaps a family heritage:—

folio 2³² "आयुः श्रीविजयः सुखं च परमैश्वर्यं प्रतापोदयः ।
 कीर्तिः कुंदनिभा मतिश्च विमला संपच्च सर्वोन्नता ॥
 कांतिः शारदचंद्रिकाचयसमा विद्या च वियोतिनी ।
 भक्तिर्गोद्विजचंद्रचूडगुरुपु श्रीशंभुराजास्तु ते ॥ १५२ ॥"

Hari Kavi makes his own remarks about his poetry and gives us his genealogy and the date of composition of *Sambhurāja-Carita*.

Folio—2³³/₂₀— कतुं कांतकवित्वकोटिरचनां ययास्ति वः कीतुकम्
 तत्संतः पिबतामलानिमधुनासिक्तानि सूक्तानि नः ॥ १६१ ॥
 मया मंदेनेह त्रिभुवनमनोहारिचरिताः ।
 कृता वाचां गु(मुं)कां गुणविहितरूपां कृताधियः ॥
 तदेतज्जानीध्वं यदयमुपजीव्यामरतरो— ।
 गिरां गंधं प्राप्तः कविसुरभितां शंकरपुरोः ॥ १६२ ॥¹
 येनैकः कवितावतारसमये ग्रंथः समुह्यसिंह- ।
 स्तस्या एव मुविश्रमे पुनरहो बंधः परो निर्मितः ।

¹ The following verse in small hand-writing is given at the top of folio $\frac{233}{20}$ as an addition indicated by the mark \ after the verse no. 162:—

"श्रीमद्भारुणविगाहनवदुः काव्याधिपातंगमः ।
 साहित्यामृतसिंधुगमलसद्वर्मशास्त्रोद्वेगः ॥
 छंदोलेहनिशाखशालिधिषगे नमोऽविद्यानिधिः ।
 मत्ताव्यानुगतान्तरो हरिकविर्नामनिर्देशनि ॥ १६३ ॥"

तस्या लास्यविधौ कृतास्तु बहवस्ते ते प्रबन्धोत्तमाः ।
 सोयं कोपि हरिं कविः कविराविज्योतिःकणो दीव्यति ॥१६३॥^१
 श्रीनारायणनामसयतिवरप्रीदप्रसादोदया- ।
 यप्रापाखिलदुर्लभां निजकुले कारुण्यकल्लोलैर्ना ।
 श्रीकांतस्य ययामलेह्यकुरुतां तस्मिन्विलासं निजं ।
 वैरं रूढमहो विहाय सततं वाग्वादिनी संपदी ॥ १६४ ॥
 यश्च श्रीपतिमंत्रार्चितनसमुद्गासोलसत्सोभगं ।
 सौंदर्यं परमापतात्रिभुवनप्रक्षोभणप्रोद्भुरं ॥
 तं संपत्तिभरं वरंतयमलं वाचां विलासं तथा ।
 यैर्विभ्रांतिकरोभवत्त्रिजगतां कामाच्युत ब्रह्मणं ॥ १६५ ॥
 सोयं भूरिगुणो निकाममहिमा सौजन्यवारां निधिः ।
 श्रीचितामणिनामको द्विजपतिश्चानुर्यर्चितामाणिः ।
 स्वरिं सुनुमसूत तं तनुधरं साक्षात्प्रसादोदयं ।
 श्रीकांतीयामिव प्रकामविभवं श्रीरंगनाथाभिधं ॥ १६६ ॥
 नानाशास्त्रविचारचारुधिषणो विश्वोपकारव्रतः ।
 श्रीगोविंदपदारविंदमुरसा सक्तान्तरेर्दिदिरः ॥
 यः श्रीभागवतामृताब्धिविलसत्कल्लोलसेकैः सदा ।
 संसाराभिधदावदग्धमाखिलं लोकं समाजीवयत् ॥ १६७ ॥
 तस्मादाविरभूत्त्रिलोकविदितो नारायणः किं स्वयं ।
 श्रीनारायणनामको गुरुवरः श्री पद्मनाभानुजः ॥
 यस्मिन्नासतते गुणाः स्थितिजुषः सर्वेनुकंपादयः ।
 स्वीयं वैरमहो विहाय सततं सौजन्यलुब्धा इव ॥ १६८ ॥
 पतंगतनुजालसन्निहिरपत्तनाध्यासनः ।
 समस्तगुणगुंफितो विबुधचक्रचूडामाणिः ॥
 रमेशपदपङ्कजप्रमदमानैर्सादिदिरः ।
 परास्तकुहकांतरप्रगुणदाक्षिणात्यान्वयः ॥ १६९ ॥
 श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणजाखिलसुधर्मसंवर्द्धनः ।
 समुद्रवसनोल्लसदिपदकीर्तिचंद्रोदयः ॥

^१ After verse no. 163 the following addition indicated by the mark \searrow is copied in the bottom margin of folio $\frac{233}{236}$:-

“यका षड्दर्श(ना)नां भवति खलु नरः कश्चिद्ग्राहोत्तिदम्यः ।
 प्राज्ञः सर्वास्तु विद्यारूपि भवति जनः सर्वलोकैरुमान्यः ॥
 दुःप्रापः कोप्यनन्यप्रखरतरमतिः सौत्रविद्यामुकास्व-
 प्येकं पादं तद्वद् वदमपि विबुधानंदनं शुंफमेवः ॥ १६४ ॥”

विलोकनविदारितप्रचितलोकपापीदयः ।

सुधर्म इव मूर्तिमान्विजयते स नारायणः ॥ १७० ॥

सत्कीर्तिकल्पलतिका दलितांकुरासी- ।

द्विज्ञानकल्पतरुरप्यखिलो विशीर्णः ।

सौजन्यसिंधुरापि शुष्कसुधारसोभू- ।

क्षारायणेखिलगुरौ स्वतनुं प्रविष्टे ॥ १७१ ॥

तस्मात्साधुपदाब्जसेवनपरः सायं हरिश्चाभव- ।

द्वीनारायणपादपंकजसुधासेवातवाग्वैभवः ॥

यः श्री शंभुमहीपतेरापि गुरोस्तस्यैव कृष्णाख्यया ।

विख्यातस्य निदेशतो वरमिदं काव्यं व्यधादद्भुतं ॥ १७२ ॥

शंभुः काव्यमिदं महत्कृतवतः स्वीयाज्ञया श्रीहरे- ।

श्वेतोऽभीष्टमलं ददौ तदखिलं येनायमानंदवान् ॥

(संपू ?) णं सकलं स्वकीयममलः पुत्रप्रपौत्रैः समं ।

यावज्जीवमहो स्वजीवनकृते नान्यं वदान्यं गतः ॥ १७३ ॥

विकाशं सन्नौते विबुधराविभिः काव्यकमले ।

मदीयेस्मिन्स्फूर्जद्विविधगुणसौरभ्यानवहे ॥

रसाली संपूर्णे कमलनिलया सातिदयया ।

सरासं संवासं रचयतु जगन्मोहनकरी ॥ १७४ ॥

आचंद्रार्कं समुद्यन्नवरसललितां योतिसंदर्भसारां ।

नानालंकारपूर्णां निचितगुणगणां भूरिभावाथार्थगर्भां ॥

राजद्वैदगृह्यमुग्धां मुरारिपुमृहिणीमुल्लसंतीमिवांतः ।

कामासूयाविमुक्ता मम भणति महो साधवो भावयंतु ॥ १७५ ॥

दुःसंगोस्तु कदापिना त्रिभुवने कस्यापि सस्यान्वितां ।

भूमिः संततमस्तु वस्तुनि परे निष्ठां ब्रजेयुर्जनाः ॥

नीचा नित्यमिह त्यजंतु सुहृदां वैरं न वैरेकुरै- ।

भर्ग्यानां क्षितिनाथकः क्षितितले शंभुश्चिरं नंदतु ॥ १७६ ॥

श्रीर्चितामगिसूरिसूनुविबुधश्रीरंगनाथोद्भव- ।

श्रीनारायणसंभवो हरिकविर्यःश्रीशपादाश्रयः ॥

सर्गोद्भूदनवयस्यरचनाचातुर्यवियोतिते ।

तत्काव्ये खलु शंभुराजचरिते काव्यांतिमो द्वादशः ॥ १७७ ॥

पीयूशांशु १ समुद्र ४ सप्त ७ वसुधा १ वियोतिते विक्रमे ।

वयं मासि च पौषनाम्नि बहुले पक्षे द्वितीयादिने ॥

सद्वारे द्विजनायकस्य पितृभे चापूर्णयद्ग्रीहारिः ।

काव्यं शोभनशंभुराजचरितं नानागुणोज्जृम्भितं ॥ १७८ ॥

Texts sanctioning the study of Yoga by Women and their Chronology

[The popular notion that the practice of Yoga is unsuited to woman and further that its study is limited only to man has often been challenged by us. In our recent publication, *Easy Postures for Woman* by Srimati Sita Devi, we offered a few textual references in support of our assertion. In this article, Prof. P. K. Gode whose name is now familiar to our readers has corroborated our statements with chronological data which, of course, may still be traced to very early period.—ED.]

BRAHMĀNANDA, the author of the commentary *Jyotsnā* on the *Hāthayogaprādīpikā* of Svātmārāma yogī gives the following opinion of the Sage Mataṅga¹, which supports among other things the study of Yoga by women :—

“महर्षिमातङ्गः—

‘अग्निष्टोमादिकान्सर्वान्विहाय द्विजसत्तमः ।
योगभ्यासरतः शान्तः परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥
ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशो स्त्रीशूद्राणां च पावनम् ।
शान्तये कर्मणामन्ययोगात्तास्ति विमुक्तये ॥”

I have traced this quotation given by Brahmānanda in a work called *Yogacintāmaṇi* composed by the Royal Preceptor or Rājaguru of Gajapati Pratāparudradeva² of Orissa (A. D. 1497-1539) with the following variants :—मतङ्गः for मातङ्गः; यज्ञान् for सर्वान्; and शूद्रस्य for शूद्राणां. This quotation appears on folio 3 of a MS of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* in the Govt. MSS Library at the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona (No. 220 of 1882-83). This fact makes it clear that the author of the *Jyotsnā* knew the work *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Godāvaramiśra as we find it in a MS form. The following references in the *Jyotsnā* corroborate our conclusion :—

Page 12—

अत्र योगचिन्तामणिकाराः यद्यपि
‘ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशो स्त्रीशूद्राणां च पावनं । शान्तये
कर्मणामन्ययोगात्तास्ति विमुक्तये’ इत्यादि पुराण-
वाक्येषु प्राणिमात्रस्य योगेऽधिकार उपलभ्यते तथापि
मोक्षरूपकं फलं योगविरक्तस्यैव भवति । etc.

The above reference is important as it gives the name of the work from which the extract is taken and criticized, besides mentioning the opinion of Sage Mataṅga traced by me in a MS of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*.

Page 52—

यथा च उक्तं योगचिन्तामणौ—प्राणायाम
एवाभ्यासक्रमेण वर्धमानः प्रत्याहारध्यानधारणासमा-
प्ति शब्दैः उच्यते’ इति ;

Page 75—

इति चिन्तामणेर्वाक्यं स्वारस्यं भजते नहि
(Possibly योगचिन्तामणि is meant in the expression ‘चिन्तामणेर्वाक्ये’).

Then again the following verse which I have found on folio 15 of the B.O.R. Institute MS of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* referred to above is also found in the *Jyotsnā* on p. 175 of the printed edition without any variants :—

“मैत्रेयी सुलभा शार्ङ्गो शांडिली च तपस्विनी ।
स्त्रीत्वे प्राप्ता परां सिद्धिमन्यजन्मसमाधितः ॥”

The above evidence is sufficient to establish the mutual chrono-

1. *Hāthayogaprādīpikā*, Adyar, 1933, p. 166.

2. *History of Dharmaśāstra* by Kane, Vol. I, p. 413.

logical relation of the *Jyotsnā* and the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Godāvara Miśra. Though *Jyotsnā* is a very late commentary, the antiquity of Sage Maṭaṅga's opinion sanctioning the study of Yoga by women is proved in the first instance owing to its being quoted by the author of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* 400 years back and secondly owing to the fact of this Sage Maṭaṅga being quoted with some respect as an ancient authority on the question.

We have tried to trace the above verses quoted by the *Jyotsnā* in the MS of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Godāvaramiśra because Shri Yogendra has referred to this commentary on the *Hathayogapradīpikā* as one of the authorities supporting the study of Yoga by women. We have shown in an Appendix to this article that this commentary is quite modern. In fact the references to and quotations from the *Yogacintāmaṇi* and numerous other works show the modern character of the composition of the commentary. It is, however, useful to enable us to understand the Yoga practices current or known in Brahmānanda's time.

Before we proceed to consider other authorities in support of the study of Yoga by women we must distinguish the work *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Godāvaramiśra

from another work of the same name, viz. the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Harṣakīrtisūri, the pupil of Candrakīrtisūri. This latter work is purely a treatise on medicine and has nothing to do with Yoga. The Jain Sūri Candrakīrti belonged to the Nāgapura Tapāgaccha and was contemporary of Salem Shah who was Emperor of Delhi between 1545 and 1553 A.D.³ Candrakīrti was the author of a commentary on the *Sārasvatā-ṣṭakriyā* of Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya. It appears therefore that Godāvaramiśra wrote his work *Yogacintāmaṇi* (on Yoga) between A.D. 1497 and 1539 while Harṣakīrti wrote his work *Yogacintāmaṇi* (on Medicine) after 1550 A.D. or in the 3rd quarter of the 16th century. It mentions a preparation against *phiraṅgaroga* or venereal disease (p. 277, verse 346). This reference to *phiraṅgaroga* corroborates Sir P. C. Ray's statement in his *History of Hindu Chemistry* (Vol. I, Intro. p. 1) that this 'disease of the Portuguese' was introduced into India about the middle of the 16th century, i.e. about 1550 A.D.

Among the other authorities quoted by Shri Yogendra on the question at issue is the *Yogasārasaṅgraha* of Vijnāna-bhikṣu, according to which the path of Yoga is disclosed mainly

3. R. G. Bhandarkar's Report (1882-83), p. 43—Extract on p. 227.

“श्रीमत्साहित्यसलेम भूमिपतिना संमानितः सादर । सूरिः सर्वकलिदिककलितधीः श्रीचंद्रकोटि प्रभुः ॥”

4. A printed edition of Harṣakīrti's *Yoga Cintāmaṇi* published (Ahmedabad) in 1912 with a Gujarati Commentary by Purohit Purnachandra Sharma is in possession of Shri Yogendra. It mentions चंद्रकोटि in the colophon as also in the following verse:—

“श्रीसर्वज्ञप्रणम्यादौ चंद्रकीर्तिगुरुं ततः । योगचिन्तामणिं वक्ष्ये बालानां बोधहेतवे ॥

to the *grhastha* or householder (vide p. 184 of *Yoga Personal Hygiene*). According to Winternitz (G. I. L. Vol. III, p. 457) this writer flourished in the 2nd half of the 16th century, i. e. between A. D. 1550 and 1600. Prof. Keith, however, gives a date for this author which is quite late. He states that Vijñānabhikṣu wrote about 1650 A. D.⁵ It will thus be seen that the difference between the dates of Godāvara Miśra and Vijñānabhikṣu, who wrote the *Yogacintāmaṇi* and the *Yogasārasaṅgraha* respectively, varies from about 50 to 150 years respectively. The *Jyotsnā* of Brahmānanda and the *Yogasārasaṅgraha* of Vijñānabhikṣu are divided by a difference of about 300 years if we take Winternitz's date of Vijñānabhikṣu to be correct. The chronological order of the three works would therefore be as follows:— (1) *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Godāvara Miśra (between 1497 and 1539 A. D.), (2) *Yogasārasaṅgraha* of Vijñānabhikṣu (between 1550 and 1600) A. D., and (3) *Jyotsnā* of Brahmānanda (between 1850 and 1875 A. D.). The above authorities though quite late are sufficient to prove how the reaction against the prejudices of Brahmanism about continence or *brahmacarya* as the condition precedent for an efficacious study and practice of Yoga was completed gradually.

The *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma Yogī maintains, how-

ever, its Brahmanical predilections in favour of *brahmacarya*. Compare the following passages and contrast them with Vijñānabhikṣu's opinion cited above, viz., that the path of Yoga is disclosed only to the *grhastha* or householder:—

Page 151—

“ ब्रह्मचर्यैतस्यैव नित्यं हितमिताशनः ।

मण्डलाद् दृश्यते सिद्धिः कुण्डल्यभ्यासयोगिनः ॥

Page 137—

चित्रायत्तं वृणां शुक्रं शुक्रायत्तं च जीवितम् ।

तस्माच्छुक्रं मनश्चैव रक्षणीयं प्रयत्नतः ॥”

It appears to us from the foregoing passages in the *Haṭha-yogapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma Yogī that its author has not shaken off his Brahmanical inclinations characteristic of some of the Smṛtis in the matter of the importance of *brahmacarya*.

The *Jyotsnā* quotes very often another authority, viz., a work on Yoga called *Yogabīja* (vide appendix). According to this authority Yoga can be practised both by males as well as females.⁶ We have not examined the antiquity or chronology of this text but will do so on a later occasion. As regards the passage from the *Mahābhārata* quoted by *Jyotsnā* in support of its opinion we may observe that the text of the Great Epic varies in its antiquity in its different portions and hence no definite conclusion about the antiquity of a single passage can be arrived at with any claim to certainty.

5. History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 489.

6 *Yoga Personal Hygiene*, p. 184.

इति सूर्यपूरस्थिते नारायणसूरिसूनुहरिकविविरचिते विजयांके
शंभुराजचरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये राजनीतितत्त्वोपदेशनिर्णयो नाम
द्वादशः सर्गः संपूर्णः ॥ श्री ॥ संपूर्णं चैतत्काव्यं ॥ श्री ॥

The genealogy of Hari Kavi as disclosed in the above extract can be represented as under :—

- (1) चिंतामणि (vide verses 166 and 177 above)
- |
- (2) रंगनाथ (Son of No. 1) vide verses 166 and 177)
- |
- (3) नारायण (Son of No. 2) vide verses 168 and 177) He is
called the younger brother of पद्मनाभ in verses
168 (पद्मनाभानुजः)
- |
- (4) हरिकवि (Son of No. 3) see verses 177 and 170.

It appears that Hari Kavi's father Nārāyana who was originally a Deccani Brahman (दाक्षिणात्यान्वयः—v. 169) had settled at Surat as he is called 'मिहिरपत्तनाध्यासन' (v. 169) i.e. resident of मिहिरपत्तन which is the same as सूर्यपुर or Surat mentioned in the colophons. It appears that Hari Kavi also was residing at Surat or सूर्यपुर and consequently the scene of King Śambhu's marriage with चंदा is laid in मिहिरनगर (folio 45) which appears to be identical with मिहिरपत्तन of which Hari Kavi's father नारायण was resident as stated in verse 169. How far this fact is true to history I am unable to say at present.

In verse 172 quoted above we are told that this poem was composed by the order of (निदेशतः) of one कृष्ण known as the गुरु of King शंभु (= शंभु महीपतेः अपि कृष्णाख्यया विद्यातस्य गुरोः निदेशतः इदं काव्यं ख्यात् etc.). This कृष्ण गुरु appears to be identical with कृष्णपंडित described in two verses (on folio 82) which we have quoted above.

The date of composition recorded in verse 178 of the colophon is Vikrama Samvat 1741, in the month of *Pauṣa*, Bahula Pakṣa, 2nd tithi, which corresponds to *Monday, 12th January 1685*.¹ The last folio which records the above date of composition was found pasted to another stray folio with some written matter on both

¹ *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI, p. 172.

the sides. This stray folio records on one side the colophon of some work on *phala-jyotiṣa* or astrology containing *Saṃvat 1740* and *Śaka 1605* (= A. D. 1684). If this date is regarded as the date of copying of some work on astrology it may be possible to conclude that our Ms of *Śambhurāja-Carita* is a contemporary copy perhaps made in the very year of its composition viz. A. D. 1685, its last folio being pasted on another stray folio written one year earlier i.e. in 1684 as pointed out above. The other side of the stray folio contains some written matter concluded by 3 verses ascribed to Hari Kavi as under :—

Folio 2³⁵/₂ — “ स्फुरत्कीर्तिज्योत्स्नावलयविसरोद्भासितकरः ।

प्रतापाग्निज्वालाप्रसरभरसंतापितपरः ॥

समुद्रच्छत्पर्वामृतकरमुखोविश्वमहितो- ।

ग्रजो यस्य भ्राता जयति माहितः शंकर इति ॥

ये जन्मावाधिसंभूता च रभसं नानाभिलाषः परं ।

तानापुं सुरसाप्रकोकिलकरस्त्वामाश्रितः सादरं ॥

आस्तां दूरत एव तत्परिचयः किं त्वस्य साधारणा- ।

त्वत्तो जीवतमप्यलभ्यमभवत्किं ब्रूमहेतः परम् ॥

—हरिकवेर्ममीती ॥

“ सुमुखशिखरनामग्रामगानप्रणाम- ।

स्मरणाविहेतविघ्नध्वांतधाराविधातः ॥

तरुणतराणिकोटिज्योतिर्वियोतितांगः ।

स भवतु भगवान्मे विघ्नहा वि(घ्ननाशः ?) ॥

—हरिकवेर्ममायं ॥

There is besides the stray folio described above another stray folio in the beginning of the Ms written on one side of the paper with borders ruled in double red lines and of a slightly smaller size than the Ms of *Śambhurāja-Carita* containing the following five verses :—

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

हिमगिरितनया सा पातु मां सारवृत्त- ।

प्रथितगुणचिसर्गा यद्गुणाकुष्टचेताः ॥

त्रिभुवनगुरुरीशो यां वहन्नर्द्धदेहे- ।

गमदतिविकृतं हाप्यर्द्धनारीश्वरत्वं ॥ १ ॥

श्रीमान्गर्जेद्रवदनः सदर्न मतीनां ।
पायादपायमयतः स तु मां नितांतं ॥
भक्तानुरागमिव कुंभयुगे दधानः ।
सिंदूरपूरमामितं बहिरुज्जिहान ॥ २ ॥^१
कुलपत्रशतपत्रलोचना भक्तसक्तहृदया दयासारित् ।
शब्दसागराविचारचातुरी हेतुरीप्सितमिरा ददातु मे ॥ ३ ॥^२
श्लाघंते महिमानमत्रकवयः के के न कृष्टांतरा- ।
श्वंचत्काव्यकराः परं तु गरिमा श्रीचक्रपाणेर्गुरुः ।
विंवद्वेषिदले यदास्थकमले.....दंतातुले ।
वाग्देवी कमलेव विश्वहृदयप्रह्लादिनी खेलति ॥ ४ ॥
कांतैव मंजुलपदा कमनीयवर्णा ।
सम्लेषपूर्वकमपूर्वतरं वदंती ॥
न स्यात्कथं तु सरसां सकला समावा ।
श्रीचक्रपाणिकविताभिमता बुधानां ॥ ५ ॥
अथ बहुलगुणः सुमाननीयो ।
भुवनभुवा.....”

It is clear that the above extract contains the beginning of some poetical work of चक्रपाणि as the expression “चक्रपाणिरुचिता” in verse 5 above shows. I shall now prove that this चक्रपाणि is identical with the brother of Śrī Hari Kavi, the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvalī*.

Dr. Hara Datta Sharma in his article³ on Śrī Hari Kavi, the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* remarks:—

“Hari Kavi was the pupil of Nārāyaṇa, one of whose verses he quotes and refers to it as श्रीनारायणश्रुचरणानाम्.” His youngest brother was called चक्रपाणिरुचि and he is referred to by Hari Kavi as ‘मत्कनिष्ठभ्राता’ or अरमदातुजचक्रपाणि कवि.’ It seems that our poet had other brothers but we find no account of them. This चक्रपाणि differs from the चक्रपाणि mentioned in कवीद्रव्यचनसमुच्चय (p. 37) सदुक्तिरुणामृत (p. 53) and पद्यावलि of रूपगोस्वामिन् (fol. 26^a, v. 258).

¹ This verse is identical with verse No. 1 in Ms No. 829 of 1875-76.

² This verse No. 3 appears as verse No. 4 in the Ms. (No. 829 of 1875-76) of हेहदेन्द्रकाव्यसाम्या of Hari Kavi.

³ *Indian Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 3, pp. 478-495,

Dr. Sharma then quotes two verses introduced by Hari Kavi as composed by his brother चक्रपाणि. They are:—

(१) कृपापांगायस्य श्रयति रसनां शुभ्रवसना ।

.....भगवानेकरदनः

—मत्कनिष्ठभ्रातुः चक्रपाणिकवेः

(२) “श्लाघ्य (घ) न्ते महिमानमय कवयः स्वीयं न हृष्टान्तराः ।

के के काव्यकराः परन्तु गरिमा श्रीचक्रपाणिर्गुरुः (रोः ?)

चिबद्वेपिदले यदास्यकमले क्षोदाभदन्तामले ।

वाग्देवी कमलेव विश्वहृदयप्रह्लादिनी खेलेति ॥

—मत्कनिष्ठभ्रातुश्चक्रपाणिकवेः

(fol. 33, v. 124)

It will now be seen that verse No. 2 quoted above is exactly identical with v. 4 of the चक्रपाणिकविता stray folio viz. “श्लाघते.....खेलेति.” This identity proves beyond doubt that Śrī Hari Kavi, the author of *Subhāṣṭahārāvalī* refers in his anthology to the verses of his brother culled from the “चक्रपाणिकविता” Ms, a stray folio of which has been preserved in the Ms. of शंभुराजचरित of Hari Kavi. This association of चक्रपाणि with the author of शंभुराजचरित raises the question about the identity of the two Hari Kavis viz. (1) हरिकवि, the author of *सुभाषितहारावलि* and (2) हरिकवि the author of शंभुराजचरित. I shall now prove that both these authors are identical. My grounds for establishing this identity are:—

(1) Dr. Sharma observes¹ about Hari Kavi the author of *सुभाषितहारावलि*:—

“The author Śrī Hari Kavi seems to have been a poet of high order. He boasts of himself in the following verse:—

येनैकः कवितावतारसमये ग्रंथः समुद्धासितः ।

स्तस्या एव सुविश्रमे पुनरहो बंधः परो निर्मितः ॥

स्तस्या लास्यविधी कृतास्तु बहवस्ते ते प्रबंधोत्तमाः

सोऽयं कोऽपि हरिः कविः कविरविज्योतिःकणो द्रव्यति ॥

(fol. 33^a v. 123)

The above verse is identical with v. 163 on folio $\frac{233}{20}$ of the Ms of शंभुराजचरित incorporated in the long extract quoted above. Perhaps it may have been taken from the *Śambhurāja-Carita* by

the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvalī*. This identity of verses is sufficient to establish the identity of the two Hari Kavis.

(2) Mr. M. Krishnamacharya¹ in his book on Sanskrit Literature remarks about Hari Kavi the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* :—

“His native country however appears to be the Dekkan and he betrays a very close acquaintance with the literature of his country.”

These remarks are to some extent borne out by the colophon of the *Śambhurāja-Carita*. We have stated above that Hari Kavi's father नारायण was the resident of मिहिरपत्तन or सूरपुर or Surat but he is said to be 'दाक्षिणात्यान्वय' (v. 169 of the colophon).

(3) -Dr. Sharma states about the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* :— “Among various other poets Hari Kavi mentions the names of the following with reverence as —

I	रामजित्पंडितानाम्	II	लक्ष्मीधरपादानाम्
III	माधवपुरीपादानाम्	IV	महीश्वरपुरीपादानाम्
V	मधुसूदनसरस्वतीनाम्	VI	अनंतदेवानाम्
VII	श्रीकृष्णपंडितानाम्	VIII	श्रीराघवचैतन्यानाम्
IX	श्रीवोपदेवपंडितानाम्	X	गोपीनाथपंडितानाम्
XI	सोमजिह्मदानाम्.		

It is possible to make a conjecture that these people were either Hari Kavi's contemporaries or preceded him shortly.”

Dr. Sharma's conjecture that some of these people were Hari Kavi's contemporaries appears to be corroborated so far as कृष्णपंडित is concerned. We have seen above that the शंभुराजचरित mentions him as the guru of King Śambhu and describes him in two verses (124 and 125 on folio 82). Besides we are told that Hari Kavi composed the *Śambhurājacarita* at the bidding of this कृष्णपंडित (v. 172 on folio $\frac{233}{20}$).

(4) As regards the parentage of the author of the *Śambhurāja-carita* and that of the *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* I have to observe as follows :—

¹ *The Classical Period of Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1906, p. 126.

(i) The colophons of the different Sargas of the *Śambhurājacarita* uniformly call हरिकवि as 'नारायणसुरिसुत' i. e. son of नारायण-सुरि. Then again verse 177 of the extract from the colophon quoted above and verse 153 on folio $\frac{197}{17}$ use the adjective 'नारायणसंभव' with reference to Hari Kavi. He is also called 'नारायणः' in verse 163 in the top margin of folio $\frac{233}{20}$. All these expressions prove that नारायण was the father of हरिकवि.

(ii) Dr. Sharma states that Hari Kavi, the author of मुभाषितहारावलि was the pupil of नारायण as he refers to him as 'नारायण-गुरुचरणनाम.' The statement of the colophons in the शंभुराजचरित makes it clear that नारायणसुरि was the father of हरिकवि. The title सुरि here is significant as नारायण was not only the father of हरिकवि but his गुरु as well, because in verse 168 he is mentioned as गुरुवर (नारायणनामको गुरुवरः) which corresponds to the title सुरि used in the colophons. It is, therefore, clear that one and the same person नारायण was both the गुरु and the father of Hari Kavi. In verse 153 (Folio $\frac{197}{17}$) Hari Kavi calls himself 'नारायणोपासक' in addition to his being 'नारायणसंभव.' Verse 164 (folio $\frac{233}{20}$) informs us that his family attained pre-eminence owing to the grace of an ascetic (पतिवर) of the name of नारायण.

The identity of the two Hari Kavis is in my opinion sufficiently established on the strength of the evidence recorded above. It is now easy to fix the date of *Subhāṣitahārāvalī*. In this connection we quote Dr. Sharma's conclusion.¹

"As Hari Kavi quotes the verses of Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha, he cannot be a contemporary of Akbar. Therefore, he must have flourished in the middle of the 17th century A. D."

This conclusion of Dr. Sharma is confirmed in general by our study of the *Śambhurājacarita* because it was composed in A.D. 1685 and because of our identification of the author of the *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* and the *Śambhurājacarita* as stated above. As regards the chronological order of these two works we are unable to decide

¹ *IHQ*, Vol. X, p. 479.

because the verse common to both these works is not indicated by the name of its source. A glance at the varied and rich contents of the *Sabhāṣitahārūḍi* will show, however, that Hari Kavi was a voracious reader and perhaps this encyclopaedic anthology containing gems of Sanskrit poetry culled from innumerable sources beginning from poets and poetasters of hoary antiquity down to his contemporary Kṛṣṇapandita and even his younger brother Cakrapāṇi, served as a good discipline for a budding poet of Hari Kavi's classical taste so as to enable him to write an independent *mahākāvya* in 12 cantos bubbling with the essence of Sanskrit classical poetry and devoted to the glorification of King Sambhāji, whose gay personality afforded him an excellent opportunity to make a colourful display of a princely career, which has been estimated by some modern historians as politically ineffectual and unwise.

My brief analysis of the *Śambhurāja-carita* based on the available fragment of this *mahākāvya* will, it is hoped, remove doubts, if any, of modern historians about the identity of the hero of this poem with King Sambhāji, the son of Shivāji. I shall, however, sum up the main facts revealed in my analysis which support my identification of Śambhurāja with King Sambhāji:—

(1) The date of composition of the poem viz. A. D. 1685 corresponds to Sambhāji's period of reign.

(2) The birth of शंभुवृषति from शिवरूप and the adjectives शिवभय, शिवोद्भव as applied to शंभुराज in many places as pointed out by me in the preamble of this paper clearly indicate the parentage of the Maratha King.

(3) The reference to the sword of the goddess भवानी in the hands of King Śambhu and its description in three verses as pointed out by me also confirm my identification.

(4) The mention of 'गोविंज'भक्ति' with reference to Śambhurāja is also important. Shivāji was called 'गोत्राह्वयप्रतिपालक' and his son Sambhāji was expected to follow his father in keeping this motto before him as a state policy at a time when Hinduism was regarded to be in peril.

¹ Compare the following verse in the *Budhabhūṣaṇa* of King Śambhu (Govt. Ori. Series) B. O. R. Institute, 1926.

"अव्यय वेदान्तरिसंस्मर्य चान्नीनिष्ठः राजैः पाठयित्वा प्रजाञ्च ।

गोत्राह्वयार्थं शत्रुघ्नान्नरात्मः हतः संप्रति क्षत्रियः स्वर्गमेति ॥ ५५ ॥

(5) The poet Hari Kavi may have resided occasionally at Sambhāji's court, though he himself and his father may have been normally residents of સુરત or Surat. As the poem was composed at the bidding of Sambhāji's ગુરુ by name કુળવંદિત such an inference is warranted. At any rate a greater contact of the courtly life of King Sambhāji may be presumed in view of the dominant note of gaiety prevailing in the portion of this *mehākāvya* analysed by me. The poet's family belonged originally to the Deccan as his father is called 'दाक्षिणात्यान्यय' and naturally he must have entertained a high regard for a King of the Deccan territories, though Surat was at this period of history in the hands of foreigners.

My friend Prof. H. D. Velankar has already published a "Sanskrit work called *बुधभूषण* (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Govt. Ori. Series 1926) claiming for its author King Śambhu, popularly known as Sambhāji, son of Shivāji the Great" and has thus retrieved the lost name of King Sambhāji as "nothing but vicious deeds, at the most brave and daring, are usually connected with the name of Prince Sambhāji." About Sambhāji's literary taste Prof. Velankar remarks:—"it is possible to conclude that not only had Sambhāji received education at the hands of learned Pandits but he had also taste for Sanskrit literature and was occasionally in the habit of writing poetry in Hindi under the influence of Kavi Kalaśa or the celebrated Kalusha, especially when passing his leisure hours in the company of beautiful women." In his Preface Prof. Velankar refers to Sambhāji's Hindi Poems, selections from which were shown to him by Mr. Purushottam Vishram Mavji, J. P. Then again verses¹ 16 and 15 in the preamble of *Budhabhūṣaṇa* clearly refer to Sambhāji's contact with learned men well versed in Poetry, Rhetoric, Purāṇas, Music and Archery.

¹ These verses read as follows:—

"तस्यात्मजः शैशुमतिः प्रसिद्धः समस्तसामंतशिरोवसनः (वनेसः) ।
यः काव्यसाहित्यपुराणगीतिरौदण्डविद्यार्णवपारगामी ॥ १५ ॥
निर्विक्रमज्ञातानि वरातनामादाय नेभ्यः खलु सोयमयम् ।
करोति सद्ग्रन्थमयं नृपालः स शम्भुवर्मा बुधभूषणाख्यम् ॥ १६ ॥"

Hari Kavi a poet of no mean talents, must have been foremost among the learned men patronized by Sambhāji and in my opinion his present *mahākāvya* gives an added lustre to the cultural history of Sambhāji's reign.

About Kalusha, the enchanter, who exerted a wonderful influence upon Sambhāji Prof. Velankar remarks :—

"Among the quotations we find one from the pen of famous Kalusha. It is highly poetical and even though we unfortunately do not possess any literary remains of this great favourite of King Sambhāji, we have grounds to believe that he was a literary man. In the old chronicles he is described as Kavikalāśa or the poet Kalāśa." "We will not be, however, far from truth in assuming that to a considerable extent his literary gifts helped Kalusha to maintain his influence with the prince. It is quite possible that this Kavi Kalusha may have composed several poems, which were not preserved owing to the general disfavour in which he was held, but stray copies of which may yet have existed and might one day be discovered by us."

These remarks of Prof. Velankar tempt me to infer by way of pure hypothesis that कृष्णपंडित who is described in two verses as the गुरु of King Śambhu in the *Śambhurājacarita* may be identical with Kavikalāśa, the Kanuja Brahman who is popularly believed to have been purposely sent by the Emperor from Delhi. Hari Kavi, as Dr. Sharma tells us, refers to some verses of this pandit and introduces them in his *Subhāṣitahārūvali* by the expression "श्रीकृष्णपंडितानाम्." Then again in the *Śambhurājacarita* Hari Kavi states that he wrote by order (निर्देशतः) of one कृष्ण who was the गुरु of even King Śambhu (शंभुमहीपतेरापि गुरोः). All these references show the great influence कृष्णपंडित held over King Sambhāji and it is possible that he may have been identical with the great enchanter of Sambhāji, popularly known as Kavi Kalāśa. This identification is, however, suggested as a mere hypothesis as among other accomplishments of कृष्णपंडित given in the two verses on folio 82 quoted above we find that he is called "समस्तसलजनासर्वगर्भमेत्ता" and "दुर्नातेः परितपिः सहायुषविधिः प्रज्ञाप्रमादोचयिः"—expressions which may hint at his cleverness in political chicanery, so characteristic of Kavi Kalāśa, the great enchanter of King Sambhāji.

Irrespective of our proposed identification of कृष्णपंडित with कवि कलश it would be useful to put on record verses quoted by Hari Kavi in his *Subhūṣitahūrūvali* and ascribed to कृष्णपंडित for the reason that he is mentioned as the *यू* of King Śambhu in the *Śambhurūjacarita*. If any poems of कविकलश are traced hereafter by historians the verses recorded below may prove useful in studying the question of our proposed identity of the two personalities. I, therefore, quote these verses from the fragment of the Ms of *Subhūṣitahūrūvali* viz. No. 92 of A 1883-84 in the Govt. Ms. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona :—

folios 8-9 — “ वृंदारण्यमहीषु वंशनिमदामंदामृतास्वादना- ।
निस्पंदानि दधुक्षयेव सुरभि वृंदानि संदानयन् ॥
मंदारद्वमवीथिकामुविहरन् वंदारुवृंदारक- ।
द्वंद्वस्तुत्यभिर्नंदितोस्तु जगदानंदाय नंदात्मजः ॥ ५५ ॥

—कृष्णपंडितानाम् ”

folio 15 — “ शैवालश्रेणिशोभां दधति हरजटावल्लभोऽयं यस्या- ।
स्त सा सोल्लासवल्लद्वरशफरतुलां यत्र पते कलावान् ॥
उन्मीलद्भोगिभोगावलिमुभगसितांभोजसंभाविताभा ।
मंगानंगारिसंगा मम महति विधी मंगलान्यातनोतु ॥ ”

—श्रीमत्कृष्णपंडितानाम्

folio 38 — “ यद्वाणी वाणिनीनां मधुरमधुरसद्रोहिणीं रीहिणेयः ।
श्रुत्वा हालावहेलां रचयति सुचिरं संमदाकुञ्चिताक्षं ॥
किञ्चिद्राक्षासदृक्षाक्षररसनकरस्रस्तरुद्राक्षमालः ।
सोत्कण्ठं नीलकण्ठोप्यनुपठति शिरस्तांडवाडंबरैः ॥ १९६ ॥
मौलमंदारदामभ्रदलीपटलीकाकलीं श्रोणिविवि ।
चंचत्कांचीनिदानं चरणकमलयोर्मंजुमंजीरसिंजां ॥
उत्संगे कीरगीतं स्तनभुवि मल्लुगं कल्लकी पंचमं वा ।
तत्काव्ये दत्तकर्णा शिवशिवमनुते भारतीभारभेव ॥ १९७ ॥
यः पीयूषमयूखधामानि सुधा साराळकलेपि यः ।
क्षुभ्यत्क्षीरसमुद्रसांद्रलहरी लावण्यपूरेपि यः ॥
यः कांताधरपल्लवे मधुरिमा नासी समुद्राहते ।
श्रीविद्वत्काविकृष्णपंडितवचो वीचिसर्माचीनितां ॥ १९८ ॥

—श्रीकृष्णपंडितानामेते ”

folio 39 — “ रसालंकारसारापि वाणी व्याकरजोज्झिता ।

श्वित्रोपहतगात्रेव न रंजयति सज्जनान् ॥ २१६ ॥

—कृष्णपंडितानाम् ”

We have seen above that in the old chronicles Sambhāji's adviser Kalusha is described as कविकलश. In the above verses of कृष्णपंडित he styles himself as कवि कृष्णपंडित apparently emphasizing his poetical talents and perhaps echoing the identity of his Sanskrit name कवि कृष्ण with the popular name कवि कलश.

II

Since the above paper was written I have analysed Mss of हेहयेन्द्रकाव्य represented by the following entry in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* 7. Part I, p. 768:—

“ हेहयेन्द्रकाव्य and ṭikā by Hari, Report OLXX-Comm. by शंभु ibid ”

Mss represented by this entry of Aufrecht are available in the Govt. Mss Library. They are:—(1) No. 827 of 1875-76. (2) No. 828 of 1875-76 and (3) No. 829 of 1875-76. They were acquired from Surat by Dr. Bühler in 1875. Aufrecht's entry about the author of this Kāvya and commentary is misleading because we find that this Kāvya was written by Hari Kavi, the author of *Subhāṣita-hārāvali* and the *Sambhurājacarita*.

Ms No. 828 of 1875-76—This is a fragment of हेहयेन्द्रकाव्यटीका of हरिकवि. Some of its folios are not numbered but it consists of 46 folios. It was copied in Samvat 1779 i. e. in AD. 1723 as the following colophon shows:—

“ इति श्री सूर्यपूरस्थितश्रीनारायणसुरिसुनुहरिकविविरचितायां श्री हेहयेन्द्रचरिताख्यमहाकाव्यव्याख्यायां शंभुविलासिकाख्यायामष्टमः सर्गः ॥ समाप्तः ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ संवत् १७७९ वर्षे फाल्गुन शुदि १ रवी समाप्तिमगमत् ”

The above colophon makes it clear that this commentary was written by हरिकवि. The poem commented on is a महाकाव्य called हेहयेन्द्रचरित and the name of this commentary is ‘शंभुविलासिका’. We have no means of ascertaining the number of cantos of this महाकाव्य of हरिकवि but the above colophon of canto VIII proves that it must have been somewhat like the *Sambhurājacarita* in

its extent. The references to earlier works and authors found in this fragment are:—

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| (1) शारदातिलक fol. 1, 6; | (14) छंदोभुजगमोलि fol. 23; |
| (2) अभिधानरत्न fol. 2, 6, 7, 8, 11,
13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24, 27, 30,
32, 37, 38, 39, 41, 44, 45, 46; | (15) भाष्य fol. 26; |
| (3) अमरः many times; | (16) भाष्यमते or भाष्यानुमते fol. 26; |
| (4) श्रीमद्भागवत fol. 5, 17, 32, ; | (17) पिंगलसूत्र fol. 26; |
| (5) दशश्लोक्यामाश्वलायनेन fol. 6; | (18) शाङ्ख्यी fol. 28; |
| (6) विश्वः fol. 8, 39; | (19) मत्कृतमेव fol. 29; |
| (7) सांख्यमत fol. 9; | (20) पिंगलनाम fol. 29; |
| (8) महीप fol. 9, 28, 29, 32, 36; | (21) पिंगलभाष्य fol. 31; |
| (9) भगवत्पादैः fol. 10; | (22) रुक्मिणान fol. 33; |
| (10) आचार्यैः fol. 10; | (23) वामनटालंकारे fol. 33; |
| (11) नेव्याधिकमत fol. 10; | (24) कालिदास fol. 36; |
| (12) कवचे fol. 19; | (25) वृत्तरत्नाकर fol. 37, |
| (13) हेमः fol. 20, 30, 36, 38, 44; | (26) क्षीरस्वामी fol. 42; |
| | (27) कामशास्त्र fol. 42; |
| | (28) रत्निरहस्य fol. 46; |

Ms No. 829 of 1875-76—This fragment of शंभुविलासिका consists of about 76 folios of which folios 1 to 68 contain the commentary for canto I of देहयेन्द्रचरित, while folios 69 to 76 contain a portion of the commentary for canto II (12 verses only). This Ms is very important for our present study as it furnishes more particulars about Hari Kavi. The first 10 verses refer to नारायण, the गुरु of Hari Kavi, and also refer to his patron शंसुपुत्रजीपति who is styled as शिव i.e. born of शिव or Shivaji (verses 7 and 8). We are also told explicitly that this commentary was composed by the order of Sambhaji and that the Kāvya was composed by Hari Kavi himself (verse 10).

This statement proves that Hari Kavi must have been a court-poet of King Sambhaji to receive direct orders of King Sambhaji unlike his composition of *Sambhurājacarita* which, as we have seen above, was composed at the bidding of छत्रपति, the गुरु of Sambhaji. Perhaps this गुरु may have brought Hari Kavi into prominence and royal favour recognizing his poetic talents and learning, being himself कवि and पंडित ('कविरूपपंडित'). I shall now quote the introductory 12 verses of this Ms as no copies of this work are available so far:—

folio 1-2 — “ श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥

श्रीमान्गर्जेद्भवदनः सदनं मतीनां ।

पायादपायभयतः स तु मां नितान्तं ॥

भक्तानुरागामिव कुंभयुगे दधानः ।

सिंदूरपूरमामितं वहिसज्जिह्वानं ॥ १ ॥

यो मां दधाति कमनीयतनुं रत्नालः ।

फुल्लावसंततिलकां लतिकामिवायं ॥

जीमूतराज इव विद्युतमुल्लसंती ।

श्रीमान्स पातु भगवानरविंदनाभः ॥ २ ॥

भजामि भुवनाधारं हराकारं परं महः ।

यस्येव चंद्रिका ज्योत्स्ना कृष्णा रामा विराजते ॥ ३ ॥

फुल्लपत्रशतपत्रलोचना भक्तसक्तहृदयादयासारित् ।

शब्दसागरविचारचानुरी हेतुरीतस्मितमिरा ददातु मे ॥ ४ ॥

वैकुण्ठनाथपदपंकजलीनचित्र-

रोलंघमंघरगुणागमसिद्धबुद्धिं ॥

संदर्शनप्रदलिताखिलकल्मषीय- ।

नारायणं गुरुमनल्पगुणं नमामि ॥ ५ ॥

श्रीहर्षोद्भूतभव्यकाव्यजलधिप्रोन्मथने मंदर- ।

प्रोद्धामाद्भुतशेषपेलगिरा सारप्रसारप्रभुः ॥

धाराधारकवित्वकौशलसमुल्लासिप्रभावाद्भुता ।

शृंगारादिरसाकुला हरिकवेर्वाणी समुज्ज्वले ॥ ६ ॥

आस्ति स्वतिकरः समस्तजगतः क्षमापालमीलिस्फुरन् ।

माणिक्यावलिकांतिकांतचरणः श्रीशंभुप्राथिवीपतिः ।

यस्य त्रस्यदरातिपालनपरस्पायीय गौणाकरं ।

पीयूषं विबुधा विनिर्यदभूतं निदंति सीधाकरं ॥ ७ ॥

किं वर्ण्यः किल शैवस्य महिमा जगतीपतेः ।

आकर्ण्य यद्वदान्यत्वमितरेस्तद्वितन्यते ॥ ८ ॥

कर्पूरपूरविशदस्वयशः सितसारसे ।

ब्रह्मांडमंडली येन भसली क्रियतेतरा ॥ ९ ॥

तस्याज्ञायैव विबुधान्प्रतिनेजभाव- ।

प्रोद्बोधनाय हरिणा किल तन्यतेस्य ।

काव्यस्य तु स्वविद्वितस्य विकाशितार्यं ।

व्याख्या प्रभेव रविणा कमलाकरस्य ॥ १० ॥

संदेहसं तमससंहरणेकदक्षा ।

नानापदार्थनिभृतार्थविबोधिकेक्षा ॥

ज्ञाताक्षभूकचुधकोरुमुशोकसीरया ।

वियोतिनी जगति शंभुविलासिकाख्या ॥ ११ ॥

तस्माद्बुधाः सहृदयाः सदया भवन्तः ।

पश्यन्तु सादरमिमां कृतिरस्मदीयां ॥

दीपान्निरस्यतु गुणान्तमुदस्य हयां ।

कुर्वन्तु चापमुदितो हि विदां स्वभावः ॥ १२ ॥

Verse No. 1 in the above extract viz. "श्रीमात्स्यजेंद्रद्वन्द्व...सज्जिहानं" is almost identical with verse No. 2 in the चक्रपाणि कविता extract quoted by me above from a stray folio found in the Ms of शंभुगजचरित. So also verse No. 4 viz. "कुलुवशतपत्रलोचना...ददातु मे" is almost identical with verse No. 3 of the चक्रपाणि कविता fragment. It is possible that the younger brother चक्रपाणि in his enthusiasm to outdo his older brother may have incorporated these verses from the latter's works without acknowledgement though the elder brother Hari Kavi had better sense of literary veracity as he has introduced all verses of his younger brother चक्रपाणि with the expression "मन्त्रनिर्दिष्टातुः चक्रपाणेः" in his *Subhūṣṭāṭhārūka'i*.

As this fragment of शंभुविलासिका contains a portion of the commentary different from that found in Ms No 828 of 1875-76 it would be useful to record the references to earlier works and authors noticed by me in my cursory reading of the Ms. These references are :—

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (1) रुद्रट fol. 3 | (13) वार्तिके fol. 10, |
| (2) अमरः fol. 5, 6, 7, 10, etc. | (14) अभिधानरत्ने fol. 10, 11, 12, 14, |
| (3) वाग्भट, वामन, देव्यादि | 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, |
| अलंकारिकादरिः fol. 3 | 28, 30, 32, 33, 39, 42, 43, |
| (4) वाग्भटे fol. 5, 6, 15, 23, 24, | 47, 61, |
| 25, 26, 27, 35, 38, 40, 41, | (15) सप्तशत्यां fol. 11, |
| 55, 57 | (16) आचार्यः fol. 11, |
| (5) नव्यमते fol. 5, | (17) कविचरित्रगजायातर्विहितरायापर |
| (6) वृत्तस्त्रोत्रे fol. 5, 69, | नाम्नः कवेः fol. 72, |
| (7) रत्नांदि fol. 6, | (18) विश्वः fol. 44, 73, |
| (8) पद्मपुराण fol. 8, | (19) अमरव्याख्यानि क्षीरस्वामिना |
| (9) कचचोक्तेः fol. 8, 17, | fol. 73, |
| (10) कालिदास fol. 8, 12, | (20) सत्त्वराजे fol. 20, 73, |
| (11) कल्पद्रुमचर्चजरादी fol. 8, | (21) भाष्योक्तेः fol. 14, |
| (12) शारदातिलक fol. 10, | (22) रेखाखंडे fol. 16, |

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 23) व्यासतीर्थमाहात्म्ये fol. 10, | (28) बालमन्त्रिकालिदासपुराणविहङ्गाः |
| (24) वायुपुराणे fol. 18, 19, 20, | कर्वाङ्गाः fol. 21, |
| (25) श्रीमद्भागवते नवमस्कन्धे fol. | (29) महीपः 23, 24, 66, |
| 20, 34, | (30) कुबलयानन्दे fol. 31, |
| (26) कामशास्त्रे fol. 28, 51, 53, | (31) समुच्चयसारे fol. 37, |
| (27) हेमः fol. 19, 31, 50, | (32) तदुक्तं अभिज्ञेन fol. 60, |

The above list of references combined with the list of references in the other fragment of this commentary given previously shows us the range of Hari Kavi's studies and in my opinion justifies the self-conscious and somewhat boastful references to his capacities and attainments occasionally found in his works noticed above.

The hero of हेइयेन्द्रचरित is हेइयेन्द्र or कर्तवीर्य and his identity with King शंभु is too transparent for the poet to hide behind apparently. The heroine is none other than चंरा who appears also to be the heroine of शंभुराजचरित as we have seen above in our analysis of this महाकाव्य. On folio 14 of this Ms the poet apparently discloses the identity of शंभुराज with हेइयेन्द्र in the following explanation:—

“अथस्वर्त्तभावनाकरमेतत्काव्यकरणहेतुभूतशंभुनामकराजविशेषं श्लाय-
स्तलमरादिकं वर्णयति पुरमिति etc.”

The poet also refers to चंरा as the नायिका of the poem in the following remarks on folios 29-30:—

“कुलशीलरूपादिगुणगणशालिचंपानामकनायिकां वर्णयत्”

He also refers to this चंरा as the beauty of the town of Surat in the following words on folio 50:—

तथा श्रीमान्मिहिरनगरस्य, शोभमानसूरपुरस्य, योतनकरां, प्रकाशनकरां,
शोभासमुत्पादिकामित्यर्थः । ”

This heroine is shown to have attained a marriageable age on folio 31—“परमसुंदरयुवामिलशिनी.....एषा चंपाद्या, योदशवार्षिकी इति यावत्”

We have tried to prove from the statements of हरिकवि in the शंभुराजचरित that नारायण was both the guru and father of हरिकवि. This inference is clearly proved by the following statement of this poet in this commentary:—

Folio—58 “श्री नारायणेति । श्रीः सर्वविद्याज्ञानशोभासंपद्यता युक्तो
नारायणः, तत्तामको गुरुः पिता च ”

We have also seen that Hari Kavi's family came from the Deccan and that both the father and the son were residents of Surat. Here is Hari Kavi's own explanation about his Deccani descent:—

Folio 68—“दाक्षिणात्येषु महाराष्ट्राभिधदक्षिणदिग्भवनाह्वयेषु अस्वीयते युज्यते इति अन्वयो वंशो यस्यास्तौ ”

The colophon of Canto I appears as under on folio 68 and it is very important as it discloses for the first time in our study, the popular name of the poet which is भानुमट्टः—“इति श्रीसूर्यपुराणित-
श्रीमन्नारायणसूरिसुनुमहोदयभानुमट्टपरमभिधहरिकविवरितायां स्वकृतमहेन्द्र-
चरिते (सूरकव्यव्याख्यायां श्रीशंभुविलासिकाख्यायां प्रथमः सर्गः समाप्तः)” Perhaps this real name of the poet viz. भानुमट्ट may afford historians a better clue to trace the descendants in this family than the poetio name हरिकवि used throughout his works.

Throughout this paper we have identified सूर्यपुर with modern Surat. Our identification is supported by Hari Kavi himself. For on folio 74 he explains:—“सूरस्य सूर्यस्येदं सौरं सूरताख्यं प्रतिष्ठाभिध-
मित्यर्थः ”

and further he refers to the beauty of Surat in these words:—

“तापीपरिवारितसूरपूरशोभाया दुर्लभत्वात् इति भावः ”

On folio 75 he explains the reference to mountain महेन्द्र in the text of his Kāvya:—“महेन्द्रः कौंकणदेशस्यः कुलपर्वतः”

Ms No. 827 of 1875-76—We now come to the fragment of the text of हेहपेन्द्रकाव्य, the commentary on which we have noticed above in our analysis of the two available fragments. This Ms consists of 39 folios, folios 1 to 20 comprising canto I and folios 20 to 40 comprising canto II. This poem appears to have been written in a sustained style in the classical fashion and in doing so the poet is apparently influenced by Jagannātha Panditarāya, quotations of whose verses have been given by our poet in the Subhāṣitahārāvalī. Here is his appreciation of Panditarāya's poetic composition on folio 21 of the present Ms:—

कमलपटलस्फारत्स्फूर्जन्मनोहरसौरभो ।

न्मदमधुकरश्रेणीसिंजासमुद्रतमाधुरी ।

न हि सुमगतां लोके विदत्यनेकगुणाद्भुतां ।

कविवरजमन्नायोदंचद्वचो रचनावले ॥”

The poet refers to नारायणं चरु in verse 8 of this Kāvya which begins on folio 2 with:—

“नमः श्रीमन्नारायणखरपदमोजरजसे” and ends with... “प्रकाशिते कामकवि-
वरकृतानेकनुतपः”

On folio 4 the following verses 24 and 25 appear and I find they appear in the शंभुराजचरिते with identical verse numbers. These verses are:—

“इहासीनासीरं रुचिरतनुभाजां त्रिभुवने ।
शिवाख्यो देशानामधिपतिरनेकोद्भुतगुणः ।
यमालोक्योत्कृष्टद्विषुलनयनोद्गर्णनिमिषाः ।
समुत्कीर्णाभित्ताविवसमभवत्सर्ववनिताः ॥ २४ ॥
मुधासिंघुं प्राप्य श्रवणद्विवराघट्टणमयी ।
मिमामस्मद्वक्त्रं किरति मरणीं वाक्यसरणीं ।
मुधीरो गंभीरो विपुलधिषणोत्पतरमणो ।
वदान्यो नेहान्यो जगति शिवभूषाद्विजयते ॥ २५ ॥”

The following verse 29 is identical with verse 26 in the शंभुराज-
चरित referred to by us in the beginning of this paper:—

“प्रदीपो दीपांगादिव गगनरत्नादिव महि- ।
महो पुज्यपद्मादिव परमसीरभ्यनिवहः ।
सुधांशुः क्षीराब्धेरिव हरितरुनैदनुवना- ।
दिवायं संभूतं किल शिवभूषाच्छुभ्रपतिः ॥ २७ ॥”

As in the case of the commentary on this Kāvya, Hari Kavi states that he got the order of the King Śaṁbhū to compose the हेहपद्मचरिते:—

“अमुष्याह्नां प्राप्य स्वकसकलप्रापप्रहृतये ।
तथा साफल्यार्थं ललितललितानां निजगिरां ।
सहस्रांशस्याप्यमरजयिलकेशजयिनो ।
वरं राज्ञां राजश्वरितमहमाप्यत्पारगुणं ॥ २७ ॥”

We get more description of the heroine चंपा in this Kāvya and her matchless beauty, news of which reached the King who began to pine for her hand:—

Folio 12— “कदाचित्तस्यासीद्वृणेतलपयंकानिलया ।
कुलीनानालीकयुतिहरमुखी कापि कमनी ।
समाख्या चंपेति व्यगमदिह या शोभनतमा ।
तमोऽयुयत्कान्त्या शमयति हि चोपपसमया ॥ ७२ ॥

विधाता चंपास्यां त्रिभुवनपताकामिव हि यां ।

विधायासी कुंपां कलयति परानंदजलधौ । ”

folio 16 — “ इतीमां निःसिमा प्रवरगुणगंभीरवसति ।

कुरंगाक्षी श्रीमन्मिहिरनगरोद्योतनकरी ।

प्रभाश्रेणी मुक्तामिव स्वमणिना स्वीयनगरे ।

स राजा कस्माच्चित्समाविहितचेताः समशृणोद् ॥ १०२ ॥ ”

folio 17 — “ स भूपश्रंदाभामिव मनसि चंपां परिदधन् ।

न तेमे शर्मापि etc. ”

Persons interested in the King's welfare got busy and we find a Brahman approaching the King with a letter from Surat from चंपा's father :—

“ तदा तत्रापश्यत्करनिहितपत्रं नवतरं ।

स तं विप्रं श्रीमन्मिहिरनगरादागतमिह ॥ ”

Canto I ends on folios 20-21 as follows :

“ श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरास्थितिर्हरिकविर्विषयाविनोदोज्ज्वल- ।

श्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुराविषःसदाक्षिणात्यान्वयः ।

आद्योगादनवयपयरचना चातु(र्य)वियोतिते ।

तत्काव्ये खलु हेहयेन्द्रचरिते सर्गो निसर्गोज्ज्वलः ॥ १३४ ॥

॥ श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरास्थितश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुविरचिते विजयांके हेहयेन्द्र-
चरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये हेहयेन्द्रगुणवर्णनो नाम प्रथमः सर्गः ॥

The parentage of चंपा is given in the following verses on folio 22. श्रीकच्छ was a King of Surat. In his line was born तापीकांत, the father of चंपा, the heroine of the poem. This तापीकांत or तापिकाकांत despatched a letter to हेहयेन्द्र offering the hand of चंपा to him through a Brahman messenger who was his गुरु and inviting him to his capital with all his royal paraphernalia :—

“ परमिह पुरं सौरं श्रीमद्वसति त्विषा ।

रुचिरतया तापीभंगावलीवलयान्वृतं ॥

अमरनगरीशोभाभंगीकरोति यदुद्भवां ।

जगितिजगतीं यांती गंगां निवेश्य निजांगणे ॥ ८ ॥

अवसदमलः श्रीकच्छाख्यो नृपोत्रविहावै ।

स्वजनिजगतीं तापीसेवापरायमानसः ।

सुरभिरभितस्तापीकांताख्ययाभवदुद्भटः ।

सुभटानिकरा सेव्यस्तस्यां महोन्नतया तया ॥ ९ ॥

नरपरिवृढः पूर्वं योभून्महेंद्रकुलाचल- ।
स्थितिरतिमहाज्ञानारत्नाकरप्रभुरद्भुतः ॥
अगणितगुणोदारः सारोन्नतो वरविक्रमः ।
स्वाविभवलवक्रीडाक्रीतालकाधिपशेवाधिः ॥ १० ॥
किल तनुभवा तस्यादित्योद्भवानुतिसंभवा ।
चपलनयना चंपाख्येयं सखी मम वर्तते ।
त्रिभुवनकृता यां निर्माय स्वनिर्मि(त)शोभिनीं ।
कनककमनीं स्वं चातुर्यं परं प्रकटीकृतं ॥ ११ ॥

folio 38 — “ श्रीमदत्तामिधगुरुवरेष्वेव विज्ञातियुक्तः ।
नानामूर्त्तौचतितनितियुतस्तापिकाकांतलेखः ।

folio 39 — “ एतच्चैयं चपलनयना चंपकश्रेणिरम्या ।
चंपेत्याख्या मम हि दुहिता राजराजाय दत्ता ॥
तन्मे यूयं विपदधिपणाधारिणो विज्ञवर्षा ।
मान्या लोकैर्विपुलकरुणासिंधवोंगीकुरुध्वं ॥ ११८ ॥”

— “ आगंतव्यं विबुधमणिभिः ते गृहीत्वा सुसैन्यं ”

— “ पञ्चमिवं विबुधमुकुटः संप्रकाश्यादिदेश ”

The fragment ends as under :—

“ श्रीनारायणसूरितो हरिकविं देव्यन्नपूर्णा स्वयं ।
यं चासूत मुधासमानवचनं सत्यादपयाश्रयं ॥
पूर्णोद्भूतवचनपरचरणा चातुर्यावियोतिते ।
तत्काव्ये खलु हेहयेन्द्रचरिते सर्गो द्वितीयाभिधः ॥ ”

श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरस्थितश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुहरिकविविरचिते विजयांके श्रीहंहयेंद्र-
चरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये— ”

In the last verse of canto II quoted above we find for the first time the name of the mother of Hari Kavi mentioned, which is अन्नपूर्णा because the verse states “ *Annapūrnā gave birth to Hari Kavi from Nārāyaṇasūri.* ”

In the above analysis of all the available fragmentary Mss of Hari Kavi's works we have tried to lay bare some historical information but have not attempted to identify or verify the same from other historical sources. Such an attempt must be made independently by scholars interested in the history of the period to which King Sambhāji belongs. We have attempted in the present study to give a rough sketch of Hari Kavi and his works written under the patronage of King Sambhāji.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF IMPORTANT HISTORICAL NAMES

Mentioned by Hari Kavi

अन्नपूर्णा—mother of Hari Kavi.

कृष्णपंडित
or कृष्ण
or कविकृष्ण-
पंडित } the 'guru' of King Sambhaji probably identical with
Kavi Kalasa.

चंपा or चंपावती—the heroine of शंभुराजचरित and हेहयेन्द्रचरित and the beauty of the town of Surat.

चक्रपाणि—younger brother of Hari Kavi.

चिंतामणि—Great Grand-father of Hari Kavi.

तापी—river at Surat.

तापीकांत—father of चंपा the heroine of शंभुराजचरित and हेहयेन्द्रचरित.

दत्त—Brahman messenger sent by तापीकांत with a letter proposing the marriage of his daughter चंपा with King Sambhaji.

नारायण or नारायणस्वरि—The guru and father of Hari Kavi.

जगन्नाथ (पंडितराय)—appreciated and quoted by Hari Kavi.

पद्मनाभ—Uncle of Hari Kavi and elder brother of Hari Kavi's father नारायण.

भाहुभट्ट—popular name of Hari Kavi.

महाराष्ट्र—mentioned by Hari Kavi as the province to which his family belonged.

मिहिरनगर or मिहिरपत्तन or तपननगर or तपनपत्तन—Same as सुर्यपुर or Surat.

रंगनाथ—Grand-father of Hari Kavi.

शंभु, शंभुराज, शंभुवृत्ति—identical with the Maratha King Sambhaji, son of Shivaji the Great.

शंभुराजचरित—composed in A. D. 1685 by Hari Kavi by the order of कृष्णपंडित the guru of King Sambhaji (शंभुराज).

शिवरूप or शिव—father of शंभुराज or Sambhaji, identical with Shivaji the Great.

श्रीकच्छ—ancestor of तापीकांत of Surat, father of चंपा.

सत्यादास—the Governor of Surat (called तपनपत्तनाधिपति in the शंभुराजचरित).

सुभाषितद्वारावलि—an encyclopaedic anthology compiled by Hari Kavi.

सूर्यजातेवरु or तपनजादास—father of चंपा in शंभुराजचरित, perhaps identical with तारिकांत.

सूर्यपुर or सुरपुर or सुरत—identical with modern Surat, town of Hari Kavi's residence.

हरिकवि (alias भानुभट्ट)—author of शंभुराजचरित, हेइयेन्द्रचरित and commentary, and सुभाषितद्वारावलि.

हेइयेन्द्रचरित—a mahākāvya composed by Hari Kavi by order of King Sambhāji.

हेइयेन्द्रचरितटीका—called शंभुविलासिका composed by Hari Kavi by order of King Sambhāji.

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BY

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THE DATE OF KĀLIDĀSA

Among the vexed questions of Indian chronology there is none more important or interesting than the date of Kālidāsa. It has been the subject of many a keen controversy, and there is scarcely an Orientalist of note, but has either directly contributed to it, or has, at least, espoused a side of the question. As a result of the numerous investigations and criticisms extending over a period of nearly a century, we now get two rival theories regarding the date of the great poet—the earlier or First Century B. C., and the later or Fourth Century A. D., theory. The former may also be called the Indian view, as, in the words of Prof. A. B. Keith, "it has now no serious supporters outside India"¹; while the latter may be styled as the European view for the same reason, although there are some Indian scholars also who accept it as the more probable date of Kālidāsa. Widely as the two views differ in point of time, they are in agreement as to this: that Kālidāsa flourished in the reign of a king Vikramāditya of Ujjayini, presumably the *First*. But as historians have wrongly thought till now Chandra Gupta II, of the Gupta dynasty, to be the first monarch who bore that name, naturally the patronage of the poet also has come to be fathered upon him, notwithstanding the absence of any corroborative evidence. And thus the revolt against the traditional view is regarded as all but complete and fruitful.

But this identification of the first Vikramāditya with Chandra Gupta II is no longer unchallenged. In an article published by me a few days ago in the 'Journal of Indian History,' Vol. X, part 2, entitled 'A puzzle in Indian Epigraphy', I have proved the hollowness of the epigraphic foundation on which the whole theory is based. And as the question of the date of Kālidāsa necessarily hinges on the date of Vikramāditya, the present article may be regarded as only a sequel to the first. The results obtained in the former may be summed up as follows:—

Firstly, the word 'gaṇa' in the phrase 'gaṇasthiti', which occurs in the Mandsore inscriptions, means 'gaṇanā' (reckoning), which sense is recorded by the *Śabdārṇava Kośa*.

Secondly, the whole phrase 'gaṇa-sthiti' means 'the system of reckoning', and not 'tribal constitution', as epigraphists have taken it to mean so far.

1. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 143.

Thirdly, the theory of the Malavan Republic in the first century B. C., which is based on nothing better than the misinterpretation of the above-mentioned phrase, is entirely unfounded, there being absolutely no other evidence to support it.

And fourthly, King Vikramāditya of the Pramāra dynasty, the hero of countless legends, ruled at Ujjayini at the time, as is testified by the Rajput Chronicles and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

Thus the existence and monarchy of the legendary Vikramāditya being placed on a firm historical footing, it now only remains to see whether in the body of evidence adduced so far to determine the date of Kālidāsa there is anything that necessitates his dissociation from this earlier king of that name, or association with a later king of the same name. It is scarcely necessary to remark that in the evidence there is nothing of the kind, unless we confound with that evidence the various fanciful theories which are put forward to make up its deficiency, rather than obtained as its legitimate conclusions. That evidence, on the other hand, as I shall now endeavour to prove, is far more favourable for the earlier, than for the later date of the poet. Besides, the nearness of Kālidāsa to King Udayana as revealed in Megh. 30, and his repeated use of the epithet Mahendra in the *Vikramorvaṣīya*, furnish evidence which, as I shall prove for the first time, confirms the earlier date.

All external evidence, so far available, only proves that Kālidāsa lived centuries before Bāṇa and Ravikīrti, and also before Vatsabhāṭṭi, the author of the Mandsore inscription. This is, of course, indecisive in determining his exact date. But the religious creed of the poet and the linguistic peculiarities in his works clearly point to the first century B. C. as the more probable date of the two. For the Gupta kings were avowed Vaiṣṇavas, while Kālidāsa's Śaivite inclinations are quite unmistakable. According to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vikramāditya, (the founder of the Śaiv era) and his father Mahendrāditya, were both zealous devotees of God Śiva; so much so, that the father is described as peculiarly favoured by that God who sent down his 'gaṇa', Mālyavat by name, to be born on the earth as his son. And, as I have already remarked in my former article, the whole province of Malwa appears to have received a sort of impetus in its Śaivism from the magnificent piety of such rulers. It is far more reasonable, therefore to suppose that Kālidāsa lived at a time when Śaivism was at its height in Malwa and enjoyed the patronage of kings with whom he agreed in religious views, than that he lived in the decadent period of Śaivism, and was patronised by Vaiṣṇava rulers.

The linguistic evidence also points in the same direction. A glance at the Gupta inscriptions is sufficient to convince the reader that their style belongs to a period which is certainly later than that

of Kālidāsa. Long compounds, which form the very essence of later Sanskrit prose as well as poetry, play a far more important part in the inscriptions than in the works of Kālidāsa. Indeed, the fondness for long compounds which secure an economy of words unknown to any other language seems to have been an ever-increasing passion in the early centuries of the Christian era till at last it reached its culminating point about the time of Bāṇa. During the Gupta period it appears to be growing stronger, as even a cursory glance at the inscriptions is sufficient to convince. As this is a tendency that belongs to the epoch and not to individual poets, it is certainly incorrect to assign Kālidāsa to the Gupta period. Then again, the archaisms of Kālidāsa point in the same direction. He clearly lived at a time when the Paninian grammar had not obtained a complete vogue. Constructions like *तं पातयां प्रथममास पपात पथात्* (Raghu. IX, 61) and *प्रभ्रंशयां यो नहुयं चकार* (ibid. XIII, 36) which Mallinātha calls 'un-Paninian' only, presuppose the sanction of some other grammatical system, than the Paninian. And such Vedic or post-Vedic forms as *आस* for *बभूव*¹, *कामयान* for *कामयमान*², *दाक्षान्* for *दत्तवान्*³, and *त्रियम्बक* for *व्यम्बक*⁴, must be regarded as belonging to a period, anterior to the Guptas by several centuries. We may, therefore, safely assign Kālidāsa to the first century B. C., when the Paninian grammar, supplemented and commented upon by Kātyāyana and Patañjali respectively, was gaining, but had not gained, a full vogue; when post-Vedic and epic words were still lingering in the 'bhāṣā' or classical Sanskrit; and when some other grammatical systems were still holding their own against the Paninian supremacy. That Bhāravi and other immediate successors of Kālidāsa do not swerve an iōta from Panini's rule is a fact which reveals his considerable remoteness from them and thus also confirms the early date.

But of greater importance than either the religious creed or the linguistic peculiarities, is the historical allusion in stanza 30 of the *Meghadūta*. In it the poet distinctly says that the old folks of Avanti in his times were deeply versed in the legends of Vatsa-rāja Udayana. This clearly shows that the legends were a living tradition in Kālidāsa's time. As oral traditions cannot continue very long after the death of the hero, it is but reasonable to assign Kālidāsa to the first century B.C., when the country of Malwa could still be resounding with Udayana's exploits. And a distance of about four centuries between the king and the poet is the only reasonable and maximum

1. Raghu. XIV 23, Kum. I, 35.

2. Śak. III.

3. Raghu. XIV, 71.

4. Kum. III, 44.

distance of time. It is highly improbable that the Udayana legend should be a living tradition, even after the lapse of nine centuries—the distance of time which separates William the Conqueror from Edward VII—as we are compelled to suppose if we choose the 4th century A.D. as the date of Kālidāsa. From the way in which the allusion is made, it appears that, as people of Dehli and Agra relate certain traditional stories about the great Moghul Emperors in this twentieth century, so the people of Ujjayini told stories of Udayana in Kālidāsa's time. Besides, after Guṇāḍhya wrote his popular *Bṛhatkathā* in the first century A.D., the Udayana legend became widespread throughout India, and it could not be confined to the old folks of Ujjayini only in the 4th century A.D.; as we must suppose it was, if we accept the later date of Kālidāsa. The choice of the theme of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* also confirms the earlier date. For a poet of the fourth century A.D. could scarcely be much familiar with the petty incidents in the life of a king who lived at least five hundred years before him. Thus from the foregoing discussion we arrive at results which are mutually harmonious. King Udayana, who was a contemporary of Gautama and Mahāvīra, was, for about five centuries, the hero of popular romantic tales, which were ultimately incorporated into his monumental work by Guṇāḍhya in the first century A.D. These tales were in the shape of current oral traditions in the time of Kālidāsa who lived about a century before that prolific writer. And it is that noble patron of Kālidāsa, Vikramāditya of Ujjayini, who finds a place in the last book of the *Bṛhatkathā*, and who was later destined to oust Udayana from the field of romance and take that place for himself. And if there are any veiled compliments to his patron in the works of Kālidāsa, or any grounds that suggest a similarity between the heroes of his poetical works and a living hero of his time, they are; as I shall now prove for the first time, in complete agreement with this earlier Vikramāditya of the *Bṛhatkathā*, and not with any other later king of that name. These are, indeed, so striking in their occurrence and appearance, and so felicitous in their result and corroborative force that they completely undermine the Gupta-theory which is now in vogue. The unsoundness and even hollowness of that view, however, shall be subsequently proved quite apart from these considerations.

The title of the play '*Vikramorvaśīya*', it is generally believed, is chosen by Kālidāsa in order to glorify and immortalize his patron's name. According to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, which is only an abridgement of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, now unfortunately lost, the name of Vikramāditya's father was Mahendrāditya. And the repeated use of the epithet 'Mahendra' in the play, from among a large number of Indra's epithets, now reveals its

mystery. Evidently the poet intends to sing the glory of the old king Mahendra, whose patronage he appears to have enjoyed in his youth. Indeed, the repetition of that one epithet is so frequent that in the first act alone it occurs no less than six times. Then in the short prelude to the third act, which is hardly two pages in length, we find it repeated four times. The same number of times it is repeated in the last act also. The poet's fondness for variety, and dislike of repetition are so well known, that the persistent use of that one epithet cannot be easily set aside. It is especially significant that other epithets of Indra, though employed, are not repeated in any sense of the word, while 'Mahendra' occurs too frequently in this play, and in this play only. In the 7th act of the *Sākuntala*, and the 3rd canto of the *Kumārsambhava*, where Indra figures prominently, we do not discover the repetition of any one of the names of that god. Since the epithet occurs in prose sentences only, it is evidently used by preference and not by the sheer force of necessity, as, perhaps, may be thought in the case of metrical compositions. It is not, however, only the repetition that we are to take as significant in import, but there are a few sentences also in the play, which are strikingly suggestive. They are as follows :—

१ किं प्रभावदर्शिना महेन्द्रेण । Vik. I

२ दिष्टया महेन्द्रोपकारपर्याप्तं विक्रममहिम्ना वर्धते भवान् । I

३ युक्तमेतत् । अनुत्सेकः खलु विक्रमालङ्कारः । I

४ सदृशं पुत्रान्तरविदो महेन्द्रस्य । III

५ प्रथमं पुत्रदर्शनेन विस्मृतास्मि । इदानीं महेन्द्रसंकीर्तनेन स्मारितः समयो मम हृदयमायासयति ।

६ रम्भे उपनीयतां स्वयं महेन्द्रेण संभृतः कुमारस्यायुषो यौवराज्याभिषेकः । V

-Of these, No. 3 has been generally admitted to be a compliment to Vikramāditya. Nos. 1 and 4 seem to be an encomium on Mahendra, the father of Vikramāditya, and the ruling king of Ujjayini at the time. No. 2 is especially important, inasmuch as it mentions together the names of the father and the son, and that also in such a manner as leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader about their mutual relation. For it is clearly suggested that the 'greatness', or exploits of Vikrama, bring relief to Mahendra (महेन्द्रोपकारपर्याप्त). Still more important and suggestive is No. 5, wherein the poet clearly shows his preference for Mahendra, since the repetition of *Purandara* from the preceding stanza would fit better in the context; and thus by a clever suggestion, seems to echo the grief of Kingship at the intended retirement of the old King. Such clear compliments, of course, could never be lost on the contemporary spectators of the play when it was first enacted on the stage of Ujjayini. Indeed, the play

seems to have been composed at the time of the intended retirement of Mahendra from active life, and the installation of Vikrama on the throne—an arrangement which conforms to the poet's ideal of a venerable old king, who finds his son grown up in years, and promising in abilities.¹ That Mahenrāditya, the father of the founder of the Sainvat era, actually renounced the kingdom in this manner, is clear from the *Kathāsaritsāgara* :—

ततश्च यौवनस्थं तं विलोक्य प्राज्यविक्रमम् ।
 अभिषिच्य सुते राज्ये यथाविधि जनप्रियम् ॥
 महेन्द्रादित्यनृपतिः सभायांसचिवोऽपि सः ।
 वृद्धो वाराणसीं गत्वा शरणं शिप्रिये शिवम् ॥

Katha. XVIII.

59-60.

And sentence No. 6, as indeed the whole last scene in the 5th act of the *Vikramorvaṣīya*, suggests the actual course of events of the times : viz., the 'Rājyābhiṣeka' of the young prince, and the retirement of the old king to Vārāṇasī with his queen and minister. The dramatist, of course, has to wind up the play in accordance with the laws of Bhārata, the supreme law-giver of Sanskrit dramatists, who does not allow a sorrowful end in Sanskrit dramas.

Thus the *Vikramorvaṣīya* reveals that Kālidāsa had already made a name as a great poet—though not yet as the greatest—in the reign of Mahendrāditya. Very likely the *Mālavikāgnimitra* had laid the foundation of his fame. He was certainly a young man at the time of the retirement of that king—not much older, we may believe, than the prince Vikramāditya, whose royal patronage he appears to have enjoyed afterwards for a longer period, and composed, during that time of maturity, those master-pieces which easily give him the first place among Sanskrit poets.

The testimony of the *Raghuvamśa* is still more remarkable. The childlessness of Dilipa in the early part of his life and the boon of Vasiṣṭha's celestial cow, Nandinī, to which favour the birth of Raghu is ascribed, bear a strong resemblance to the similar condition of Mahendrāditya, and the birth of Vikramāditya by Śiva's favour, in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Then the education of young Raghu, his marriage with several princesses, his strong but benevolent rule after he became a king, and lastly his *digvijaya* are so strikingly parallel to the respective incidents as given in the *Kathā*, that they force the reader into the belief that the poet chooses the legendary Raghu to represent his

1. Cf. Raghu. I, 8; III, 70; VII, 71, etc.

living patron. The following stanzas may be taken for a comparison :—

तदा च तत्राविरतं वसु राजनि वर्पति ।
सौगतव्यतिरेकेण नास्ति कश्चिदनीश्वरः ॥

उपनीतस्य विद्यासु गुरवो हेतुमात्रताम् ।
ययुस्तस्याप्रयासेन प्रादुरासन्स्वयं तु ताः ॥

आक्रान्तोपनतैर्दत्ताः कन्या रूपवतीर्नृपैः ।
आजहार पितातस्य तास्ताः प्रिय इवापराः ॥

सोऽपि तद्विक्रमादित्यो राज्यमासाद्य
पैतृकम् ।
नभो भास्वानिबारेभे राजा प्रतपितुं क्रमात् ॥

Kathā. XVIII, 1, 50, 55, 58, 61

जनाय शुद्धान्तचराय शंसते
कुमारजन्मा मृतसंमिताक्षरम् ।
अदेयमासीद्भयमेव भूपतेः
शशिप्रभं छत्रमुभे च चामरे ॥
विनिन्दुरेनं गुरवो गुरुप्रियम् ।
अवन्ययद्गनाश्च बभूवुरत्र ते
क्रिया हि बल्लूपहिता प्रसीदति ॥

नरेद्रकन्यास्तमवाप्य सत्पति
सगोनुदं दक्षसुता इवावमुः ॥

स राज्यं गुरुणा दत्तं प्रतिपचाधिकं वमी ॥

Raghu. III. 16, 29, 33; IV. 1.

It will be easily perceived that the patrons of Kālidāsa, Mahendra and Vikrama, were the earlier and more famous kings of Ujjayini than the Gupta kings who only borrowed these names after making that city their capital. It is well known that Chandra-Gupta II styled himself Vikramāditya, while his son Kumara-Gupta honoured the memory of Mahendrāditya by taking that name as an honorific title for himself. As, however, these names did not really belong to them, but were only adopted after Ujjayini became their capital, it is easy to understand the motive that actuated them to do so. That very motive goes to show that Malwa was still cherishing the memory of her glorious past kings Mahendra and his son Vikrama. However, when Chandra-Gupta II decorated himself with the brighter name of the son, his son Kumara-Gupta had no other choice but to content himself with the bright name of the father. Thus the original names of the Prāmāra kings of Avanti, who were related as father and son, are found as titles, but in a reverse order, among the Gupta rulers. Again, the same motive for imitation argues in this, as in all other similar cases, the natural inferiority of the imitator to the person whom he regards as his model. The patrons of Kālidāsa, therefore, are those who are described in the Kathā, and none of the Gupta emperors, as is clear from the internal evidence furnished by his own works. For we must not lose sight of the fact that the Guptas were avowed Vaiṣṇavas, while these earlier kings of Malwa were staunch Śaivas in their creed. Also the other name of the founder of the Śamvat era, as given in the Kathā, was Viṣamaśila, and not Chandra

or Skanda. If, therefore, any confusion is likely to arise owing to the similarity of names between the earlier and later kings of Malva, the above facts coupled with the foregoing explanation sufficiently clear it up. And the patronage of Kālidāsa can be fathered on the earlier and more glorious Vikramāditya only—he who was to harass Brahmanism what Aśoka was to unpatronized Buddhism, who is immortalized in Brahmanic legends as much as the Maurya emperor is in the Buddhistic, and whose reign acquired a peculiar glory by the consolidation of Brahmanism, the expulsion of the barbarians and the revival of Sanskrit learning; so much so that down to the time of Bhoja in the 11th Century A.D., all aspiring Hindu kings looked up to him as their model.

Thus fares the first century B. C. theory, which has 'no serious supporters outside India'. It harmonizes well first, with the time-honoured tradition, preserved through centuries, according to which the greatest Sanskrit poet was the protégé of one of the greatest and most glorious kings of ancient India. Then, secondly, it agrees with all external evidence discovered heretofore, and from internal evidence derives a support, by far stronger and more concordant, than the various vague theories which are founded more on speculation than on facts. And lastly, it is the only theory that necessitates no change in the chronology of certain important works like the *Bṛhatkathā*, which otherwise must be considered as tampered with in the last book, though without evidence, and also perverted, though without any conceivable motive. The date of Kālidāsa thus being fixed as the 1st century B. C., Bhāsa may be assigned to the 3rd or 4th century before Christ. In merely fixing the date of the latter, we are not, of course, concerned with the authenticity of the plays that go in his name. That is a question which should be decided on its own merits. All that we want to say here is that the renowned predecessor of Kālidāsa must have lived at least two centuries before him, if not earlier. It is very difficult to understand why Prof. Keith places him only 50 years before Kālidāsa and brings down his date to the 3rd century¹ A. D. Such a chronological arrangement may be very convenient to the chronologist who starts with certain pre-conceptions, no doubt; but it is against Nature, at any rate, that shows neither hurry nor regularity in the production of literary or any other kind of greatness.

And now a critical examination of the theories that have serious supporters outside India will reveal how they stand. There is, indeed, not a jot or tittle of historical evidence to prove the contemporaneity of Kālidāsa with the Gupta emperors, as these theorists tacitly assume

1. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 93.

and confidently assert. That very assumption has its origin in the epigraphic puzzle referred to in the beginning of this article and the confusion consequent upon it. In other words, the association of the great poet with Chandra Gupta II rests on nothing better than the erroneous idea that that monarch is the *first* Vikramāditya in the ancient history of India. Once the hypothesis is formed, it is not at all difficult to prop it up by arguments which seem to lend some support to it. Accordingly, we find a very large amount of ingenious speculation displayed in discovering some clue or other that would lead to agreeable results. In the first place, much ado is made about Kālidāsa's use of the root 'gup' and its derivatives, in order to strengthen the hypothesis. And secondly, his use of the word 'Kumāra' in the *Raghu-vaiṣṇa*, as well as the choice of the theme of the *Kumārasambhava* is taken as especially significant of his high regard for his patrons. Unhappily, both these arguments are equally unsound in their logic and utterly incapable of proving that which they are called upon to prove. It is scarcely necessary to say that no word or phrase in the work of a poet can be taken as especially significant in import unless the same is used by clear preference or in context which is highly suggestive. As to the use of the root 'gup' in the *Raghu-vaiṣṇa*, it is, in the first place, a common-place root, a root which is used many a time by the authors of the Epics also. Moreover, it is a root which is very frequently found in political writings. In Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, as even a casual reader will admit, the words 'gupta', 'gupti' etc., are very conspicuous by their occurrence. Then in the *Manu Smṛti* also, the same words are repeated again and again, as they necessarily belong to legal phraseology.¹ Kālidāsa, whose deep acquaintance with the political science of the times is unquestionable, uses that root and also its derivatives only in their political or legal sense.² Thus there is nothing peculiar or striking in the use of that root by Kālidāsa. As a matter of fact, he uses all the roots which mean 'to protect' according to the exigency of the metre such as 'pā' 'rakṣa', 'trai', while he uses 'gup' in the legal or political sense *viz.*, 'to guard'. Besides, there is nothing peculiarly suggestive in the use of that root in any one of the contexts. To associate him, therefore, with the Guptas on such trivial or threadbare evidence is as futile as to associate him with some Śaka king, because of his occasional use of the root 'śak' and its derivatives. And the patronage of Bhavabhūti may as well be claimed for some Kadamba king because of his fondness for 'Upamas' (similes), relating to the Kadamba³ tree! The common sense of mankind, however, will never

1. Cf. *Manu* VII, 14, 56, 76; VIII, 374-78. *Yajñavalkya* I, 311-321.

2. Cf. *Raghu*. I, 21; II, 3; IV, 26, etc.

3. Cf. *Uttar R. C.* III, 42; VI, 17; *Mal. M.* III, 7; VIII, 1; IX, 16, 43.

suffer scholarship to go so hopelessly wrong. It is impossible to arrive at anything like a rational conclusion from commonplace usages.

Nor is the use of the word "Kumāra" in any way more significant. Those who attach any importance to the occurrence of that word in the *Raghuvamśa*, an occurrence which is neither very frequent nor striking, may only be referred to the *Kādambarī*, the *Veṇīśamhāra*, and the *Mudrārākṣasa*, where the same word is much more frequently used. If the poet, therefore, uses that word in the *Raghuvamśa*, he uses it only by necessity, even as he does the feminine form 'Kumārī' in the sixth canto of the same poem. Indeed, the word is too common in Sanskrit literature to be made much ado about. It is not more frequently used than its synonyms like 'suta', 'putra', 'tanaya', 'ātmaja', 'sūnu' etc., as a critical investigation of several cantos of the *Raghuvamśa* will amply bear out. It is not, therefore, repeated in any sense of the word. Far different in every respect is the poet's choice of the epithet "Mahendra" throughout the *Vikramorvaśīya*. As has been already said above, it is used by preference and not by necessity; the very repetition is striking in itself, inasmuch as no other epithet is repeated at all. Then there are a few sentences which are highly suggestive of an intended compliment to him who might bear the same name. And above all, the conclusions thus obtained fully agree with the independent testimony of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. It is therefore a theory which stands on a firm basis, has nothing fantastic or extravagant in it, and leaves nothing unexplained. The Gupta theory, on the other hand, has its origin in a confused, distorted history, its growth in idle conjectures, and its termination in fantastic, illogical conclusions. Prof. Keith's oft-repeated assertion to the effect that Kālidāsa's works reveal the clear stamp of Brahmanical learning prevalent in the Gupta period, is hardly correct. For all the *Śāstras* with which the poet shows his acquaintance—Sāmkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vedānta, Vyākaraṇa, Artha-Śāstra, Astrology, Astronomy—belong, beyond doubt, to a period which is not only very considerably earlier than the earliest Gupta kings, but also earlier than the birth of Christ. What, indeed, is it that can be called as the peculiar learning of the Gupta times? Even the few astronomical terms, such as the names of the signs of the Solar Zodiac, which are supposed to be of Greek origin, and on which Prof. Keith evidently lays much stress, are found in *Baudhāyana** *Grhya-Śeṣa-Sūtra*, not to speak of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other

* The late Mr. Tryambak Gurunath Kale was the first man to point out this important reference to the names of the rāśis in Bau. Gr. Śeṣa Sūtra, where the limits of spring are described as "मीनमेघयोर्मेषवृषयोर्वा वसन्तः" Vide Tilak, *Gītārahasya*.

old works. The whole question, indeed, of India's indebtedness to Greece in the progress of her astronomical knowledge, deserves a more careful investigation than has been accorded to it heretofore. But in the meanwhile, it may be safely imagined that the knowledge of the *rāśis*, or solar Zodiac, be it whence it might, had been commonly diffused in India in the first century B. C. And even its Greek origin has nothing in it that would necessitate a change in the date of Kālidāsa, which in all other respects stands unshaken. For, the interval of more than two centuries between Alexander's invasion and the foundation of the Sainvat era is sufficient to explain the spread of so important a doctrine, and especially in a country, where astronomy had been spontaneously growing up from Vedic times. Thus the Fourth Century A. D. theory, which makes the Guptas the patrons of Kālidāsa, and which was, perhaps, a plausible hypothesis at one time, is no longer tenable. Strangely enough, these Gupta Kings, as soon as they emerge from oblivion to which they were consigned by later centuries, rise at once before us not only as powerful monarchs (which they certainly were), but also as great patrons of poets (which is very doubtful). But, unfortunately, the claim is too extravagant to be substantiated by facts. There was certainly not a Bāṇa or a Bilhaṇa at their court. And Sanskrit literature may be in vain ransacked to find the name of an author of note, except Vasubandhu, who, beyond doubt, enjoyed their patronage. Nothing, indeed, so clearly demonstrates the hollowness of the basis of theorists, chronologists, and Indologists in general, as the bold attempt to connect with the Gupta emperors, whatever is best and most beautiful in Sanskrit literature without any kind of evidence whatever. For, beyond a few isolated inscriptions there is no literary composition that may be authoritatively called as belonging to the Gupta period. It is not, however, to be supposed that there were no authors during that period; but even those who lived in those times, have not mentioned the names of the Gupta monarchs. Had they really been the great patrons of learning, as their modern advocates make them to be, they would not have been so easily consigned to oblivion. In India the memory of a Bhoja is far more tenacious and durable than that of a Samudra Gupta. And yet, we are told, time and again, that the Gupta period is the Augustan period of Sanskrit literature! Never was a theory more erroneous in its conception or more unsubstantial in its evidence. In fine, it is a theory that rests on the partisanship of the modern admirers of the Gupta Kings, and on the general tendency of Sanskritists to assign the earliest Sanskrit poets to a period about the fourth century A. D., when the Guptas were the overlords of India, rather than on the testimony of Sanskrit literature. Where history is silent and tradition

defined or perverted, no wonder, if extravagant speculation proudly comes in, and holds undivided sway. And like the ancient Greek writers who are said to be the slaves of their own metaphors, Orientalists are the slaves of their own hypothesis.

Cowell's theory of Kālidāsa's indebtedness to Aśvaghoṣa now hardly merits a serious refutation, since it is wholly founded on the supposed priority of the latter. It may, however, be pointed out that the very analogy on which Cowell lays so much stress, is very weak, and so far from proving what it aims at, only supports its direct contrary. For, in all the literatures of the world men of great genius are found as the creditors and models of writers of second-rate and third-rate abilities; and reminiscences from, and imitations of, the great masters are by no means uncommon in those who come after them, and possess none of their greatness. Instances to the contrary, on the other hand, are so rare that they can never form the basis of a favourable analogy. It is scarcely necessary to say that their validity is to be judged by the clear and uncontested chronological evidence pertaining to each case. That the great Virgil is laid under obligations by the greater Homer is a fact which clearly illustrates where the instinct and motive for imitation and borrowing lie.* Aśvaghoṣa's works, moreover, do not seem to have been noticed by orthodox Brahman writers, as anything like a reference to them or to their author is entirely wanting in anthologies or śāhikara works. Whether a fastidious critic like Maṃmaṭa would have condescended to criticise such a tautologous simile as

मुखपंकजानि पंकजानीव विरेजुः । Bu. C. I. 19

may best be left to the imagination of the reader. The relation, therefore, of Aśvaghoṣa to Kālidāsa is not that of Ennius to Virgil, as Cowell relying on the 4th century A. D. theory would have us believe, but that of Virgil to Homer as we may now believe in the light of the first century B. C. theory. Dr. Keith, however, thinks that the prakrits of Aśvaghoṣa "undeniably" point to his priority to Kālidāsa. But that is scarcely correct. The prakrits were always influenced by provincialism, and in the case of Buddhistic writers like Aśvaghoṣa it is but natural that the influence of Pāli should be predominant even when they write prakrit. The archaisms in Kālidāsa's Sanskrit, on the other hand, point to his priority to Aśvaghoṣa—a fact which Dr. Keith has completely ignored. Moreover, the whole argument from the nature of prakrits is purely hypothetical, as there is no definite evidence to say that a particular type of prakrit belongs to a particular century.

*"Let my detractors try for themselves" says Virgil to his contemporary critics when they accused him of borrowing Homer's ideas, "and they will find that it is easier to rob Hercules of his rod than to rob Homer of a single line."

old works. The whole question, indeed, of India's indebtedness to Greece in the progress of her astronomical knowledge, deserves a more careful investigation than has been accorded to it heretofore. But in the meanwhile, it may be safely imagined that the knowledge of the *rāśis*, or solar Zodiac, be it whence it might, had been commonly diffused in India in the first century B. C. And even its Greek origin has nothing in it that would necessitate a change in the date of Kālidāsa, which in all other respects stands unshaken. For, the interval of more than two centuries between Alexander's invasion and the foundation of the Sainvat era is sufficient to explain the spread of so important a doctrine, and especially in a country, where astronomy had been spontaneously growing up from Vedic times. Thus the Fourth Century A. D. theory, which makes the Guptas the patrons of Kālidāsa, and which was, perhaps, a plausible hypothesis at one time, is no longer tenable. Strangely enough, these Gupta Kings, as soon as they emerge from oblivion to which they were consigned by later centuries, rise at once before us not only as powerful monarchs (which they certainly were), but also as great patrons of poets (which is very doubtful). But, unfortunately, the claim is too extravagant to be substantiated by facts. There was certainly not a Bāṇa or a Bilhāṇa at their court. And Sanskrit literature may be in vain ransacked to find the name of an author of note, except Vasubandhu, who, beyond doubt, enjoyed their patronage. Nothing, indeed, so clearly demonstrates the hollowness of the basis of theorists, chronologists, and Indologists in general, as the bold attempt to connect with the Gupta emperors, whatever is best and most beautiful in Sanskrit literature without any kind of evidence whatever. For, beyond a few isolated inscriptions there is no literary composition that may be authoritatively called as belonging to the Gupta period. It is not, however, to be supposed that there were no authors during that period; but even those who lived in those times, have not mentioned the names of the Gupta monarchs. Had they really been the great patrons of learning, as their modern advocates make them to be, they would not have been so easily consigned to oblivion. In India the memory of a Bhoja is far more tenacious and durable than that of a Samudra Gupta. And yet, we are told, time and again, that the Gupta period is the Augustan period of Sanskrit literature! Never was a theory more erroneous in its conception or more unsubstantial in its evidence. In fine, it is a theory that rests on the partisanship of the modern admirers of the Gupta Kings, and on the general tendency of Sanskritists to assign the earliest Sanskrit poets to a period about the fourth century A. D., when the Guptas were the overlords of India, rather than on the testimony of Sanskrit literature. Where history is silent and tradition

furnished by the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and other works, Vainkṣu and Sindhu seem to be identical.¹

As to the mention of the Hūpas in Raghu's "digvijaya" (Raghu. IV. 68), which Dr. Pathak makes a capital of, no more need be said than what Bühler says on the point. "In the face of these facts" he remarks, "it is hard to believe that Kālidāsa, instead of following as a good Kavi is supposed to do, the authority of the lists of people in the Mahābhārata or of the Bhuvana-vinyāsa in the Purāṇas, should have occupied himself with the historico-geographical investigations regarding the conditions of the frontier people of his times. If we look into his works more carefully, we shall find much that points to his having made use of the sources mentioned above." The whole of the 'digvijaya' contains no names which are not also named in the Purāṇas on similar occasions. It also mentions, side by side, peoples like the Parasikas, the Yavanas, the Hunas, and the Kambojas, which can never justly belong to the time of the poet, why, even to no single period of time whatever."² That Kālidāsa refers to contemporary events in describing Raghu's 'digvijaya' is a supposition which is scarcely endurable for a moment.

Besides these there are several minor theories about the date of Kālidāsa. But they are of the same tenor as the above, and merit no special notice. They deserve, if anything at all, the compliment which Mr. Belloc bestows on similar theories in European history, viz. "they are worthy of Academies only." And thus the first century B. C. theory now stands on a firm footing, notwithstanding the general apathy of orientalisks outside India. To reject it without any insurmountable objection will not be a scholarly refusal. Any attempt, on the other hand, to assign a later date to Kālidāsa after this, will scarcely be laudable until some historical evidence of an unimpeachable character is brought to light.

. NOTE.—The presence of a large number of prakrit stanzas in the fourth act of the *Vikramorvaṣīya*—a presence which has led to a never-ending controversy among the modern editors of the play—may now be easily accounted for. These stanzas can hardly be spurious notwithstanding the arguments of S. P. Pandit and others, who endeavour to prove them as such chiefly on the ground that any prakrit pieces must be simply out of place in an act like the fourth, which, by the sheer force of the dramatic circumstances, must be a purely Sanskrit monologue. For, even the most audacious interpolator could scarcely hope to pass, without fear of instantaneous detection, first, so large a number of stanzas into a single act,

1. S. R. Ray's *Sakuntalam*, 8th ed. Introduction, p. 8.

2. Ind. Ant. 1913

Still less tenable is the theory that makes Kālidāsa a contemporary of Diṅnāga, the Buddhist philosopher. I am inclined to admit the "dhvani" in Meghadūta 14, though several scholars are sceptical even about that. However, that "dhvani" (suggested idea) only shows that Kālidāsa was envied by a poet of the name of Diṅnāga. But he cannot be the celebrated Buddhist philosopher as Sanskritists held so far. For, firstly, the Buddhist philosopher is not known to have been a poet. Secondly, there cannot exist anything like enmity between a poet and a philosopher, who are as far asunder from one another as any two literary celebrities can be. Thirdly, Diṅnāga, the Buddhist philosopher, is not known to have been a resident of Ujjayini or even of Malwa, still less a protégé of a king of that country, as Kālidāsa is generally supposed to have been. But far more important and decisive than all these reasons which after all point to probabilities, is the discovery of the "*Kundamālā*" in recent years. The author of this drama, Diṅnāga by name, is evidently a different writer from the Buddhist philosopher who bears the same name. For the very stanzas of the "Nāndi" prove that he is of the Brahmanic faith, as no Buddhist writer can show his devotion to Heramba (Ganapati) and Śiva. It would be, indeed, as outrageous in a Jaina or a Buddha to cherish such a reverence for the Brahmanical gods, as it would be in a Protestant to attend the Mass. The ignoble rival of Kālidāsa, therefore, may be the author of the *Kundamālā*; or—which is also equally probable—another writer of the same name whose petty compositions, like those of the mean rival of Euripides, Time did not suffer to exist for long. At any rate, he is not the same as the Buddhist philosopher.

Dr. Pathak's theory is no longer in vogue. But the really weak points of that theory do not seem to have attracted proper notice. His attempt to identify "Vainkṣu" with the Oxus is hardly justifiable. For in the first place the authenticity of the reading is not beyond doubt; and secondly it is inconceivable that Kālidāsa, who never misses an opportunity of describing the grandeur of any river that he knew of, would omit one of the grandest and the mightiest of the Indian rivers, viz., the Indus, and hasten to mention the Oxus, which was probably as little known to him as either the Tigris or the Euphrates. Besides, the region of the river, whichever it may be, is described as a saffron-growing region. And this agrees more with the Indus in her course through Kashmere, where that precious commodity is largely grown, than with the Oxus whose region is not famous for it. As to the philological process by which the identification of Vainkṣu with Oxus is sought to be established, I need only remark that the Thames could be easily identified with the Tamasā by a similar process. Moreover, as S. K. Ray points out, from descriptions

furnished by the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and other works, Vam̐kṣu and Sindhu seem to be identical.¹

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Besides these there are several minor theories about the date of Kālidāsa. But they are of the same tenor as the above, and merit no special notice.³ They deserve, if anything at all, the compliment which Mr. Belloc bestows on similar theories in European history, viz. "they are worthy of Academies only." And thus the first century B. C. theory now stands on a firm footing, notwithstanding the general apathy of orientalisists outside India. To reject it without any insurmountable objection will not be a scholarly refusal. Any attempt, on the other hand, to assign a later date to Kālidāsa after this, will scarcely be laudable until some historical evidence of an unimpeachable character is brought to light.

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2. Ind. Ant. 1913

and, second, stanzas so artistically modulated to movements of dancing and modes of singing. By the very necessity of his situation, an interpolator must create a *similar* stuff to fit in a particular context, and also insert it cautiously and sparingly into its place. We must, therefore, look upon these stanzas as the genuine work of Kālidāsa, and seek for an explanation in the historical circumstances in which, as already suggested above, the play originated. As the *Vikramorvaṣīya* was specially composed for, and enacted on, the occasion of the *Rājyābhiṣeka* of Vikramāditya, the dramatist seems to have kept a special object in view—in all likelihood, the entertainment of the royal audience—in the introduction of these prakrit songs. Thus they were a sort of chorus, specially introduced to break the monotony of the prevailing sentiment, and to treat the audience to a musical concert. As, however, this historical origin of the play became gradually obscure, these prakrit stanzas became only an encumbrance, the omission of which does, in no way, interfere with the smooth course of the pure Sanskrit monologue. It is a well-known fact that the prakrits were a more proper vehicle for musical delicacies than Sanskrit.

K. M. SHEMAVNEKAR

SPEECH.

OF

His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar,

G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D., Etc.,

BARODA

ON THE OCCASION

OF THE OPENING OF

The Seventh Indian Oriental Conference.

Dated 27th December, 1933.

Baroda State Press.

1933

Price Re. 0-1-0.

Miscellany

Identification of Virabhānu, the Patron of the Poet Bhānukara

In my note in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* (Vol I, pp 197-199) I recorded some data for the identification of king Virabhānu, the patron of the poet Bhānukara. Since this note appeared more evidence has been forthcoming and the problem of identification of Virabhānu may now be regarded as well nigh settled.

Peterson¹ mentions a king Virabhānu of the Vāghela dynasty in the following comments —

"No 101 of A 1893-84—In the present collection there is a copy of a metrical commentary on the *Sūtras* of Vatsyāyana by a royal author who fortunately gives us his date and lineage. He belonged to the Vaghela dynasty and wrote "in the year 1633". His name was Virabhadrā. He was the son of Rāmachandra, who was the son of Virabhānu, who was the son of Virasinha, who was the son of Śālavāhana, the founder of the line."

The genealogy indicated in the above comments is presumably based on the following verses appearing at the beginning of Ms No 101 of A 1893-84 now in the Govt Mss Library at the B O R Institute, Poona —

“वशं वसद्विप इव जयति वघेलस्य भुज्जा मान्य

अजघन्योऽस्ति जगत्या यस्मादन्यो न भूपाल ॥ १

प्रादुर्भव वंशे तत् श्रीशालवाहनोऽपति ।

इन्दुर्मन्दविन्दुर्यस्य यश पुण्डरीकस्य ॥ २ ॥

भिजस्य शोतमहस सुपिरं लक्ष्मेति मन्यते लोभः ।

विधुरैर्यदीयविधुरैर्निशि निहतैर्भास्करभ्रान्त्या ॥ ३ ॥

प्रादुर्भव तस्माद्वीरः श्रीवीरसिंहात्म्यः ।

यस्य यशोम्यजकोशे स्फुरा मकरन्दविन्दवस्ताप ॥ ४ ॥

यस्य करेण करादिह समरे रिपुभूषणधामपतेः ।

दानांबुसंगशोभा सातिशया लुडिता भट्टिति ॥ ८ ॥

वीरस्तद्वज्रजन्मा प्रतिभट्टवृत्तनातमस्विनीभानुः ।

श्रीवीरभानुनामाधिपतिरभूदुज्ज्वलजगति ॥ ९ ॥

ध्रुत्वापि वीरभानोर्दानकथा नेह जातलज्जानि ।

वृद्धोपलपशुभावाद् वततर्षेणुरत्नानि ॥ १० ॥

कामादप्यभिरामो भीमादपि बाहुशालिनां मान्यः ।

कर्णादपि च वदान्यो जयति सुतो रामचन्द्रोऽस्य ॥ ११ ॥

थोरामेणाहन्वे (रघ्वे) दाने गजवाजिनोन्मुक्तैक्येन ।

वकाननो गणपतिर्भात्याभूत्तुर्वुरः सचरः ॥ १२ ॥

राजोचितगुणसीमा भीमावरजादिहाधिको धनुषि ।

तनयो विनयसमुद्रो जयतितरां वीरभद्रोऽस्य ॥ १३ ॥

On the strength of the genealogy recorded in the above extract and the date of composition of this work *Kandarpa-Cūḍāmaṇi* recorded in the colophon viz. the (Samvat) year 1633 indicated by the chronogram "हरलोचनहरलोचनरसरशि" (फाल्गुनशुक्लप्रतिपदि) corresponding to A. D. 1577 I was inclined to identify king *Virabhānu* with the king *Virabhānu*, the patron of the poet *Bhānuḥara* who according to Dr. Hara Datta Sharma² was a "contemporary of Sher Shah (1540-1545)." Accordingly I wrote to Dr. Sharma indicating the nature of my hypothesis. In the meanwhile Dr. Hiranand Shastri, now Director of Archaeology, Baroda; to whom I had sent a copy of my note on *Virabhānu* was kind enough to write to me as under in a private communication dated 15-5-35:—

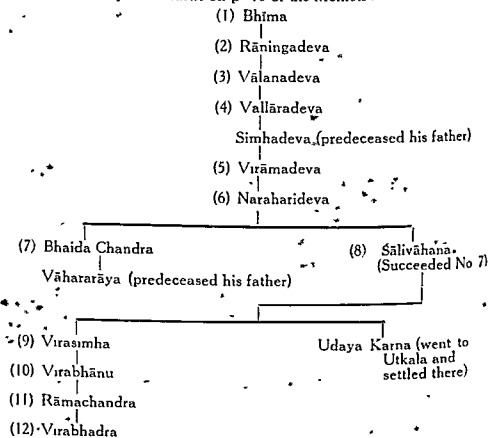
"Re. *Virabhānu* I draw your attention to my *Memoir on the Baghela Dynasty of Rewa* which will show that this *Virabhānu* is identical with the hero of the *Virabhānūdaya Kāvya* noticed there. This *Kāvya* is now being published by the Rewa authorities with my critical analysis."

I have since studied Dr. Shastri's above Memoir published in 1925 and am convinced that king *Virabhānu*, the patron of the poet *Bhānuḥara* is none other than *Virabhānu* of the *Vaghela* dynasty mentioned in Peterson's *Comments on the Kandarpa-Cūḍāmaṇi* composed in A. D. 1577 by *Virabhānu*'s grandson *Virabhadra*. As

pointed out by Dr. Shastri this *Virabhānu* is identical with the hero of the *Virabhānūdaya-Kāvya*, the subject of his Memoir under reference.

I am further informed by Dewan Bahadur Pandit Janaki Prasad of Rewa that there is also a MS of a work called *Viracandī* bearing on the life of Virabhānu. I hope the Rewa authorities will publish this work and make it available to scholars.

The genealogy of *Virabhānu* as recorded in the extract from the *Kāndarpa Cūdāmanī* given above is only partial but is confirmed by the following complete genealogy found in the *Virabhānūdaya-Kāvya* and recorded by Dr. Shastri on p. 10 of his Memoir.—



When the edition of the *Virabhānūdaya Kāvya* is published with Dr. Hirananda Shastri's critical analysis it will throw a flood of light on King Virabhānu and his personality. In the meanwhile I note

3 *IIIQ*, vol. X, p. 483—Dr. Sharmā quotes two verses of the poet Bhanu kura in which King Virabhānu his patron, is referred to. The verse quoted above is one of these two verses.

here some historical information from Dr. Shastri's Memoir under reference:—

The date of the MS of the *Virabhānūdaya Kāvya* is Samvat 1648 (=A.D. 1591). This poem consists of 12 cantos. The first and last page of the MS are marked with seals, containing the date of the seal viz. 965 (=A. D. 1558). Virabhadra was at Delhi when his father Rāmachandra died in 1592, and he died in 1593 A.D. i. e. one year after his father's death. *Virabhānūdaya Kāvya* informs us that Virabhadra was born in the lifetime of Virabhānu and that on the occasion of his birth Humayun sent suitable presents and congratulations to his grand-father Virabhānu whom he regarded as his brother. Virasimha, the father of Virabhānu was also regarded as brother by Babur. Rāmachandra succeeded to the throne when Virabhānu expired in 1540. The poem *Virabhānūdayakāvya* was composed by one Mādhava, son of Abhayachandra after the birth of Virabhadra and in the life-time of Virabhānu, his grand-father as also of Humayun the Mogul Emperor. As Virabhānu died in 1540, this poem must have been written about that very year. The MS of the poem was written 51 years after the date of composition of the poem. The poem also contains the genealogy of the Vaghela dynasty as recorded above. King Virabhānu had a long reign and Rāmachandra continued to rule as a Yuvarāja till the former retired to Prayāga after the death of his grand-son Virabhadra. Rāmachandra was very much enamoured of Tansen, the renowned musical prodigy who attended Akbar's Court in 1562 and passed his days with him in happiness.

The date of composition of *Kandarpa-Cūdāmaṇi* of Virabhadra viz. A. D. 1558 agrees with the date of Virabhadra's seal referred to above viz. A. D. 1577 as also the date of his death viz. A. D. 1593. It remains for us now to identify the reference to Virabhadra's exploits at a place called *Laṅkā* described in the following verse appearing in the *Rasikañivana* of Gadādharaḥṭṭa¹:—

“लङ्काधामनि वीरभानुवृत्तेः प्रेक्ष्य प्रतापोदयं
प्रत्यागारमर्धारनारजदशो भूयो हुताशत्रमात् ।
क्षुभ्यद्धारि विधूतवारि विगत(मोविस्थल—?)प्रसन्नद-
दास्यधेरि विनोन्नवेरि दयितं वगटस्थले विप्रति ॥

In the absence of the text of *Virabhānūdayakāvya* I am unable to identify or verify the above reference to *Laṅkā* and Virabhānu's exploits at this place, in case the verse has a definite reference to an historical event in the career of King Virabhānu, the hero of the *Virā-*

bhānūdayakāvya. I, therefore, await with eagerness the publication of this historical *Kāvya*, which as Dr. Hirananda Shastri informs us, "possesses considerable literary merit evincing high descriptive power."

P. K. Gode.

Ketu in Hindu Astrology

Western astrologers do not often pay much attention to the position of Ketu or the dragon's tail in the nativity, but Indian astrologers sometimes make startling predictions from a consideration of this body. The dragon's tail is feminine and denotes female relations, especially sisters. So when a malefic transits Ketu in a nativity, the period is especially unfavourable to the sister of the native. Then again since Ketu is neither a sign nor a constellation but a mere shadow that is regarded as a planet, its position in the eighth house, the house of slander and death indicates slander and obloquy which the native has done nothing to deserve. It has special affinity with the twelfth house and according to many astrologers, Ketu in the twelfth house indicates salvation. We shall deal with this topic in detail in a future issue.

KSHITISH CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

The authorship of the Vedabhāṣyas

Who is the author of the commentaries on the Vedas—Sāyaṇa or Mādhava, or both Sāyaṇa and Mādhava? That Sāyaṇa was at least a part author of these works is generally conceded. But as regards Mādhava's authorship opinions are sharply divided. The commentaries are called *Mādhavīya*. But as the word does not, according to some writers, mean a work or works composed by Mādhava, we shall adduce below some fresh evidence to prove Mādhava's authorship of these works :

The introductory verses of the *bhāṣya* have been freely referred to by the writers on this question, but none has strangely enough given the necessary attention to the verse :

ये पूर्वोत्तरमीमांसे ते व्याख्यायतिसंग्रहात् ।

रूपानुर्माधवाचार्यो (v.l. सायणाचार्यो) वेदार्थं यत्कुरुयतः ॥

which describes the literary work previously done by the author of the Vedic commentaries. Had this been done, the question of the authorship would have been easily settled.

According to Mr. Ram Rao, the best writer on the other side, Sāyaṇa was the writer of (1) *Subhāṣitasudhānidhi*, a collection of moral sayings, (2) *Prāyaścitta-sudhānidhi*, a work dealing with penance, (3) *Alaṃkārasudhānidhi*, a work on figures of speech, (4) *Dhātuvṛtti*, a treatise on Sanskrit verbs, (5) Vedic commentaries, (6) *Puruṣārthasudhānidhi*, consisting of Puranic teachings, and (7) *Yajñatantrasudhānidhi*, a work on sacrificial ritual. Now, none of these works except perhaps the last (which, by the way, being composed under Harihar II, could not have been referred to in the *Bhāṣyas* written in Bukka's reign) has any connection whatsoever with *Pūrva* and *Uttara Mīmāṃsā*.

But if we turn to the list of Mādhava's writings compiled by the same writer we find two works answering exactly to the reference contained in the verse quoted above. One is the *Jaiminiyanyāyamālāvivṛtara*, a work containing in verse the significance of sacrifice, and the other the *Vaiyāsiṅanyāyamāla*, a treatise containing the interpretation of the *Vedāntasūtras*. Mādhava has, therefore, according to his verse at least a better claim to be regarded as the author of the Vedic commentaries than his brother Sāyaṇa.

As against this conclusion, one might refer to the verse !

स ग्राह नृपति राजन् सायणार्यो ममानुजः ।

सर्वं वेत्स्येय वेदानां व्याख्यानृत्वे नियुज्यताम् ॥

इत्युक्तो माधवायेण वीरुङ्कमहोपतिः

अन्वशान् गायणाचार्यं वेदार्थस्य प्रकाशने ॥'

occurring in some manuscripts of the *R̥gveda* and *Yajurveda bhāṣyas*, wherein Sāyaṇa is clearly mentioned as the sole writer of these *Bhāṣyas*. But as these verses do not occur in most manuscripts, and have been accordingly left out by Maxmüller and Bākre in their editions, we might regard them as spurious. Moreover, they go against the evidence furnished by the next verse वे पूर्वोत्तरमीमांसि...which occurs in every manuscript of these *bhāṣyas* and can, as pointed out above, refer to Mādhava only. It may, therefore, be rightly concluded that Mādhava was, if nothing more, at least a part author of the commentaries whose composition is being at present ascribed merely to his brother and co-worker, the equally famous Sāyaṇa or Sāyaṇācārya.

Bhogīndra and Phaṇīśvara

In his article appearing under the caption, *Sāhasāṅka and Phaṇīśvara*, in the September issue of the Journal, Mr. Jogendrachandra Ghosh has identified Bhogīndra and Phaṇīśvara, mentioned in Maheśvara's ; *Viśvaprahāṣa* with Phaṇīśvara, the author of the *Bhāgaṛṭi*, on the ground that Maheśvara speaks of Phaṇīśvara and Bhogīndra as lexicographers, and Patañjali is never known as a lexicographer. The verses on which he bases his opinion are as follows :

फणीश्वरोदीरितशब्दकोष रत्नाकरालोडनलालितानाम्
 सेव्यः कथं नैपमुवर्णशैलो विश्वप्रकाशो विबुधाधिपानाम् ॥
 भोगीन्द्र-कालायन-साहसङ्ग-वाचस्पति-व्याडिपुरःसरायाम् ।
 सविश्वरूपामरमङ्गलानां शुभाङ्ग बोपालित-भागुरीशाम् ॥

But if one goes carefully through the verses, it will be clear that Maheśvara does not draw any hard and fast line between lexicographers and grammarians. Kātyāyana and Vyāḍi are well-known writers on Sanskrit grammar. Yet they find a place here with lexicographers like Amara and Viśvarūpa. This, perhaps, need not induce us to find lexicographers bearing these names. Similar is the case of Bhogīndra mentioned here. That it means nothing but Patañjali is clear from its association with Kātyāyana, the famous writer of *Vārttikas* of Pāṇini's grammar. To Maheśvara, he appears as a कोषकार too with some other well-known grammarians because he had probably an idea that the grammarians were as important contributors to the literature of real lexicography, as the writers of mere *Nāma-mālās*.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

Miscellany

Who was the guru of Ānandabodha ?—Vimuktātman or Ātmavāsa ?

Prof. M. Hiriyanna, the learned editor of the Baroda edition of the *Iṣṭasiddhi*,¹ makes a very cautious inference on the strength of a half-stanza which is found in the *Iṣṭasiddhi* of Vimuktātman as also in the *Pramāṇamālā* of Ānandabodha. Ānandabodha introduces this stanza with the words “एतदेवोक्तं गुरुभिः.” Our attention is also directed by Prof. Hiriyanna to another stanza in the *Nyāyamahāranda* of Ānandabodha which contains the words “इत्याचार्या व्यचीचरन्” analogous to the words “एतदेवोक्तं गुरुभिः.”

I propose in the present note to show that Vimuktātman was not the guru of Ānandabodha and that the references made by Ānandabodha in the words “गुरुभिः” or “आचार्याः” to an earlier writer show only his respect for the author, whose opinions he is citing in his works with esteem and regard in view of the fact pointed out by Prof. Hiriyanna himself that Ānandabodha held views in regard to many a detail of Advaitic doctrine which are identical with those maintained by Vimuktātman. These references may still be taken to allude to Vimuktātman, the author of the *Iṣṭasiddhi* on account of the kinship of views between the two authors as pointed out by Prof. M. Hiriyanna.

But before I state my evidence which runs counter to Prof. Hiriyanna's cautious suggestion based on a half-stanza common to the works of Vimuktātman and Ānandabodha and which he owes to Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. Kuppaswamy Shāstri as he gratefully informs us in a footnote, I must quote the pertinent extract from Prof. Hiriyanna's Introduction to the *Iṣṭasiddhi* to acquaint the reader fully with his argument on the point at issue and the possibilities, hinted though very cautiously about the chronological position of the two authors viz. Vimuktātman and Ānandabodha.

Prof. Hiriyanna observes (p.xiii)—“There is a book with the title of *Pramāṇamālā* by Ānandabodha, a well-known exponent of the Advaita and in it he quotes the following half-stanza which is found in *Iṣṭasiddhi* (i,36) prefacing it with the words एतदेवोक्तं गुरुभिः —

‘नान्यत्र कारणात्कारं न चेत्तत्र क तद्वदेव’

We may deduce from this, though we cannot be at all sure about it, that Ānandabodha was a disciple of Vimuktātman. There is nothing improbable in this for Ānandabodha was an early writer on the Advaita and, as shown by his references to the *Iṣṭasiddhi* in another of his works *Nyāyamaṅgala*, he held views in regard to many a detail of Advaitic doctrine which are identical with those maintained by Vimuktātman. But as Ānandabodha's date is not definitely known, this conclusion even if correct throws no light on the chronological position of the present work."

The above passage raises two questions :—

¹ Was Vimuktātman, the author of the *Iṣṭasiddhi*, the guru of Ānandabodha ?

and ² What is the chronological position of the *Iṣṭasiddhi* with reference to Ānandabodha's *Nyāyamaṅgala*, which contains references to the *Iṣṭasiddhi* of Vimuktātman.

Our answer to the first question must be in the negative on the strength of Ānandabodha's own testimony contained in the following verse appearing at the end of a Manuscript of a work called *Nyāyadīpikā*² by Ānandabodha :—

“ नमः सकलसंसारसागरोत्तारसेतवे
संश्रिताखिलसंकल्पकल्पवृक्षाय शम्भवे ।
नमो निखिलवेदान्तकमलाकरभानवे
आत्मवासाभिधानाय गुरवे गुणवेरमने ॥ ”

The expression “ आत्मवासाभिधानाय गुरवे ” stating in unmistakable terms that आत्मवास was the guru of Ānandabodha directly contradicts Prof. Hiriyanna's cautious deduction that Ānandabodha was the disciple of Vimuktātman, the author of the *Iṣṭasiddhi* and that the former alludes to the latter as his guru in the words “एतदेवोक्तं गुरुभिः” introducing a half-stanza which is common to the *Iṣṭasiddhi* of Vimuktātman and the *Pramāṇamālā* of Ānandabodha. We must understand by the word “गुरुभिः” only a respectful reference to a predecessor's opinion instead of direct relation of the guru with his disciple.

The work *Nyāyadīpikā* referred to above is a commentary by Ānandabodha on the *Sābdanirṇaya* of Prakāśātman (शाब्दनिर्णयसदर्थमासिका

1 *Iṣṭasiddhi* (Gaikwar Ori. Series), Baroda, 1933, Introduction, pp. xiii-xiv.

2 *Triennial Catalogue of Mss.* Vol. VI, Part I (B) of the Gort. Ori. Mss. Library Madras, p. 4812.

दीपिकेयममला विधीयते). Ānandabodha's authorship of this work is vouched by him in the following verse which appears at the end of the Madras Ms of *Nyāyadīpikā* referred to above :—

“दुस्तर्कध्वान्तपटलप्रपाटनपटीयसी ।

इयमानन्दबोधेन रचिता न्यायदीपिका ॥”

Prof. Hiriyanna remarks further :—“It is strange that the colophons in none of the three works of Ānandabodha included in the volume (Chowkhamba Series) mention his *guru*.”

I have made it clear in the foregoing paragraph that the colophon of the fourth work of Ānandabodha viz. *Nyāyadīpikā* contains direct reference by Ānandabodha to his *guru*. So far as the chronological order of the *Nyāyadīpikā* and *Nyāyamaṅgala* is concerned I can say that the *Nyāyadīpikā* was composed earlier than *Nyāyamaṅgala* because Ānandabodha refers to the former in the latter as under :—

“दिक्षात्तमं सूचितम् विस्तरस्तु न्यायदीपिकायामवगन्तव्यः”³

I cannot say anything about the chronological order of the other works of Ānandabodha with reference to *Nyāyadīpikā* but if it is proved that they are later than the *Nyāyadīpikā* like *Nyāyamaṅgala* we may easily explain why no reference is included in them by Ānandabodha to his *guru*. Having once made such a detailed reference in his earlier work viz. *Nyāyadīpikā* perhaps he thought it superfluous to do so in every single work written by him subsequently. The second question stated above viz. what is the chronological position of the *Iṣṭasiddhi* with reference to the *Nyāyamaṅgala* ? will require a detailed examination of the references to *Iṣṭasiddhi* in the *Nyāyamaṅgala* and other works of Ānandabodha and hence cannot be dealt with in this note.

As regards Ānandabodha's date which as Prof. Hiriyanna states is not definitely known I am inclined to assign him between Prakāśātman (on whose *Śābdanirṇaya* he wrote the *Nyāyadīpikā*) and Caṇḍūpaṇḍita (A. D. 1297), the author of a commentary on the *Naiṣadha* who directly quotes in his commentary from Ānandabodha's *Nyāyamaṅgala*.⁴

The date of Prakāśātman as given by Dr. Das Gupta is A. D.

³ *Nyāyamaṅgala* (Chowkhamba Edition) p. 170.

⁴ Vide my Note on the date of Ānandabodha, in the *Calcutta Ori. Journal*, Jan. 1935, p. 139, footnote 9.

1200.⁵ Presuming this date to be correct I had placed Ānandabodha between A. D. 1200 and 1297. My friend Dr. T. R. Chintamani of the Madras University writes to me, however, in a private letter dated 22-3-35 :—"The date of Prakāśātman adopted by you from Dr. Das Gupta is not correct for it is very well and widely known that Rāmānuja who lived between 1015 and 1137 has criticized in his bhāṣya the syllogism of Prakāśātman. In view of this fact it is impossible to bring down Prakāśātman to any period later than 1000 A. D. The date 1200 for Prakāśātman is definitely wrong. The date of Chitsukha is fairly correct (1200 A. D.) and Ānandabodha who preceded him cannot be later than at least 1150 A. D. He was probably slightly older."

Between these two dates for Prakāśātman viz. A. D. 1200 of Dr. Das Gupta and about A. D. 1000 according to Dr. Chintamani I am unable to make a choice at present as I have not examined their grounds. The date of Ānandabodha as given by me on the strength of Dr. Das Gupta's date for Prakāśātman is about A. D. 1250, while Dr. Chintamani regards Ānandabodha to be "not later than at least 1150." If this date of Ānandabodha is definitely decided it will throw more light on the chronological position of the *Iṣṭasiddhi* of Vimuktātman to which references are made in the *Nyāyamaṅgāranda* as pointed out by Prof. Hiriyanna. In the present state of our inquiry the two dates for Ānandabodha referred to above viz. A. D. 1250 and A. D. 1150 do not affect Prof. Hiriyanna's view⁶ that *Iṣṭasiddhi* may have been composed between A. D. 850 and 1050. Dr. Das Gupta,⁷ however, assigns Vimuktātman to the "early years of the 13th century" i. e. A. D. 1200, a conclusion which conflicts with Dr. Chintamani's date for Ānandabodha viz. about 1150 A. D. but is in harmony with my date for Ānandabodha viz. about 1250 A. D. presuming the priority of Vimuktātman to Ānandabodha to be correct.

P. K. GODE

5 *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, pp 17, 30, 82, 103.

6 *Iṣṭasiddhi*, (G. O. S.) Baroda, 1933, Intro. p. xiii.

7 *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 108.

Authorship of *Sarasvatīvilāsa*, a digest of civil and religious law.

Prof. P. V. Kane observes about the work *Sarasvatīvilāsa* in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*¹ as follows:—

"Pratāparudradeva, while ruling his capital Kaṭakanāgarī called together an assembly of pandits and compiled an extensive digest of civil and religious law. The royal author feels qualms of conscience on the question of eulogising himself and his family but stifles them easily by saying that a poet can also be an appreciative critic of his own productions."....."The *Sarasvatīvilāsa* being a work composed under the express orders of a king for the benefit of his subjects makes the nearest approach to the Austinian conception of law as a command addressed by political superiors to political inferiors and enforced by a sanction."

It is evident from the above remarks that the work *Sarasvatīvilāsa* is a compilation and the "qualms of conscience" felt by the royal author in eulogising himself and his family appear to be thrust on the royal patron of this compilation. Prof. Kane, however, does not record any information about the Pandit under whose supervision the work of compilation was carried out. This information can, however, be supplemented by the note of Prof. S.K. Aiyangar² on the commentary of *Mahimnastava* by Deśayāmātya, who "says that he comments upon *Mahimnastava* through the grace of Lolla Lakṣmidhara, his guru (preceptor), whom he compares with the God Gaṇapati in wisdom. Lolla Lakṣmidhara, whom he praises as his guru was a very celebrated scholar of his time. We find him as the author of the Koṇḍavidu and Kaza inscriptions of Krishna Raya. He has written works on Astronomy, Astrology, and the Mantraśāstra as well as on all the six darśanas (religious schools) and Law. He was the author of the work *Sarasvatīvilāsa* upon Law, attributed to Pratāparudra. This Pratāparudra was the ruler of Orissa, contemporary with Krishna-raya, who became his father-in-law. Lolla Lakṣmidhara enumerates *Sarasvatīvilāsa* among his works in the colophon to his commentary on *Saundaryalaharī*. He was the author of a portion of the cyclopaedic work on Astronomy, Astrology and allied subjects called *Jyotiṣha Darpaṇa*."

We have, therefore, to take it on the authority of Lolla Lakṣmi-

1 Govt. Oriental Series No. 6 (B.O.R. Institute) pp. 411, 412.

2 *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 1910, Madras, pp. 48-49.

dhara himself that he was the real author or rather the editor of the compilation *Sarasvativilāsa*. At any rate between the rival claims of the royal patron of the compilation and of Lolla Lakṣmidhara re. the authorship of the *Sarasvativilāsa* we are inclined to believe more in the latter's independent testimony than in the statements made in the compilation attributing the authorship to the Royal Patron, who is made to feel the so-called "qualms of conscience." These "qualms of conscience" at best give a plausible appearance to the claims of Royal Patron regarding the authorship of the work. Secondly the fact mentioned by Prof. Aiyangar that Lolla Lakṣmidhara was also the author of a portion of another encyclopaedic work called *Jyotiṣa Darpaṇa* furnishes a good analogy in support of Lolla Lakṣmidhara's authorship of *Sarasvativilāsa*.

I wanted to examine the colophon of Lolla Lakṣmidhara's commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī* which gives a list of his works including *Sarasvativilāsa*. Unfortunately I could not get any printed edition of the work, if at all published, nor any Manuscript containing the pertinent reference. There are two Mss of this commentary in the Govt. Mss Library at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona viz. No 424 of 1884-87 and No. 824 of 1886-92. The first of these copies is incomplete while the second is complete but the colophon it contains lacks the pertinent list of Lolla Lakṣmidhara's works required by me. As Prof. Aiyangar has not documented his remarks I am unable to verify them either in a printed edition of the commentary or in a manuscript. Under the circumstances I must presume that the statement of Prof. Aiyangar is based on reliable evidence of some Mss of the commentary of Lolla Lakṣmidhara or other records on which he has based his note on the *Mahimnastava*.

P. K. GODE

A commentary on the *Rtusamhāra* of Kālidāsa by Amarakīrtisūri and its probable date—16th Century.

Aufrecht³ refers to an only Ms of a commentary on the *Rtusamhāra* of Kālidāsa in his *Cata. Catalogorum*. It is the same as No. 372 of 1887-91 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B.O.R. Institute. It consists of folios 3 to 14 and is incomplete. The colophons of *Sargas* I, II, and III are found on folios 4, 8, 12 respectively of this Ms. Each of

³ *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part iii p. 16—"Bd. 372 (fr.)"

these colophons is preceded by a verse furnishing particulars about the author, his spiritual lineage and the place he comes from. The colophon verse⁴ on fol. 4 tells us that he belongs to the spiritual lineage (paṭṭa) of Guṇākarasūri, who is styled as 'śrīmāna-kīrtivara.' The name of the author is mentioned as *Amarakīrtisūri* on folios 4 and 8 while the colophon verse⁵ on folio 12 mentions him as *Amara-kīrti*. The author describes himself by such epithets as 'sūrindravaryya' (fol. 4), and 'tapogaṇabhūpa' (fol. 12). In the colophon verse on folio 12 he mentions himself as 'Nāgapuriyatapogaṇa-bhūpa' i.e. as belonging to the Nagapur Tapogaṇa and as head of that Gaṇa. The term 'tapogaṇa' appears to be identical with 'tapāgaṇa' mentioned in the Jain Paṭṭāvalis.⁶

The following works and authors have been mentioned in the commentary :—

Haimaḥ (fol. 3, 5, 9.) ; *Haimaḥṣaḥ* (fol. 5).

Bhojarāja (fol. 4).

Amara (fol. 7).

Abhidhānacintāmaṇi (fol. 9, 13).

Neither the Jain Granthāvali nor the *History of Indian Literature* of Winternitz, Vol. II, mentions the name of this author. As we have no paṭṭāvali of the Nāgpura Tapogaṇa before us it is difficult to say anything definitely about the date of our author. The *Jain Granthāvali* (p. 268) mentions one Guṇākarasūri as the author of the work "*Samyaktakaumudī*." Prof. Winternitz (*His. of Ind. Lit.* Vol. II. p. 583, footnote) refers to an edition of a work "*Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya*," "edited with Guṇaratna's (or Guṇākarasūri's) commentary by L. Suali." This remark presumes the identity of Guṇaratna and Guṇā-

4 This verse reads—

“श्रीमानकौर्तिवरसुरिगुणाकरण्यां

पदे... वै अमरकीर्तिविनिर्दिष्टायां ।

श्रीमद्विशेषमहावचनान्वहती

सर्गोऽत्र नि प्रथम एव नृपाभिरम्यः ॥

5 This verse reads—

“नागपुरीयतपोगण भूपश्रीअमरकीर्ति विह(हि?)तायां ।

कृतवर्षं नख हत्ती दतीयः सर्गो भवइत्यः ॥

Compare R.G.B. Report 1892-93, p. 228—“इति श्रीनागपुरीयतपागच्छाधिप महारक-श्रीहर्षकौर्तिगुरिविरचितं खोपत्रधातुपाठ‘वदर’ संपूर्णम् etc”
Kharataragacca-Paṭṭāvali-Saṃgraha by Muni Jinavijaya Calcutta 1932. p. 29, line 8.

6 *Kharataragacca-Paṭṭāvali-Saṃgraha* pp. 12, 33.

karasūri and if it is based on reliable evidence we may be able to get more data about the date of our commentator

The *Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvalī* No 1 describes Jinacandrasūri as "śrī Gunaratnācāryādi mahapada kartarah while *Paṭṭāvalī* No 2 describes him as "Gunaratnasūripramukhaṇḍa pada samsthapaḥṣa. This description shows that Jinacandrasūri apparently started a branch of the Kharataragaccha with Gunaratnasūri at its head. Both the *Paṭṭāvalis* tell us that Jinacandrasūri died at Jesalameru in Śaṃvat 1530 i.e. A.D. 1474.

Presuming the identity of Gunākarasūri (after whom the Nagapura Tapogana was called as stated by Amarakīrti) with Gunaratnasūri who is mentioned in the *Kharataragaccha paṭṭāvalis* we may conclude that this branch of Kharataragaccha came into existence during the life time of Jinacandrasūri i.e. a few years before his death in A.D. 1474. We are inclined therefore to fix A.D. 1474 as one terminus to the date of Amarakīrti as he belonged to this Nagapura Tapogana of which Gunaratna or Gunakara was apparently the first Sūri. This terminus harmonises with Amarakīrti's reference to Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintamani* in the body of the commentary itself as shown above.

It is difficult to fix the other terminus to the date of Amarakīrti. The fragment of the Ms. before us has neither beginning nor end but judging from the condition of paper and the mode of writing it appears to me to be about 200 years old. If my impression is correct we shall have to add about 100 years to the age of our fragment so that Amarakīrti's date would go back to say before A.D. 1600. Now as Gunakara or Gunaratna was the first Sūri of the Nagapura Tapogana we must presume a few generations between him and Amarakīrti. At any rate an addition of about 75 years to A.D. 1474 would not be unreasonable. This argument would bring down the limits of Amarakīrti's date to say A.D. 1550 and 1600. We may, therefore, assign Amarakīrti tentatively to the 16th century till more conclusive data are obtained.

Miscellany

The Date of *Padyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī* of Bhāskara—Samvat 1730 (12th June 1673)

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar¹ in his note on the Ms of the *Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī* (No. 376 of 1884-87 in the Government Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona) remarks:—

“The commentary on the *Vṛttaraṇāṅkara* to be noticed below, apparently by the same author, was composed in Vikr. 1732 or 1676 A. D. Probably this author is the same as the author of the *Paribhāṣābhāṣkāra* noticed in my Report for 1883-84 (p. 60) for in both cases the author's name was Bhāskara, his father's Apaji, grandfather's Hari, and great-grandfather's Puruṣottama, the family name being Agnihotrin.”

In the above extract Dr. Bhandarkar arrives at his conclusion about the date and authorship of the *Padyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī* on indirect probable evidence. I record in this note direct Manuscript evidence which corroborates Dr. Bhandarkar's indirect evidence.

There are available in the Government Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute about 6 Mss of the *Padyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī* but none of them except No. 250 of 1880-81 contains the following extract giving the date of composition of the work and some information about the author himself in an exhaustive manner:—

“अयं वक्त्रे धरपुरीकृतवासाद् अग्निहोत्रिकुलनीरधिचन्द्रात् ।

पुरयपूर्णपुरुषोत्तमभट्टाद् उदचभूव सुकृती हरिभट्टः ॥१॥

वेदवाक्यनिचयावचयेन प्रेक्षितो विधिरिवेह बुधौयः ।

लोकगीतविमलायतकीर्तिः सोऽपि सन्धनमणिर्जयति स्म ॥२॥

तस्मादुद्धतकीर्तेः कृतसुकृतभरा संततन्दस्वतंतः

साधूनामप्रणयो गददलनविधौ मानवानां शरण्यः ।

काशीचेलाधिवासी हतकठिनतरारातिपङ्कगद्गम्भः

श्रीमान् आपाजिनंदः सुरयजनरतः शुद्धधीराविरासीत् ॥३॥

(3) अण्व्यदीक्षित (fol. 20) mentioned also as चिदमीमांसाकृत् belongs to the 3rd and 4th quarter of the 16th century i.e. between A. D. 1549 and 1613.⁴

(4) रसगङ्गाधर (fol. 20, 21) referred to by the author of the *Rasa-kaumudī* belongs to the 2nd and 3rd quarter of the 17th century i.e. to about 1659 A. D.⁵

(5) काव्यकौस्तुभकार (fol. 19) — If by काव्यकौस्तुभकार the author of the *Rasa-kaumudī* means Baladevavidyābhūṣaṇa we must assign *Rasa-kaumudī* to the middle of the 18th century (which is the period to which Baladevavidyābhūṣaṇa is assigned by scholars)⁶ and A. D. 1834 the date of the B.O.R.I. copy of the *Rasa-kaumudī*. Aufrecht states in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* that Baladeva wrote his work *Utkalikāvallari* in A. D. 1765.⁷

On the strength of the above references we are in a position to fix the limits for the date of the *Rasa-kaumudī*. These limits are A. D. 1659, the date of the *Rasagaṅgādhara* and A. D. 1834 the date of the B. O. R. I. Ms of the work described above. These limits can still be narrowed down if the identity of Kāvya-kāustubhakāra with Baladevavidyābhūṣaṇa as suggested by us is correct. In that case the date of the *Rasa-kaumudī* must lie between A. D. 1765 and 1834 or roughly we may say that the work was written towards the end of the 18th century.

P. K. GODE

Bühler's mistaken Identity of Vidyādhara, the author of the *Sāhityavidyādhari*, Commentary on the *Naiṣadhiya Carita* and of *Cāritravardhana*, the author of Commentaries on *Raghuvamśa*, *Kumārasambhava* etc.

In one¹ of my *Notes on Indian Chronology* on the date of *Cāritravardhana*, I tried to fix the limits of his date viz. A.D. 1172 and 1385. Incidentally I stated in this note that *Cāritravardhana* was also called Vidyādhara or *Sāhityavidyādhara*, son of Rāmacandrabhīṣak. My statement of identity of *Cāritravardhana* and Vidyādhara was based on the following entry in Aufrecht's *Catalogue*² :—

4 —Ibid—, Vol. I, p. 220.

5 —Ibid—, p. 276.

6 —Ibid—, p. 185.

7 —Ibid—, p. 185.

1 *Annals*, Vol. XV, pp. 100-111. (Note No. XIX)

in the work, its title *Rasakāumudī* is recorded in the following verses which introduce the work :—

“श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।

शृङ्गारी हास्यरूपी करुणबहुविधो रौद्रमूर्तिश्च वीरो
भोष्मं देहं दधानो निजदयितयुतो भूमिवीभत्सवासी ।
सर्वेष्वाध्वर्युरूपी दिविजपरिणुतो पार्वतीस्नेहधारी
देवः पूर्वं जगति जयति धीमहेशाभिधानः ॥१॥
नमस्कृत्य स्वकीयेष्टं ध्रुत्वा ग्रन्थान् गुरोर्मुखात् ।
रसबोधाय सर्वेषां रच्यते रसकौमुदी ॥२॥

The work, though not original, appears to be pretty learned and critical and the author seems to be acquainted with the standard authors on *alankāraśāstra*. He mentions in this work the following authors and works :—

साहित्यदर्पणकारः (fol. 2, 5, 7) ; दर्पणकाराः (fol. 10) ; दर्पणकारः (fol. 10, 19, 13, 12) ; दर्पणोक्ति (fol. 22) ; तरङ्गिणीकाराः (fol. 2) ; तरङ्गिणीकारः (fol. 3) ; भानुदत्त (fol. 4) ; रसमञ्जरीकाराः (fol. 13) ; प्राचीनैः (fol. 4, 5, 10, 14, 16, 18, 20) ; ‘प्राच्यो’ (fol. 5, 13, 21) ; नवीनाः प्रयोधचन्द्रोदयादौ (fol. 4) ; सूतार (fol. 4) ; काव्यप्रकाश (fol. 4, 5, 14, 17, 19, 20) ; मम्मट (fol. 5) ; भरतः (fol. 5, 11, 13) ; मालतीमाधव (fol. 8) ; रामायण (fol. 8) . वेणीसंहारण (fol. 8) ; मृच्छकटिक (fol. 10) ; कुमारसंभव (fol. 18) ; रत्नावली (fol. 18) ; चित्तमीमांसा (fol. 19) ; चित्तमीमांसाकार (fol. 20) ; चित्तमीमांसाकृत् (fol. 22) ; अप्ययदीक्षित (fol. 20) ; काव्यकौस्तुभकार (fol. 19) ; रसगङ्गाधर (fol. 20).

“रसगङ्गाधरकृता चित्रमीमांसाभूषणखण्डनावसरे” (fol. 20).

The Ms has no elaborate colophon but a brief ending on folio 23 which reads :—“इत्यलं समाप्ता रसकौमुदीयं सं १=६०”

The foregoing list of references is sufficient to show the late character of this treatise on *rasa*. Among other references in the list we choose the following which enable us to fix the probable date of the work :—

(1) साहित्यदर्पणकार (fol. 2, 5, etc.) also called दर्पणकार in the work is assigned by scholars to a period between A. D. 1300 and 1350.¹

(2) भानुदत्त fol. 4 also referred to as तरङ्गिणीकार and रसमञ्जरीकार in the present work is assigned to a period between A. D. 1100 and 1350.²

1 *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 325

2 —Ibid—, p. 236.

3 —Ibid—, p. 249.

(3) अण्व्यदीक्षित (fol. 20) mentioned also as चित्रमीमांसाकृत् belongs to the 3rd and 4th quarter of the 16th century i.e. between A. D. 1549 and 1613.⁴

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On the strength of the above references we are in a position to fix the limits for the date of the *Rasa-kaumudī*. These limits are A. D. 1659, the date of the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* and A. D. 1834 the date of the B. O. R. I. Ms of the work described above. These limits can still be narrowed down if the identity of Kāvya-kaustubhakāra with Baladevavidyābhūṣaṇa as suggested by us is correct. In that case the date of the *Rasa-kaumudī* must lie between A. D. 1765 and 1834 or roughly we may say that the work was written towards the end of the 18th century.

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The answer to the above question is furnished by the statement of Pandit Shivadatta, who in his Sanskrit Introduction to the edition of the *Naiṣadhiya Carita*⁷ states that Cāritravardhana wrote a commentary on the *Naiṣadhiya* called *Tilaka* (चारित्रवर्धनेन विरचिता तिलकाख्या) and that Vidyādhara wrote another commentary on the same work called *Sāhityavidyādhari* (विद्याधरेण विरचिता साहित्यविद्याधर्याख्या). He further gives a list of the Mss of different commentaries on the *Naiṣadhiya* utilised by him and the persons from whom they were borrowed. This list includes a Ms of *Tilaka* commentary of Cāritravardhana borrowed from Rājaguru Dādhica Candreśvara of Jaipur and a Ms. of *Sāhityavidyādhari* from Rājaguru Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa of the same place. Pandit Shivadatta has utilized both these commentaries in his footnotes to the edition e.g. footnote 1 on page 3 reads : --

“अत्र श्रीहर्षैर्यमकमुरजसर्वतोभद्रप्रमुखान्वन्धानर्थपुष्टिकराननादित्यार्थपुष्टिकरोऽनुशास-
भिषशन्दालंकारः प्रायः प्रयुज्ये” इति चारित्रवर्धनविरचिततिलकख्या १”

The above evidence furnished by Pandit Shivadatta's statements proves that both these commentators viz. Vidyādhara and Cāritravardhana are two different persons and that they wrote two different commentaries on the same work *Naiṣadhiya*. These commentaries are known by two different names. Cāritravardhana's commentary is known by the name *Tilaka* while Vidyādhara's is known by the name *Sāhityavidhyādhari*. Further we find that Mss of both these commentaries are in existence. One Ms of each of these commentaries was utilised by Pandit Shivadatta as far back as 1894.

In my opinion the foregoing data have conclusively proved the mistaken character of Dr. Buhler's supposed identity of Vidyādhara and Cāritravardhana and the consequent copying of this error by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus catalogorum* at two places as pointed out above.

Miscellany

A Commentary on the *Naiṣadhiya-Carita* by Lakṣmanabhāṭṭa and its probable date—between A.D. 1431 and 1730 or the first half of the 16th Century.

Aufrecht¹ records the following Mss. of the commentary called *Gūdhārthapraṇāṣikā* by Lakṣmaṇa, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa :—

(1) “—Peters. 4. 27 (1), Extr. 26.”

(2) “—Stein 69 (8-15).”

No. 1 of the above entries is the same as No. 716 of 1886-92 in the Govt. Mss. Library. This Ms contains the commentary of Lakṣmaṇa on the 1st Canto only. No 2 of the above entries of Aufrecht is a Ms. belonging to the Library of H.H. the Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir—described by Dr. Stein on p. 69 of his Catalogue (1894).

The Manuscript No 716 of 1886-92 referred to above contains commentary for only the 1st Canto of the *Naiṣadha* and consists of 31 folios. Even such a small portion of the commentary bristles with numerous references to earlier works and authors as will be seen from the following list :—

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4. श्रीहर्ष (fol. 2,)
5. धातुपाठ (fol. 2,13,)
6. धातुवृत्तिः (fol. 2,)
7. वृहदिः (fol. 2,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,17,18,20,22,23,24,25,26,27,)
8. अमरः (fol. 2,5,6,7,8,9,10,12,13,16,17,18,19,20,21,23,24,25,26, 28, 29,30,)
9. जीवातुः (fol. 2,4,5,6,20,30,31,)
10. भारत (fol. 2,4,6,7,8,)
11. विश्वः (fol. 3,5,7,11,12,13,18,20,21,22,23,24,25, विश्वकोष (fol.9,)
12. दंडी (fol. 3,30,)
13. भोज (fol. 3, श्रीभोजः fol. 9,)
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5. धातुपाठ (fol. 2,13.)
6. धातुवृत्तिः (fol. 2.)
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8. अमरः (fol. 2,5,6,7,8,9,10,12,13,16,17,18,19,20,21,23,24,25,26, 28, 29,30.)
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14. महाभाष्य (fol. 3, 6)
15. भाष्यकारः (fol. 3.)

mostly scattered in different rare publications which are not in the easy reach of a student. Besides a large body of material accumulated round the interpretations of various terms, etc., occurring in the texts, and the absence of a single work on a subject is regarded as a serious handicap to a proper appreciation of the entire range of interests which the available records offer in the field of historical research. Dr. Sen's proposed work which is intended to remove this want will attempt in form of a compendium to give all the information that can possibly be derived from epigraphic sources regarding the varied problems of India's cultural and political history treated on a chronological basis. The series will open with an article on the Edicts of Āśoka.

Indices to several Anthologies were prepared by the Editor for his own use long ago and one of them was published in the August number. It has, however, been brought to our notice that Dr. S. K. De of the Dacca University has brought out a new edition of the *Padyācali* and Dr. De's work is sure to contain a good index. So far as we are aware, however, no index to the *Rasika Jirama* has ever been published and so the Index to that work will appear in the December number of the Journal.

STUDIES IN BHĀSA

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

ASSISTANT WITH ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

(Continued from JAOS 41 107ff)

III On the relationship between the Carudatta and the Mṛcchakatika¹

THE CLOSE CORRESPONDENCE between the anonymous fragment² of the Carudatta, and the celebrated Mṛcchakatika,³ attributed to Śudraka, inevitably necessitates the assumption of a genetic relationship, and indisputably excludes the possibility of independent origin.

It is commonly taken for granted⁴ that the Carudatta is the original of the Mṛcchakatika, a relation which does not, however, necessarily and immediately follow from the terseness or brevity of one, nor from (what amounts to the same thing) the length and prolixity of the other, for, in adaptation, abridgment is as common and natural a determining principle as amplification.⁵ In view of the intrinsic importance of the question, it seemed,

¹A paper presented at the One Hundred Thirty-third Meeting (Baltimore 1921) of the American Oriental Society, under the title 'The Carudatta and the Mṛcchakatika: their mutual relationship'.

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³Ed. N. B. Gōḍabole (Bombay), 1896.

⁴For instance Ganapati Sastrī in the Introduction to his editions of *Svapnavāśavadattā* (p. xiviii) and the *Carudatta* (p. i), *Lindenau, Indische Studien* (Leipzig 1918) p. 11, and Barnett (hesitatingly) *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. I, part III (1920), pp. 30ff.

⁵Some attempt has already been made in India to discredit the genuineness of the Carudatta, see, for instance, Rangacarya Raddi *Udhā-mana vistara* (Bombay) 1916 and P. V. Kane, *ibid* 1920, Bhatta *the Seaman Inland Antiquary* vol. 45 pp. 189ff.

mostly scattered in different rare publications which are not the easy reach of a student. Besides a large body of material accumulated round the interpretations of various terms expressions etc. occurring in the texts and the absence of a single work on subject is regarded as a serious handicap to a proper appreciation of the entire range of interests which the available records now offer in the field of historical research. Dr. Sen's proposed work which is intended to remove this want will attempt in form of a compendium to give all the information that can possibly be derived from epigraphic sources regarding the various problems of India's cultural and political history treated on a critical basis. The series will open with an article on the Edicts of Asoka.

Indices to several Anthologies were prepared by the Editor for his own use long ago and one of them was published in the August number. It has however been brought to our notice that Dr. S. K. De of the Dacca University has brought out a new edition of the *Padyaavali* and Dr. De's work is sure to contain a good index. So far as we are aware however no index to the *Rasika* has ever been published and so the Index to that work will appear in the December number of the Journal.

STUDIES IN BHASA

V. S. SUNKHANAR

FORMERLY WITH ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

(Continued from JAOS 41 107ff)

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THE CLOSE CORRESPONDENCE between the anonymous fragment² of the Carudatta, and the celebrated Mrcchakatikā,³ attributed to Śūdraka, inevitably necessitates the assumption of a genetic relationship and indisputably excludes the possibility of independent origin.

It is commonly taken for granted⁴ that the Carudatta is the original of the Mrcchakatikā, a relation which does not, however, necessarily and immediately follow from the terseness or brevity of the former, nor from (what amounts to the same thing) the length and prolixity of the other, for, in adaptation, abridgment is as natural and natural a determining principle as amplification.⁵ In view of the intrinsic importance of the question, it seemed,

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therefore, desirable to undertake an unbiased and exhaustive investigation so as to remove (if possible) the haze of uncertainty subounding the subject

Only the resemblances between the two plays appear hitherto to have attracted any attention, the differences between them are, however, equally remarkable and much more instructive. A careful comparative study of the two versions produces highly valuable text critical results, which help further the understanding of the plays and throw unexpected light on the subject of our inquiry

Regarding their relationship there are only two logical possibilities either, one of the plays has formed directly the basis of the other, or else both of them are to be traced to a common source. In the former case we are called upon to answer the question, which of the two plays is the original, in the latter, which of them is closer to the original.

We cannot be too careful in deciding what is original and what is not. The original may have been concise and well proportioned, and later clumsy attempts at improvement may have introduced digressions, tiresome repetitions and insipid elaborations, on the other hand, the original may have been prolix and loose, and subsequent revision may have pruned away the redundancies. Again, one may feel justified in assuming that the inaccuracies and inconsistencies of the original would be corrected in a later revised version, but one must also readily concede that a popular dramatic text like the *Mrccha katika*, after it had been written down, during its migrations through centuries over such a vast territory as India, may have undergone occasional distortion and corruption.

Every change, however minute, presupposes a cause; even the worst distortion was ushered in with the best of intentions, and though it may not always be possible to trace a given change to its proper cause, we are safe in assuming that in a limited number of favorable instances the intrinsic character of the passages under consideration may spontaneously suggest the cause for the change, and readily supply a clue to the relative priority and posteriority of two variations. In isolated

* See particularly Ganapati Sastri: *Svābhavāsavadattā*, Introduction, pp. xxxviii xlii

instances we could say no more than that the change in a certain direction appears more probable than a change in the contrary direction. But the cumulative force of a sufficient number of analogous instances, all supporting one aspect of the question, would amply justify our giving precedence to that particular alternative and treating it as a working hypothesis. The problem, therefore, before us is to collect such instances, in which the motive for the change is directly perceptible and capable of objective verification. The cumulative effect of the indications of these scattered traces should not fail to give us the correct perspective. This digression was necessary in order to explain the methodology underlying the present investigation.

The textual differences between the two versions comprise a large mass of details of varying importance. The selection presented below, though conditioned on the one hand by the requirements of the present inquiry, is by no means exhaustive; for lack of space, only a few typical examples have been singled out for discussion.

A SELECTION OF SIGNIFICANT TEXTUAL DIFFERENCES.

We shall now proceed to a discussion of the textual variations, roughly classified here under four headings: 1. Technique; 2. Prakrit; 3. Versification; and 4. Dramatic incident.

1. Technique.

In point of technique the *Cāradatta* differs from the *Mṛcchakatika* (as from other classical dramas) in two striking particulars. In the first place, the usual *nāṇḍī* is missing, in both the available manuscripts of the *Cāradatta*; in the second place, there is no reference to the name of the author or the play, in the *sthāpapa*, which does not contain even the usual address to the audience.

The *Mṛcchakatika*, as is well known, begins with two benedictory verses; the name of the play is announced in the opening words of the *sūtradhāra*; then follow five verses which allude to the play, the playwright, and other details not directly connected with the action.

¹ The verses in the prologue which refer to the death of the alleged

Elsewhere⁸ I have tried to show that the *Cārudatta* is a fragment. I hold, accordingly, that we should not be justified in basing our conclusions regarding the technique of termination on the data of the fragment preserved.

Worth noting appears to be the fact that in the stage directions of the *Cārudatta*, the hero is never called by his name or his rank, but merely by the character of the rôle he plays, *nāyaka*. Professor Lüders⁹ has already drawn attention to two other instances of this usage (if it may be called a usage), namely, a drama belonging to the Turfan fragments, and the play *Nāgānanda* attributed to Harṣa. Prof. Lüders sees in it an archaism intentionally copied by the author of the *Nāgānanda*. At present we can, it seems to me, do nothing more than record this third instance of its occurrence in a play of uncertain age and authorship.

2. Prakrit.

In the first article of this series, it was shown in a general way that the Prakrit of the whole group of plays under consideration was more archaic than the Prakrit of the classical plays.¹⁰ This statement holds good also in the particular case of the *Cārudatta* and the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. A comparison of parallel passages in the two plays shows that the *Mṛcchakaṭika* invariably contains Middle-Prakrit¹¹ forms in place of the Old-Prakrit forms of the *Cārudatta*. Here are the examples.

The Absolute of the roots *gam* and *kr*. *Cāru.* has the Old-Prakrit *gacchia* and *kāria* (*kalīa*): *Mṛccha.* *gadua* and *kadua*. Cf. in particular *Cāru.* 1 *geham gacchia jānāmi* with the corresponding passage, *Mṛccha.* 7 *geham gadua jānāmi*. The form *gadua*, which never occurs in the *Cāru*, is used uniformly in the *Mṛccha*.—For the absolute of *kr*,¹² *karia*

author are palpably later additions. This self-evident fact does not, however, necessarily justify the assumption that there was no reference whatsoever to the author in the prologue of the original draft.

⁸ See above, footnote 2.

⁹ *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen (Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft I)*, Berlin, 1911, p. 26.

¹⁰ Above, vol. 40, pp. 248 ff.

¹¹ See above, vol. 40, p. 254.

¹² Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

(Sauraseni) Cāru. 46, *kaḷia* (Māgadhi) Cāru. 23: *kaḍua* (Sauraseni and Māgadhi) Mṛccha. 53, 212, 213, etc. In the Cāru. *kaḍua* never occurs; conversely *karia* is never met with in the Mṛccha.

Pronoun of the 1st Person; nom. sing. Cāru. 23 we have the Old-Māgadhi *ahake*¹³ (but never *hage* or *hagge*): Mṛccha. (passim) *hag(g)e* (but never *ahake*). Noteworthy is the following correspondence. Cāru. I. 12c *aham tumam ganhia*: Mṛccha. I. 29c *eṣe hage genhia*.—Nom. plu. Cāru. 49. has the Old-Prakrit *vaam*:¹⁴ Mṛccha. (passim) *amhe*. The form *amhe* (nom. plu.) is never met with in the Cāru., and conversely *vaam* never occurs in the Mṛccha.

Pronoun of the 2nd Person; nom. sing. Cāru. (passim) we have Old-Prakrit *tuvam*:¹⁵ Mṛccha. (passim) *tumam*. Cf. especially Cāru. 34 *kim tumam*, etc., with the corresponding passage Mṛccha. 79 *hañje tumam mae, saḥa*, etc.—Gen. sing. Cāru. uniformly *tava*:¹⁶ Mṛccha. sometimes *tuha*. Cf. in particular Cāru. 25 *tava geham pavitthā* with Mṛccha. 59 *tuha geham pavistā*.

The Neuter plu. of nom. and acc. of thematic stems ends in the Cāru. invariably in *-āni* (*-āni* in the Aśvaghoṣa fragments): in the Mṛccha. it ends in *-āim*.

Treatment of the assimilated conjunct. Retained in Cāru. 16 *diṣṣadi*:¹⁷ (as in the Turfan fragments): simplified in Mṛccha.

¹³ See above, vol. 40, p. 253. Dr. Truman Michelson has drawn my attention to an article of his (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, vol. 23, p. 129) in which he points out that the Māgadhi *ahake* occurs several times in the Devanāgarī recension of the Śakuntalā. The paragraph on this word in my article cited above needs modification in view of this fact. The statement that *ahake* is archaic is none the less correct.

¹⁴ See above, vol. 40, p. 258.

¹⁵ See above, vol. 40, p. 257. In the references under no. 9 the last item 'Cāru. 2 (Nati)' is a mistake. Here *tuvam* is used for the acc. sing., and not for the nom. sing. as implied. Accordingly, on the same page, in l. 6 from bottom, read 'thrice' instead of 'twice', and add this instance. Cāru. instances of *tumam* (nom. sing.) are Cāru. 34 (Ganikā), 47 (Ceti), etc.

¹⁶ See above, vol. 40, p. 257.

¹⁷ See above, vol. 40, p. 258.—The form *diṣ-*, with the simplified conjunct, is met with on the same page (Cāru. 16), spoken by the same character, Śākara.

41 *disanti* The root form *diss-* (*diss-*) is never met with in the Mṛccha, which shows uniformly *dis-* (*dis-*)

Vocabulary Cāru uniformly *geha* (Skt *grha*) Mṛccha 39 *ghala* Cf especially Caru 16 *edam tassa geham* with Mṛccha 39 *amado tassa ghalam* —The Old Prakrit affirmative particle *ama*,¹⁸ which occurs in Pali and the Turfan* fragments and which figures so conspicuously in Caru (e g pp 4, 20, 64, etc), is never met with in the Mṛccha —There is one other thing to be noted about the difference in the vocabulary of the two versions While the Mṛccha contains a number of Deśi words (not found in the Cāru), the vocabulary of the Caru consists notably of pure tatsamas and tadbhavas Here follow some of the Deśi words which occur in the Mṛccha Mṛccha 17 *chiva*, 'having touched', from root *chv* (Hem 4 182) with the reflexes in the Tertiary Pkts., Hindi *chuna*, Marathi *suane*, 'to touch', Mṛccha 104 *dhakhehi*, 'shut', from *dhakka*, *dhakke*, traced by Pischel (*Grammatik* 221) to a root **sthak*, with reflexes in the Tertiary Pkts., Hindi *dhakna*, Marathi *dhalne*, 'to cover', Mṛccha 134 *uddhehi*, 'open', for which in the corresponding passage of the Caru (p 19) we have a tadbhava of the root *apa + vr*,¹⁹ and which for that reason is particularly worthy of note, Mṛccha 207 *karatta dami*, 'malevolent ogress' (cf Marathi *karata*, a term of abuse, and *dakṇ*, 'ogress')

3 Versification

In the verses common to the two plays the Mṛcchakaṭika almost always offers better readings, of which a few are cited below.

For Caru I 3b *yathāndhal arūd na dipadarśanam*, we have Mṛccha I 10b, *ghanāndhakareshv na* etc., in which *ghana* is substituted for the tautologous *yatha*

Similarly, instead of the Prakrit line Caru I 10b *jaha sigali na kikkulehi*, containing the same fault, we have Mṛccha I 28b *tane siḍḍi na kikkulehi*, in which *tane* takes the place of *jahā*

¹⁸ See above vol 40 p 254

¹⁹ The text reading is *ataruda* imp 2nd sing., which is evidently incorrect What the correct form should be I am unable to say The initial letters *ataru* of the word show unmistakably that the root is *apa + vr*

For Cāru. I. 3c *yo yāti daśāṁ daridrātām*, we have Mṛccha I. 10c *yo yāti naro' daridrātām*. It is correct to say *daśāṁ daridrām*, but *daśāṁ daridrātām* is clumsy, to say the least.

Cāru. I. 23a begins *eśā hi vāsū*; instead, we have Mṛccha. I. 41a *eśā śi vāsū*. The *śi* which takes the place of *hi* eliminates the expletive *hi*, and adds moreover another sibilant to the row of alliterating syllables. In the same verse, for *kūjāhi kandāhi* of the Cāru., we have *akkośa iṅkośa* in the Mṛccha., which serves better the purpose of the anuprāsa, the dominating alaṅkāra of this verse. Similarly in d, instead of *maheśśalaṁ* of the Cāru., we have *śambhūṁ śivam* in the Mṛccha., which latter reading contains an additional sibilant as well as a pleonasm.²⁰ These are minor details, but they all tend in the same direction.

For Cāru. I. 25a *akāmā hriyate 'smābhīḥ*, we have Mṛccha. I. 44a *sakāmānvīṣyate 'smābhīḥ*. The reason for the change is not obvious, as in the foregoing instances. But a closer examination of the context will show that the reading of the Mṛccha. marks a distinct improvement, in so far as it implies a more minute analysis of character. In the Cāru. the ingenuous Viṭa inculpates Śakāra and himself by admitting that they were engaged in carrying away forcibly an unwilling maiden. In the Mṛccha. the artful Viṭa, readily inventing a plausible lie and explaining that they were following a girl who was willing, offers undoubtedly a much better excuse.

Cāru. I. 29a describes the moon as *klīnnakharjūrapāṇḍu*, 'pale as the moistened fruit of the date'; Mṛccha. I. 57a has *kāminīyagandagūṇḍu*, 'pale as a maiden's cheek'. The former is original and naïve, the latter polished but hackneyed; the latter harmonizes better with the sentiment of śṛṅgāra which pervades the last scene of the first act, and is more in keeping with the tradition of the later enervated rasa theory.

For Cāru. III. 3d *viśāṇakoṭīva nimajjamānā*, 'like the tip of a tusk sinking in the water', the Mṛccha. (III. 7d) has *tikṣṇam viśāṇāgram ivāvāśiṣṭam*, 'like the sharp tip of a tusk that alone remains visible'. As far as the sense goes there is not much to choose between them; but the line from the Cāru.

²⁰ According to Lalla Dikṣita, commentator of the Mṛcchakaṭika: *vyarthakārtham'apārtham bhavati ki vacanam śakāraṇya* (Mṛccha. 25).

contains one serious defect. In classical Skt. the root *ni-majj* is used exclusively with Paras. terminations; *nimajjamānā* is, in other words, nothing less than a gross grammatical blunder.²¹

With Cāru. III. 6b *śauryaṁ na kārkaśyatā*, cf. Mṛccha. III. 12b *cauryaṁ na śauryaṁ hi tat. kārkaśyatā* of the Cāru. is an anomalous word, being a double abstract formation. The Mṛccha. eliminates this anomaly by substituting instead *caurya*, which, incidentally, rhymes with the succeeding *śaurya*.

These few instances²² must suffice to illustrate the statement made above, that the Mṛccha. verses are largely free from the flaws of the corresponding verses of the Cāru. It should, however, be remarked that in a vast number of cases it is not possible to assign an adequate reason for the change: the different readings appear to be just arbitrary variations.

4. Dramatic Incident.

The Mṛcchakaṭika shows a marked improvement in the selection and arrangement of the incidents of the action.

The action of the Cārudatta begins with a soliloquy of the Vidūṣaka followed by a lengthy dialogue between the Nāyaka and the Vidūṣaka. The hero is conversing with his friend, deploring his poverty. This dialogue is brought to an abrupt end by the scene introducing Vasantasenā, who appears on the street outside pursued by the Śākara and the Viṭa (Cāru. 10). In the Mṛcchakaṭika (p. 25) the abruptness of the change of scene is skillfully avoided by the addition of the following words placed in the mouth of Cārudatta:

bhavatu | tiṣṭha tāvat | ahaṁ samādhiṁ nirvartayāmi,

'Very well. Wait awhile and I will finish my meditation.'

These words of Cārudatta serve admirably to adjust the time relation of the different events. The playwright here unmistakably indicates that the succeeding scene, which introduces the offers of love by Śākara, their indignant rejection by Vasantasenā, and her subsequent escape, develops during Cārudatta's

²¹ Similar solecisms, met with in other dramas of this group, are discussed by me in the second article of the series (above, vol. 41, pp. 121 ff.).

²² It may be remarked that there are no verses in the second act of the Cārudatta, and only seven in the fourth act.

samādhi. Furthermore, as indicated by the subsequent words of Cārudatta (Mṛccha. 43): *rayasya sanūptajapo 'smi*, 'Friend, my meditation is over', Vasantasenā's reaching the door of Cārudatta's house coincides exactly in point of time with the emergence of Cārudatta from his samādhi. The words of Cārudatta quoted above, which serve to link together these various groups of incidents, are missing in the Cārudatta.

Here is another example. In the fourth act of the Cārudatta (p. 72), Sajjalaka comes to the house of the Gaṇikā to buy Madanikā's freedom. He stands outside the house and calls out for Madanikā. Madanikā, who is waiting on the heroine, hears him and, seeing that her mistress is musing on other things, slips away and joins Sajjalaka. The defect of this arrangement is obvious: it is inconsistent and illogical. With stolen goods in his possession Sajjalaka sneaks to the house of the heroine with the object of secretly handing over the spoils of his theft to Madanikā. Under these circumstances it is the height of indiscretion to stand outside the house of the heroine and shout for his mistress at the top of his voice. Again, if Madanikā is able to hear Sajjalaka, so should Vasantasenā, who is sitting close by, be able to hear him. Apparently she fails to do so owing to her preoccupation; but this is a circumstance that could not have been foreseen even by a scientific burglar like Sajjalaka. The situation in the Mṛcchakatika (p. 169) is much more realistic. On reaching Vasantasenā's house, Śarvilaka, instead of calling out for Madanikā, hangs about outside the house waiting his opportunity. The meeting of the lovers is brought about in the following manner. Soon after Śarvilaka reaches the house of Vasantasenā, the latter sends away Madanikā on an errand; on her way back, Madanikā is discovered by Śarvilaka, whom she thereupon naturally joins.

One more instance, which is the last. A time analysis of the first three acts of the Cārudatta will show that the incidents developed in these acts are supposed to take place on three consecutive days, the sixth, seventh and eighth of a certain lunar fortnight. Here are the specific references. Cārudatta 7, the Vidūṣaka, in speaking of the Nayaka, applies the adjective *saṭṭhikidaderakayya* to him, which incidentally shows that that day was the sixth. Latter on in the same act, (Cāru. 30), addressing the Ceṭi, the Vidūṣaka says:

satthue sattamīe a dharehī | aham atthamīe anaddhae dharaissam

The arrangement he proposes is that the Ceṭi should guard the jewels of the Gaṇikā on the sixth and the seventh and that he should take over the charge of them on the eighth. In the third act we have a confirmation of the same arrangement. Caru 53, Ceṭi remarks

*iam sutannabhandam satthue sattamīe (paruetthamī?) | atthamī
khu ayya.*

The Ceṭi, appearing before the Vidusaka, with the jewels on the night of the eighth, points out that she has guarded them on the sixth and the seventh and adds that that day being the eighth it is the turn of the Vidusaka. Later on in the same act (Caru 65) the Brahmarī the hero's wife incidentally mentions that she was observing on that day the Fast of the Sixth²³, to which the Vidusaka pointedly retorts that that day was the eighth and not the sixth²⁴. These various references leave no doubt that the events that form the action of the first three acts are supposed to take place within the span of three consecutive days.

There are in the play some further chronological data which we must also take into consideration. They comprise two lyrical stanzas which describe respectively the rising and the setting of the moon. In that elegant little verse (Cāru I. 29) beginning with

udayati in sasandahī linnakharapurāṇḍuhī

the moon is described as *rising*, late in the evening after the lapse of a short period of darkness following upon sunset, during which Vasantasenā escapes from the clutches of the evil Śakara. In the third act, on his way home from the concert, Carudatta, in a lyrical mood, recites another verse (Cāru III. 3) beginning with

*asau hi dattā timiravakāsam
astam gato hy astamapal'sacandrah,²⁵*

and having for its theme the *setting* moon

²³ The words of the Brahmarī are *nam satthum uvarasamī*

²⁴ The Vidusaka observes *atthamī khu ayya*

²⁵ Translation. For yonder the Moon of the Eighth, giving place to darkness has sunk behind the western mount.

This is the chronological material of the Cārudatta. Let us turn for a moment to the Mṛcchakatika and examine its data. Here also apparently the same conditions prevail. Apparently the events of the first three acts take place on three consecutive days, but only apparently so. There is nothing in the play itself from which the duration of the action could be precisely computed.

To begin with, the reference to the *saṣṭhī* is missing from the opening words of the Vidūṣaka in the first act. In place of *saṣṭhīkīdādevakayya* of the Cārudatta, we have the reading *siddhikīdādevakajja*, in which *siddhī* takes the place of *saṣṭhī*. Likewise we find that all subsequent references to the lunar dates are missing from the succeeding speeches of the Vidūṣaka and the Servant. An entirely different scheme has been adopted for the division of labor between the Vidūṣaka and the Servant. The Servant explains in the third act (Mṛccha. 137) the arrangement arrived at as follows:

*ajja mittea edaṃ taṃ sūvaṇṇabhaṇḍaṃ mama divā tuha
lattiṃ ca,*

'Maitreya, here is the golden casket, that's mine by day and yours by night'; no reference here to the *saṣṭhī*, *sattamī* and *aṭṭhamī* of the Cārudatta. This is not all. The verse from the third act of the Cāru. cited above, containing a reference to the date, has also been substantially modified. Cāru. III. 3b specifically states the date to be eighth: *astaṃ gato hy aṣṭama-pakṣacandraḥ*. In the Mṛcchakatika version the line reads (Mṛccha. III. 7b); *astaṃ vrajati unnatakotiṃ indub*. The phrase *unnatakoti* has taken the place of *aṣṭamapakṣa*, which brought in its train, naturally, the change of *gato* to a word like *vrajati*.²⁶ It is true that later on, in the same act of the Mṛcchakatika (p. 159), the Vadhū, Cārudatta's wife, refers to *saṣṭhī*, saying that she is observing the *raaṇasaṣṭhī* (*ratnaṣaṣṭhī*).²⁷ But here also a significant omission confronts us. The Vidūṣaka, instead of correcting her, accepts her statement with the necklace, and there the matter rests.

²⁶ The present tense *vrajati* gives better sense than the past *gato*, in regard to the simile contained in lines c and d.

²⁷ Instead of the vague *saṣṭhī* of the Cārudatta we have the more specific *raaṇasaṣṭhī* in the Mṛcchakatika.

As remarked above apparently the joint duration of the first three acts of the *Mr̥cchakaṭṭhika* is also three days. But I have grave doubts whether any strict proof can be brought forward to support such an assumption. I have read the drama carefully and I have failed to find any allusion that necessitates such a time scheme. However that may be it is absolutely certain that the specific references of the *Carudatta* to the lunar dates are conspicuous by their absence in the other play.

At this place it may be observed that the tithi scheme of the *Carudatta* taken in conjunction with the references to moon rise and moon set in the verses already cited involves a chronological inconsistency so minute and so latent as to be hardly noticeable. But the inconsistency is nevertheless an undeniable fact. For the rising of the moon late in the evening and the setting of the moon at or about midnight²⁸ are phenomena that inherently belong to two different lunar fortnights. Only in the dark fortnight does the moon rise late in the evening and only in the bright fortnight does the moon set at or shortly after midnight. In other words, if the moon is seen rising late in the evening on any particular day it is nothing less than a physical impossibility that after an interval of forty eight hours the moon should be seen setting at or about midnight.

The general time-scheme of the *Carudatta* has thus been shown to contain a latent contradiction from which the *Mr̥cchakaṭṭhika* is wholly free owing to the absence therein of any specific references to the days on which the action takes place.

Are these variations arbitrary, or are they directly or indirectly related, and if so how?

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Briefly summarized the significant differences between the two versions discussed above are the following. Firstly in point of technique the *Carudatta* differs conspicuously from the other play in the absence of the *nāṇḍī* and in having a rudimentary *sthāpana*. Secondly the Prakrit of the *Carudatta* is more archaic than that of the *Mr̥cchakaṭṭhika*, in so far that the

²⁸ According to the words of the hero just preceding the verse *asau hi dattia* etc (*Caru* III 3) *aparudho rdharatrah* (*Caru* 50)

former contains a number of Old-Prakrit forms not found in the latter. Thirdly, as regards versification, the text of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* marks an advance upon the other play in the following directions: rectification of grammatical mistakes; elimination of redundancies and awkward constructions; and introduction of other changes which may be claimed to be improvements in the form and substance of the verses. Fourthly and lastly, because of suitable additions and omissions, the *Mṛcchakaṭika* presents a text free from many of the flaws, such as unrealities and inconsistencies, in the action of the *Cārudatta*.

These are the facts of the case. Do these facts enable us to decide the question of priority and anteriority?

Let us assume first, for the sake of argument, that the *Cārudatta* contains older material (at least in respect of the passages discussed above) which was worked up later into the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

The differences in the technique neither support nor contradict definitely such an assumption. The *nāṇḍi*, for all we can say, may have been lost. The words *nāṇḍyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ* do not militate against such a supposition: they could be used with or without a *nāṇḍi* appearing in the text. Moreover, we cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, rightly evaluate the absence of all reference to the name of the play and the playwright in the *sthāpanā*.²⁹ To say that in pre-classical times that was the practice is begging the question. The only technique of introduction with which we are familiar is the well-known classical model. Again the only play which is definitely known to antedate the classical plays is the Turfan fragment of Aśvaghōṣa's drama. Unfortunately, as the beginning of the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*³⁰ is missing, we are not in a position to say whether the prologue of the dramas of Aśvaghōṣa conformed to the standard of the classical dramas, or that of the dramas of the group under consideration. We are therefore bound to admit that at present we have no clear evidence that can aid us in placing with any degree of assurance,

²⁹ The references in the text-books of rhetoric and dramaturgy are obscure and partly contradictory.

³⁰ Ed. Lüders, *Sitzungsberichte d. kgl. preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.* 1911.

chronologically or topographically, a drama with the technical peculiarities of the Carudatta

But the priority of the Carudatta version would explain, and satisfactorily explain, all the other differences between the two plays. It would explain the presence of archaisms in the Prakrit of the Carudatta. It would explain why many of the verses of the Mṛcchakaṭika are free from the flaws of the corresponding verses of the Cārudatta, the grammatical corrections one may be justified in regarding as an indication of an increasingly insistent demand for scrupulous purity of language. The hypothesis would lastly explain the reason for the differences in the incidents of the action of the play. All this is legitimate field of 'diaskeuasis', and is readily intelligible.

Let us now examine the other possibility, and try to explain the divergences on the assumption of the priority of the Mṛcchakaṭika version.

The question of the technical differences between the plays has been dealt with already. It was submitted that this part of the evidence was inconclusive, it supported neither one side nor the other.

We will proceed to the next point the Prakrit.³¹ On the assumption of the priority of the Mṛcchakaṭika version, it is at first sight not quite clear, how the Cārudatta should happen to contain Prakrit forms older than those found in (what is alleged to be) a still older play. But a little reflection will suffice to bring home to us the fact that it is not impossible to account for this anomaly. We have only to regard the Cārudatta as the version of a different province or a different literary tradition which had not accepted the innovations in Prakrit that later became prevalent. In other words we have to assume merely that the Prakrit neologisms of the Mṛcchakaṭika are unauthorized innovations and that the Carudatta manuscripts have only

³¹ Until we have before us most carefully edited texts any linguistic conclusion based upon minute differences in the form of Pkt words as appearing in the text editions employed must needs be regarded as tentative a point not sufficiently emphasized in my article dealing with Prakrit archaisms (above vol 40, pp 248ff). It may however be pointed out that no amount of critical editing can disturb the general inference that the dramas of this group contain quite a number of Old Pkt forms

preserved some of the Old-Prakrit forms of the original Mṛcchakaṭika.³² This does not, however, necessarily make the Cārudatta version older than the Mṛcchakaṭika version. The Cārudatta would become a recension of the Mṛcchakaṭika with archaic Prakrit. Thus the Prakrit archaisms of the Cārudatta may be said to be not irreconcilable with the general priority of the Mṛcchakaṭika version.

It is much more difficult to explain why the Mṛcchakaṭika should consistently offer better readings of the verses. Some of the discrepancies could perhaps be explained away as the result of misreading and faulty transcript, but not all. We could not explain, for instance, why the excellent pāda *tikṣṇam viśānāgram ivāvaśiṣṭam* should have been discarded and another, *viśānakoṭīva nimajjamānā*, be substituted, forsooth with the faulty *nimajjamānā*. Why should there be a change in the first place, and why should the change be consistently for the worse? We could not reasonably hold the copyists guilty of introducing systematically such strange blunders and inexcusable distortions.

Let us combine the archaisms of the Prakrit with the imperfections of the Sanskrit verses. On the assumption of the posteriority of the Cārudatta, we are asked to believe that while the compiler of the Cārudatta had carefully copied out from older manuscripts all the Prakrit archaisms, he had systematically mutilated the Sanskrit verses, which is a reductio ad absurdum!

Let us proceed to the fourth point. The theory of the priority of the Mṛcchakaṭika, which could with difficulty be supported in the case of the divergencies already considered, breaks down altogether when we try to account for the inconsistencies in the action of the Cārudatta in general, and in particular the presence of the tithi-scheme, which latter serves no purpose, aesthetic or didactic, but on the other hand introduces gratuitously an indisputable incongruity. The deleting of the whole tithi-scheme admits of a simple, self-evident explanation, acceptable to every impartial critic. But, assuming

³² Or that the Old-Prakrit forms had been substituted for the Middle-Prakrit forms, because the local tradition demanded the use of Old-Prakrit forms.

that the original play contained no trace of it can any one pretend to be able to give a satisfactory reason for the deliberate introduction of the titli scheme?

Taking all things into account, we conclude we can readily understand the evolution of a *Mṛcchakatika* version from a *Cārudatta* version, but not vice versa. The special appeal of this hypothesis lies in the fact that it explains not merely isolated variations, but whole categories of them: it implies the formulation of a single uniform principle to explain divers manifestations.

It may be that I have overlooked inconsistencies and flaws in the *Mṛcchakatika* version absent from the other which could be better explained on the contrary supposition of the priority of the *Mṛcchakatika* version. If so the problem becomes still more complicated, and will need further investigation from a new angle. I merely claim that I have furnished here some *prima facie* reasons for holding that the *Cārudatta* version is on the whole older than the *Mṛcchakatika* version: hence (as a corollary) if our *Cārudatta* is not itself the original of the *Mṛcchakatika* then we must assume it has preserved a great deal of the original upon which the *Mṛcchakatika* is based.

RULES FOR THE ELECTION AND NOMINATION OF MEMBERS TO
THE BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, FOR THE QUALIFICA-
TION OF ELECTORS AND MEMBERS, THE CONSTITUTION OF
CONSTITUENCIES AND THE FINAL DECISION OF DOUBTS
AND DISPUTES AS TO THE VALIDITY OF ELECTIONS.

(b) five shall be non-official persons nominated to represent respectively the following classes or interests, namely :—

- (i) the Anglo-Indian community ;
- (ii) the Indian Christian community ;
- (iii) the labouring classes ;
- (iv) classes which, in the opinion of the Governor, are depressed classes ; and
- (v) the cotton trade.

4. The elected members shall be elected by the constituencies specified in Schedule I, and the number of members to be elected by each constituency, and the number, if any, of seats reserved for Mahratta members (hereinafter in these rules referred to as reserved seats), shall be as stated therein against that constituency :

Provided that the local Government may by regulation divide into two or more constituencies any of the plural-member constituencies and may distribute among the new constituencies so created the seats entered in Schedule I against the constituency which has been so divided, but not so, however, as to reduce the total number of reserved seats.

PART II.

QUALIFICATIONS OF ELECTED MEMBERS.

5. (1) A person shall not be eligible for election as a member of the Council if such person—

General disqualifications
for being elected.

- (a) is not a British subject ; or
- (b) is a female ; or
- (c) has already made the oath or affirmation as a member of the Council or of any other legislative body constituted under the Act ; or
- (d) having been a legal practitioner has been dismissed or is under suspension from practising as such by order of any competent court ; or
- (e) has been adjudged by a competent court to be of unsound mind ; or
- (f) is under 25 years of age ; or
- (g) is an undischarged insolvent ; or
- (h) being a discharged insolvent has not obtained from the court a certificate that his insolvency was caused by misfortune without any misconduct on his part :

Provided that the local Government may direct that, subject to such conditions as it may prescribe, a Ruler of any State in India or the Rulers of any such States or a subject of any such State or any class of such subjects shall not be ineligible for election by reason only of not being a British subject or British subjects :

Provided further that the disqualification mentioned in clause (d) may be removed by an order of the local Government in this behalf.

(2) A person against whom a conviction by a criminal court involving a sentence of transportation or imprisonment for a period of more than six

months is subsisting shall, unless the offence of which he was convicted has been pardoned, not be eligible for election for five years from the date of the expiration of the sentence.

(3) If any person is convicted of an offence under Chapter IX-A of the Indian Penal Code punishable with imprisonment for a term exceeding six months or is, after an inquiry by Commissioners appointed under any rules for the time being in force regarding elections to a legislative body constituted under the Act, reported as guilty of a corrupt practice as specified in Part I, or in paragraph 1, 2 or 3 of Part II, of Schedule IV, such person shall not be eligible for election for five years from the date of such conviction or of the finding of the Commissioners, as the case may be; and a person reported by any such Commissioners to be guilty of any other corrupt practice shall be similarly disqualified for three years from such date.

(4) If in respect of an election to any legislative body constituted under the Act a return of the election expenses of any person who has been nominated as a candidate at that election is not lodged within the time and in the manner prescribed by or under the rules made in that behalf, or if any such return is lodged which is found, either by Commissioners holding an inquiry into the election or by a Magistrate in a judicial proceeding, to be false in any material particular, neither the candidate nor his election agent shall be eligible for election for five years from the date of such election:

Provided that any disqualification mentioned in sub-rule (3) or sub-rule (4) of this rule may be removed by an order of the local Government in that behalf.

6. (1) No person shall be eligible for election as a member of the Council to represent a general constituency, unless—

Special qualifications
for election in case of
certain constituencies.

(a) his name is registered on the electoral roll of the constituency or of any other constituency in the province; and

(b) he has for the period of six months immediately preceding the last date fixed for the nomination of candidates in the constituency, resided in the constituency or in a division any part of which is included in the constituency; and

(c) in the case of non-Muhammadian. Muhammadan or European constituency he is himself a non-Muhammadian, Muhammadan or European, as the case may be:

Provided that—

(i) for the purposes of clause (b), the City of Bombay shall be deemed to be a division, and

(ii) nothing in clause (b) shall be deemed to render ineligible for election any person who has held office as a Minister within the period of six months referred to in that clause.

(2) No person shall be eligible for election as a member of the Council to represent a special constituency, unless his name is registered on the electoral roll of the constituency.

(3) For the purposes of these rules—

(a) "general constituency" means a non-Muhammadan, Muhammadan or European constituency, and

(b) "special constituency" means a Landholders', University, or Commerce and Industry constituency.

PART III.

THE ELECTORAL ROLL.

7. (1) Every person shall be entitled to have his name registered on the electoral roll of a constituency who has the qualifications prescribed for an elector of that constituency and who is not subject to any of the disqualifications hereinafter set out, namely—

General conditions of registration and disqualifications.

(a) is not a British subject ; or

(b) is a female ; or

(c) has been adjudged by a competent court to be of unsound mind ; or

(d) is under 21 years of age :

Provided that the local Government may direct that, subject to such conditions as it may prescribe, a Ruler of any State in India or the Rulers of any such States or a subject of any such State or any class of such subjects shall not be disqualified for registration by reason only of not being a British subject or British subjects :

Provided further that, if a resolution is passed by the Council, after not less than one month's notice has been given of an intention to move such a resolution, recommending that the sex disqualification for registration should be removed either in respect of women generally or any class of women, the local Government shall make regulations providing that women or a class of women, as the case may be, shall not be disqualified for registration by reason only of their sex :

Provided further that no person shall be entitled to have his name registered on the electoral roll of more than one general constituency.

(2) If any person is convicted of an offence under Chapter IX-A of the Indian Penal Code punishable with imprisonment for a term exceeding six months or is, after an inquiry by Commissioners appointed under any rules for the time being in force regarding elections to a legislative body constituted under the Act, reported as guilty of a corrupt practice as specified in Part I, or in paragraph 1, 2 or 3 of Part II, of Schedule IV, his name, if on the electoral roll, shall be removed therefrom and shall not be registered thereon for a period of five years from the date of the conviction or the report, as the case may be, or, if not on the electoral roll, shall not be so registered for a like period ; and if any person is reported by any such Commissioners as guilty of any other corrupt practice, his name, if on the electoral roll, shall be removed therefrom and shall not be registered thereon for a period of three years from the date of the report or, if not on the electoral roll, shall not be so registered for a like period :

Provided that the local Government may direct that the name of any person to whom this sub-rule applies shall be registered on the electoral roll.

8. (1) The qualifications of an elector for a general constituency shall be such qualifications based on—

- Qualifications of electors. (i) community,
- (ii) residence, and
- (iii) (a) occupation of a building, or
- (b) assessment to income-tax, or
- (c) military service, or
- (d) the holding of land,

as are specified in Schedule II in the case of that constituency.

(2) The qualifications of an elector for a special constituency shall be the qualifications specified in Schedule II in the case of that constituency.

9. (1) An electoral roll shall be prepared for every constituency, on which shall be entered the names of all persons appearing to be entitled to be registered as electors for that constituency. It shall be published in the constituency together with a notice specifying the mode in which and the time within which any person whose name is not entered in the roll and who claims to have it inserted therein, or any person whose name is on the roll and who objects to the inclusion of his own name or of the name of any other person on the roll, may prefer a claim or objection to the Revising Authority.

(2) Subject to the provisions of these rules, the local Government shall make regulations providing for—

(1) the authority by whom the electoral roll shall be prepared and the particulars to be contained in the roll ;

(2) the time at which the roll shall be prepared ;

(3) the publication of the roll in such manner and in such language as to give it wide publicity in the constituency to which it relates ;

(4) the mode in which and the time within which claims and objections may be preferred ;

(5) the constitution and appointment of Revising Authorities to dispose of claims and objections ;

(6) the manner in which notices of claims or objections shall be published ;

(7) the place, date, and time at which and the manner in which claims or objections shall be heard ;

and may make such regulations to provide for other matters incidental or ancillary to the preparation and revision of the roll as it may consider desirable. Such regulations may be made as to rolls generally or any class of rolls or any particular roll.

(3) The orders made by the Revising Authority shall be final, and the electoral roll shall be amended in accordance therewith and shall, as so amended, be republished in such manner as the local Government may prescribe.

(4) The electoral roll shall come into force from the date of such republication, and shall continue in force for a period of three years, after the expiration of which period a fresh roll shall be prepared in accordance with these rules; provided that the local Government may, by notification in the Gazette, direct the preparation in accordance with these rules of a fresh roll at any time before the expiration of the said period.

(5) If a constituency is called upon to elect a member or members after an electoral roll has ceased to have force and before the completion of the new electoral roll, the old electoral roll shall for the purposes of that election continue to operate as the electoral roll for the constituency.

(6) Notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained, any person may apply to such authority as may be appointed in this behalf by the local Government for the amendment of any electoral roll for the time being in force, and the local Government may at any time after any such application has been made in respect of an electoral roll, by notification in the Gazette direct the preparation of a list of amendments thereto, and all the provisions of this rule shall apply in the case of every such list in like manner as they apply in the case of electoral rolls: provided that, where any such application is made for the correction of an existing entry in the electoral roll and the said authority is satisfied after such inquiry as the local Government may by regulation prescribe that the entry relates to the applicant and is erroneous or defective in any particular, he may amend the roll or cause it to be amended accordingly.

(7) When any list of amendments has been re-published under sub-rule (6), the electoral roll to which it relates shall be deemed to have been amended accordingly.

10. (1) Every person registered on the electoral roll for the time being in force for any constituency shall, while so registered, be entitled to vote at an election of a member or members for that constituency: provided that—

(a) no person shall vote at any general election in more than one general constituency, and

(b) no person shall vote at any election if he is subject to any disability stated in rule 7.

(2) If any person is in the course of the hearing of an election petition under these rules proved to have voted at the election in contravention of the proviso to sub-rule (1) his vote shall be void.

PART IV.

ELECTIONS.

11. (1) Any person may be nominated as a candidate for election in any constituency for which he is eligible for election under these rules.

Nomination of candidates.

(2) The local Government shall appoint for each constituency—

(a) a date, not later than the fourteenth day after the date of the notification calling upon the constituency to elect a member, for the nomination of candidates ;

(b) a further date, not later than the seventh day after the first-mentioned date, for the scrutiny of nominations ; and

(c) a further date on which a poll shall, if necessary, be taken ; and the dates so appointed shall be notified in the constituency in such manner as the local Government thinks fit.

(3) On or before the date so appointed for the nomination of candidates each candidate shall, either in person or by his proposer and seconder together, between the hours of eleven o'clock in the forenoon and three o'clock in the afternoon, deliver to the Returning Officer or to such other person as may be authorized in this behalf by regulation a nomination paper completed in the form prescribed in Schedule II-A and subscribed by the candidate himself as assenting to the nomination and by two persons as proposer and seconder whose names are registered on the electoral roll of the constituency.

(4) Any person whose name is registered on the electoral roll of the constituency, and who is not subject to any disability stated in rule 7, may subscribe, as proposer or seconder, as many nomination papers as there are vacancies to be filled but no more

(5) Every nomination paper delivered under sub-rule (3) shall be accompanied by a declaration in writing subscribed by the candidate that the candidate has appointed or does thereby appoint as his election agent for the election either himself or some one other person who is not disqualified under these rules for the appointment and who shall be named in the declaration ; and no candidate shall be deemed to be duly nominated unless such declaration is delivered along with the nomination paper.

(6) Any nomination paper which is not received before three o'clock in the afternoon on the date appointed by the local Government for the nomination of candidates shall be rejected.

(7) The Returning Officer or other person authorised shall, on receiving a nomination paper under sub-rule (3), inform the person or persons delivering the same of the date, hour and place appointed for the scrutiny of nominations, and shall enter in the nomination paper its serial number and shall sign thereon a certificate stating the date on which and the hour at which the nomination paper has been delivered to him ; and shall, as soon as may be thereafter, cause to be affixed in some conspicuous place in his office a notice of the nomination containing descriptions, similar to those contained in the nomination paper, both of the candidate and of the persons who have sub-scribed the nomination paper as proposer and seconder.

(8) Any candidate may withdraw his candidature by notice in writing subscribed by him and delivered to the Returning Officer or other person

authorised on or before three o'clock in the afternoon on the date succeeding that appointed by the local Government for the scrutiny of nominations. A candidate who has withdrawn his candidature shall not be allowed to cancel the withdrawal or to be re-nominated as a candidate for the same election.

(9) The Returning Officer or other person authorised shall, on receiving a notice of withdrawal under sub-rule (8), as soon as may be, cause a notice of the withdrawal to be affixed in some conspicuous place in his office.

11A. (1) On or before the date appointed for the nomination of candidates, each candidate shall deposit or cause to be deposited with the Returning Officer the sum of two hundred and fifty rupees in cash or in Government Promissory Notes of equal value at the market rate of the day; and no candidate shall be deemed to be duly nominated unless such deposit has been made.

(2) If a candidate by whom or on whose behalf the deposit referred to in sub-rule (1) has been made withdraws his candidature in the manner and within the time specified in sub-rule (8) of rule 11, or if the nomination of any such candidate is refused the deposit shall be returned to the person by whom it was made; and, if any candidate dies before the commencement of the poll, any such deposit, if made by him, shall be returned to his legal representative or, if not made by the candidate, shall be returned to the persons by whom it was made.

(3) If a candidate by whom or on whose behalf the deposit referred to in sub-rule (1) has been made, is not elected and the number of votes polled by him does not exceed, in the case of a constituency returning one or two members, one-eighth of the total number of votes polled or, in the case of a constituency returning more than two members, one-eighth of the number of votes polled divided by the number of members to be elected, the deposit shall be forfeited to the Government.

(4) For the purpose of sub-rule (3), the number of votes polled shall be deemed to be the number of ballot papers, other than spoilt ballot papers, counted; and where the election is held according to the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote, the number of votes polled by a candidate shall be the number of votes polled by him as first preferences.

(5) If a candidate by whom or on whose behalf the deposit referred to in sub-rule (1) has been made is elected and thereafter his seat is declared vacant under these rules owing to his failure to make the oath or affirmation hereinafter prescribed, the deposit shall be forfeited to the Government.

(6) The deposit made in respect of a candidate who is not elected shall, if it is not forfeited under sub-rule (3), be returned to the candidate or to the person who has made the deposit on his behalf, as the case may be, as soon as may be after the publication of the result of the election in the Gazette; and the deposit made in respect of a candidate who is elected

shall, if it is not forfeited under sub-rule (5), be so returned as soon as may be after the candidate has made the oath or affirmation hereinafter prescribed :

Provided that, if a candidate is duly nominated at a general election in more than one constituency not more than one of the deposits made by him or on his behalf shall be returned and the remainder shall be forfeited to the Government.

11B. If a candidate who has been duly nominated dies after the date appointed for the scrutiny of nominations and before the date appointed for the taking of a poll, the Returning Officer or other authorised person referred to in sub-rule (3) of rule 11 shall, upon being satisfied of the fact of the death of the candidate, countermand the poll and report the fact to the local Government, and all proceedings with reference to the election shall be commenced anew in all respects as if for a new election :

Provided that no fresh nomination shall be necessary in the case of a candidate who stood nominated at the time of the countermanding of the poll.

12. (1) If the number of candidates who are duly nominated and who have not withdrawn their candidature in the manner and within the time specified in sub-rule (8) of rule 11 exceeds that of the vacancies, a poll shall be taken :

Provided that, if a seat is reserved and of such candidates one only is a Mahratta, that candidate shall be declared to be elected, and a poll shall only be taken if any vacancy thereafter remains to be filled.

(2) If the number of such candidates is equal to the number of vacancies, all such candidates shall be declared to be duly elected.

(3) If the number of such candidates is less than the number of vacancies, all such candidates if any shall be declared to be elected, and the Governor shall, by a notification in the Gazette, call upon the constituency to elect a person or persons, as the case may be, within such time as may be prescribed by the notification : provided that where the constituency having already been called upon under this sub-rule has failed to elect a person or the requisite number of persons, as the case may be, to fill the vacancy or vacancies, the Governor shall not be bound to call again upon the constituency to elect a person or persons until such time, if any, as he thinks fit.

(4) Votes shall be given by ballot, and in general constituencies in person :

provided that the local Government may—

(a) in the case of any specified general constituency or of any specified part of any general constituency, or

(b) in respect of any person attending at a polling-station in any constituency under the orders of, or under authority from, the Returning Officer of such constituency,

by regulation direct that votes may be given otherwise than in person provided, further, that no votes shall be received by proxy.

(5) In plural-member constituencies every elector shall have as many votes as there are members to be elected, and shall be entitled to accumulate all of them upon one candidate or to distribute them amongst the candidates as he pleases.

(6) Votes shall be counted by, or under the supervision of, the Returning Officer, and each candidate, the election agent of each candidate, and one representative of each candidate authorised in writing by the candidate, shall have a right to be present at the time of counting.

(7) When the counting of the votes has been completed, the Returning Officer shall forthwith declare the candidate or candidates, as the case may be, to whom the largest number of votes has been given, to be elected :

Provided that, if a seat is reserved, the Returning Officer shall first declare to be elected the Mahratta candidate to whom the largest number of votes has been given.

(8) Where an equality of votes is found to exist between any candidates and the addition of one vote will entitle any of the candidates to be declared elected, the determination of the person or persons to whom such one additional vote shall be deemed to have been given shall be made by lot to be drawn in the presence of the Returning Officer and in such manner as he may determine.

(9) The Returning Officer shall without delay report the result of the election to the Secretary to the Council, and the name or names of the candidate or candidates elected shall be published in the Gazette.

Government to make regulations regarding the conduct of elections. 13. (1) Subject to the provisions of these rules, the local Government shall make regulations providing—

(1) for the scrutiny of nominations and, in particular, for the manner in which such scrutiny shall be conducted and for the conditions and circumstances in which any person may be present or may enter objections thereat ;

(2) for the appointment in each constituency of a Returning Officer and for his powers and duties, and for the performance by other persons of any power or duty of the Returning Officer ;

(3) in the case of general constituencies, for the division of the constituencies into polling areas in such manner as to give all electors such reasonable facilities for voting as are practicable in the circumstances, and for the appointment of polling stations for these areas ;

(4) for the appointment of officers to preside at polling stations, and for the duties of such officers ;

(5) for the checking of voters by reference to the electoral roll ;

(6) for the manner in which votes are to be given, and in particular for the case of illiterate voters or voters under physical or other disability ;

(7) for the procedure to be followed in respect of tender of votes by persons representing themselves to be electors after other persons have voted as such electors ;

(8) for the scrutiny of votes ;

(9) for the safe custody of ballot papers and other election papers, for the period for which such papers shall be preserved, and for the inspection and production of such papers ;

and may make such other regulations regarding the conduct of elections as it thinks fit.

(2) Notwithstanding anything in these rules, if a resolution in favour of the introduction of proportional representation is passed by the Council after not less than one month's notice has been given of an intention to move such a resolution, the local Government may for any plural-member constituencies introduce the method of election by means of the single transferable vote, and may make all necessary regulations for that purpose and to that end may group together single-member constituencies so as to make new plural-member constituencies.

(3) In the exercise of the powers conferred by this rule regulations may be made as to elections generally or any class of elections or in regard to constituencies generally or any class of constituency or any particular constituency.

14. (1) If any person is elected by a constituency of the Council and
 Multiple elections. by a constituency of either chamber of the
 Indian legislature, the election of such person
 to the Council shall be void and the Governor shall call upon the
 constituency concerned to elect another person.

(2) If any person is elected either by more than one constituency of the Council or by a constituency of the Council and a constituency of the Legislative Council of another province, he shall, by notice in writing signed by him and delivered to the Secretary to the Council or the Secretaries to both Councils, as the case may be, within seven days from the date of the publication of the result of such election in the local official Gazette, choose for which of these constituencies he shall serve, and the choice shall be conclusive.

(3) When any such choice has been made, the Governor shall call upon the constituency or constituencies for which such person has not chosen to serve to elect another person or persons.

(4) If the candidate does not make the choice referred to in sub-rule (2) of this rule, the elections of such person shall be void and the Governor shall call upon the constituency or constituencies concerned to elect another person or persons.

Election agents and return of expenses.

15. No person shall be appointed an election agent who is himself
 Disqualification for being ineligible for election as being subject to any
 election agent. disqualification mentioned in sub-rule (3) or
 sub-rule (4) of rule (5).

16. (1) The appointment of an election agent whether the election agent appointed be the candidate himself or not, may only be revoked in a writing signed by the candidate and lodged with the officer receiving nominations and shall operate from the date on which it is so lodged.

(2) In the event of such a revocation or of the death of any election agent, whether such event occurs before, during or after the election, then the candidate shall appoint forthwith another election agent and declare his name in writing to the said officer.

17. (1) Within thirty-five days from the date of the publication of the result of an election under sub-rule (9) of rule 12, there shall be lodged with the Returning Officer in respect of each person who has been nominated as a candidate for the election a return, in such form as the local Government may by regulation prescribe, of the election expenses of such person containing the particulars specified in Schedule III and signed both by the candidate and by his election agent ;

(2) Every such return shall contain a statement of all payments made by the candidate or by his election agent or by any persons on behalf of the candidate or in his interests for expenses incurred on account of, or in respect of, the conduct and management of the election. and further a statement of all unpaid claims in respect of such expenses of which he or his election agent is aware.

(3) The return shall be accompanied by declarations by the candidate and his election agent which shall be in the form contained in Schedule III and shall be made on oath or affirmation before a Magistrate.

(4) Notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained, where a candidate is owing to absence from India unable to sign the return of election expenses and to make the declaration within the period prescribed in this rule, the return shall be signed and lodged by the election agent only and shall be accompanied by a declaration by the election agent under sub-rule (3), and within fourteen days after the return of the candidate to India he shall cause to be lodged with the Returning Officer a declaration made on oath or affirmation before a Magistrate in the special form for the purpose contained in the said Schedule.

(5) When any return and the declarations made in respect thereof have been lodged with the Returning Officer, the Returning Officer shall as soon as may be cause a notice of the date on which the return and declarations in question have been lodged, and of the time and place at which they can be inspected, to be fixed in some conspicuous place in his office and to be published in the Gazette, and any person shall, on payment of a fee of one rupee, be entitled to inspect any such return or declaration and, on payment of such fee as the local Government may by regulation prescribe to obtain a copy or copies thereof or of any part thereof ;

(6) The local Government shall cause to be prepared in such manner, and maintained for such time, as it may direct, a record showing the names

of all candidates at every election under these rules and the name of the election agent of each such candidate, and the date on which the return of election expenses of each candidate has been lodged with the Returning Officer.

Fixation of maximum election expenses.

18. (1) The Governor-General in Council may, by notification in the Gazette—

(a) fix maximum scales of election expenses, which shall be applicable to any election held after the first elections under these rules; and

(b) prescribe the numbers and descriptions of persons who may be employed for payment in connection with any election held under these rules.

(2) Any notification issued under this rule may make different provisions for different constituencies.

19. Every election agent shall for each election for which he is appointed an election agent keep separate and regular books of account in which the particulars of all expenditure of the nature referred to in rule 17 shall be entered, whether such expenditure is incurred by the candidate or by the election agent or by any person under the direction of the candidate or the election agent.

Accounts of agents.

PART V.

NOMINATED MEMBERS.

General disqualifications for nominations.

20. (1) No person shall be nominated to the Council who—

(a) is not a British subject or

(b) is a female; or

(c) has already made the oath or affirmation as a member of the Council or of any other legislative body constituted under the Act; or

(d) having been a legal practitioner has been dismissed or is under suspension from practising as such by order of any competent court; or

(e) has been adjudged by a competent court to be of unsound mind; or

(f) is under 25 years of age; or

(g) is an undischarged insolvent; or

(h) being a discharged insolvent has not obtained from the court a certificate that this insolvency was caused by misfortune without any misconduct on his part;

Provided that the local Government may direct that, subject to such conditions as it may prescribe, a Ruler of any State in India or the Rulers of any such States or a subject of any such State or any class of such

subjects shall not be disqualified for nomination by reason only of not being a British subject or British subjects :

Provided further that the disqualification mentioned in clause (d) may be removed by an order of the local Government in this behalf.

(2) A person against whom a conviction by a criminal court involving a sentence of transportation or imprisonment for a period of more than six months is subsisting shall, unless the offence of which he was convicted has been pardoned, not be eligible for nomination for five years from the date of the expiration of the sentence.

(3) If any person is convicted of an offence under Chapter IX-A of the Indian Penal Code punishable with imprisonment for a term exceeding six months or is, after an inquiry by Commissioners appointed under any rules for the time being in force regarding elections to a legislative body constituted under the Act, reported as guilty of a corrupt practice as specified in Part I, or in paragraph 1, 2, or 3 of Part II, of Schedule IV, such person shall not be eligible for nomination for five years from the date of such conviction or of the finding of the Commissioners, as the case may be ; and a person reported by any such Commissioners to be guilty of any other corrupt practice shall be similarly disqualified for three years from such date.

(4) If in respect of an election to any legislative body constituted under this Act a return of the election expenses of any person who has been nominated as a candidate at the election is not lodged within the time and in the manner prescribed by or under the rules made in that behalf, or if any such return is lodged which is found either by Commissioners holding an inquiry into the election or by a Magistrate, in a judicial proceeding, to be false in any material particular, neither the candidate nor his election agent shall be eligible for nomination for five years from the date of the election :

Provided that any disqualification mentioned in sub-rule (3) or sub-rule (4) of this rule may be removed by an order of the local Government in that behalf.

Term of office of nominated member. 21. (1) A nominated non-official member shall hold office for the duration of the Council to which he is nominated.

(2) Official members shall hold office for the duration of the Council to which they are nominated or for such shorter period as the Governor may, at the time of nomination, determine.

PART VI.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

Obligation to take oath.

22. Every person who is elected or nominated to be a member of the Council shall before taking his seat make, at a

Taking of oath.

meeting of the Council, an oath or affirmation of his allegiance to, the Crown in the following form, namely :—

I, A. B., having been ^{elected}_{nominated} a member of this Council do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty the King, Emperor of India, His heirs and successors, and that I will faithfully discharge the duty upon which I am about to enter.

Vacation of seat.

23. (1) If any person having been elected or nominated subsequently becomes subject to any of the disabilities stated in clauses (a), (c), (d), (e), (g) and (h) of sub-rule (1) or in sub-rules (2), (3) and (4) of rule 5 or of rule 20, as the case may be, or fails to make the oath or affirmation prescribed by rule 22 within such time as the Governor considers reasonable, the Governor shall, if the disqualification has not been removed under these rules by notification in the Gazette, declare his seat to be vacant.

* * * * *

24. (1) When a vacancy occurs in the case of an elected member by reason of his election being declared void, or his seat being declared vacant or by reason of absence from India, inability to attend to duty, death, acceptance of office or resignation duly accepted, the Governor shall, by notification in the Gazette, call upon the constituency concerned to elect a person for the purpose of filling the vacancy within such time as may be prescribed by such notification.

(2) If a vacancy occurs in the case of a nominated member, the Governor shall nominate to the vacancy a person having the necessary qualification under these rules.

General Elections.

Reconstitution of Council. 25. (1) On the expiration of the duration of a Council or on its dissolution, a general election shall be held in order that a new Council may be constituted.

(2) On such expiration or dissolution, the Governor shall, by notification in the Gazette, call upon the constituencies referred to in rule 4 to elect members in accordance with these rules within such time after the date of expiration or dissolution as may be prescribed by such notification :

Provided that, if the Governor thinks fit, such notification may be issued at any time not being more than three months prior to the date on which the duration of the Council would expire in the ordinary course of events.

(3) Before the date fixed for the first meeting of the Council, the Governor shall make such nominations as may be necessary to complete the Council.

26. As soon as may be after the expiration of the time fixed for the election of members at any general election, the names of the members elected for the various constituencies at such election shall be notified in the Gazette.

27. If any difficulty arises as to the preparation or publication of any electoral roll or of any list of amendments to any Powers of local Gov-
ernment in case of such roll or as to the holding of any election under difficulty. these rules, the local Government may by order do anything not inconsistent with these rules which appears to it to be necessary for the proper preparation or publication of the roll or for the proper holding of the election.

PART VII.

THE FINAL DECISION OF DOUBTS AND DISPUTES AS TO THE VALIDITY OF AN ELECTION.

Definitions.

28. In this Part and in Schedule IV, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,—

(a) “agent” includes an election agent and any person who is held by Commissioners to have acted as an agent in connection with an election with the knowledge or consent of the candidate ;

(b) “candidate” means a person who has been nominated as a candidate at any election or who claims that he has been so nominated or that his nomination has been improperly refused, and includes a person who, when an election is in contemplation, holds himself out as a prospective candidate at such election, provided that he is subsequently nominated as a candidate at such election ;

(c) “electoral right” means the right of a person to stand or not to stand as, or to withdraw from being, a candidate, or to vote or refrain from voting at an election ; and

(d) “returned candidate” means a candidate whose name has been published under these rules as duly elected.

29. No election shall be called in question except by an election petition presented in accordance with the provisions of this Part.

The election petition.

30. (1) An election petition against any returned candidate may be presented to the Governor—

Presentation of the petition.

(a) by any candidate or elector within fourteen days from the date on which the return of the election expenses of the returned candidate and the declarations, referred to in rule 17, are received by the Returning Officer ; or

(b) within thirty days from that date by an officer empowered by the local Government in this behalf on the ground that the election has not been a free election by reason of the large number of cases in which undue influence or bribery has been exercised or committed ; or

(c) on the ground that the returned candidate or his election agent or any other person acting with the connivance of the candidate or of his election agent has been guilty of bribery, undue influence or personation in respect of the election, by any candidate or elector within fourteen

days from the date on which such returned candidate, election agent or other person is convicted of an offence under section 171E or section 171F of the Indian Penal Code.

(2) An election petition shall be deemed to have been presented to the Governor when it is delivered to the Governor or to any officer appointed by him in this behalf—

(a) by the person making the petition ; or

(b) by a person authorised in writing in this behalf by the person making the petition ; or

(c) by registered post.

(3) When the last day of the period for the presentation of an election petition under this rule is a public holiday within the meaning of section 25 of the Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881, or has been notified by the local Government as a day to be observed as a holiday in Government offices, the petition shall be considered as having been received in due time if it is presented on the next succeeding day which is neither such a public holiday nor a day so notified.

(4) For the purposes of clause (a) of sub-rule (1), the date on which the return of the election expenses and the declarations referred to in rule 17 are received by the Returning Officer shall, in the case of a candidate who has made such return and declaration in the manner provided in sub-rule (4) of that rule, be deemed to be the date on which the declaration of the candidate under that sub-rule is received.

31. (1) The petition shall contain a statement in concise form of the material facts on which the petitioner relies and shall, where necessary, be divided into paragraphs numbered consecutively. It shall be signed by the petitioner and verified in the manner prescribed for the verification of pleadings in the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908.

(2) The petition shall be accompanied by a list signed and verified in like manner setting forth full particulars of any corrupt practice which the petitioner alleges, including as full a statement as possible as to the names of the parties alleged to have committed any corrupt practice and the date and place of the commission of each such practice.

(3) The Commissioners may upon such terms as to costs and otherwise as they may direct at any time allow the particulars included in the said list to be amended or order such further and better particulars in regard to any matter referred to therein to be furnished as may in their opinion be necessary for the purpose of ensuring a fair and effectual trial of the petition.

32. The petitioner may, if he so desires, in addition to calling in question the election of the returned candidate, claim a declaration that he himself or any other candidate has been duly elected ; in which case he shall join as respondents to his petition all other candidates who were nominated at the election.

33. At the time of presentation of the petition, the petitioner shall except where the petition is presented under
 Deposit of security. clause (b) of sub-rule (1) of rule 30 deposit with it the sum of one thousand rupees in cash or in Government Promissory Notes of equal value at the market rate of the day as security for the costs of the same.

34. (1) If the provisions of rule 30, rule 31 or rule 33 are not complied with, the Governor shall dismiss the petition.
 Dismissal for default.
 Appointment of Commissioners. (2) If the petition is not dismissed under sub-rule (1)

(a) the Governor shall appoint as Commissioners for the trial of the petition three persons who are or have been or are eligible to be appointed Judges of a High Court within the meaning of section 101 (3) of the Act, and shall appoint one of them to be the President, and thereafter all applications and proceedings in connection therewith shall be dealt with and held by such Commissioners ;

(b) the President of the Commission shall, as soon as may be, cause a copy of the petition to be served on each respondent and to be published in the Gazette, and may call on the petitioner to execute a bond in such amount and with such sureties as he may require for the payment of any further costs. At any time within fourteen days after such publication, any other candidate shall be entitled to be joined as a respondent on giving security in a like amount and procuring the execution of a like bond.

Provided that the execution of such a bond by the petitioner shall not be required in any case where the petition has been presented under clause (b) of sub-rule (1) of rule 30.

(3) When in respect of an election in a constituency more petitions than one are presented, the Governor shall refer all such petitions to the same Commissioners, who may at their discretion inquire into the petitions either in one or in more proceedings as they shall think fit.

(4) If the services of any Commissioner are not available for the purposes of the inquiry, or if, during the course of the inquiry, any Commissioner is unable to continue to attend the same, the Governor shall appoint another Commissioner and the inquiry shall recommence before the Commission as so re-constituted : provided that the Commissioners may direct that any evidence already recorded may remain upon the record, in which case it shall not be necessary to re-examine those witnesses who have already been examined and discharged.

(5) Nothing in this rule shall be deemed to prevent the appointment of the President of a Commission before the other Commissioners are appointed and, if the President is so appointed, all references to the Commissioners in these rules shall, in respect of any matter which may be or is to be done before the commencement of the inquiry, be deemed to be references to the President.

35. Subject to the other provisions of these rules every election petition shall be inquired into by the Commissioners, as nearly as may be, in accordance with the procedure applicable under the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908, to the trial of suits : provided that it shall only be necessary for the Commissioners to make a memorandum of the substance of the evidence of any witness examined by them.

36. The inquiry shall be held at such place as the Governor may appoint : provided that the Commissioners may in their discretion sit at any other place in the presidency for any part of the inquiry, and may depute any one of their number to take evidence at any place in the Presidency.

37. (1) An election petition may be withdrawn only by leave of the Commissioners or, if an application for withdrawal is made before any Commissioner has been appointed, of the Governor.

(3) Any person who might himself have been a petitioner may, within fourteen days of such publication, apply to be substituted as petitioner, and, upon compliance with the conditions of rule 33 as to security, shall be entitled to be so substituted and to continue the proceedings upon such terms as the Commissioners may think fit.

39. If before the conclusion of the trial of an election petition the respondent dies or gives notice that he does not intend to oppose the petition, the Commissioners shall cause notice of such event to be published in the Gazette, and thereupon any person who might have been a petitioner may, within fourteen days of such publication, apply to be substituted for such respondent to oppose the petition, and shall be entitled to continue the proceedings upon such terms as the Commissioners may think fit.

40. (1) Where at an inquiry into an election petition any candidate, other than the returned candidate, claims the seat for himself, the returned candidate or any other party may give evidence to prove that the election of such candidate would have been void if he had been the returned candidate and a petition had been presented complaining of his election :

Provided that the returned candidate or such other party as aforesaid shall not be entitled to give such evidence unless he has, within fourteen days from the date of the publication of the election petition under clause (b) of sub-rule (2) of rule 34, given notice of his intention to the Commissioners and made the deposit and procured the execution of the bond referred to in rules 33 and 34, respectively.

(2) Every notice referred to in sub-rule (1) shall be accompanied by the statement and list of particulars required by rule 31 in the case of an election petition and shall be signed and verified in like manner.

41. When at an inquiry into an election petition the Commissioners so order, the Advocate General or some person acting under his instructions shall attend and take such part therein as they may direct.

42. (1) Save as hereinafter provided in this rule, if in the opinion of the Commissioners—

(a) the election of a returned candidate has been procured or induced or the result of the election has been materially affected, by a corrupt practice, or

(b) any corrupt practice specified in Part I of Schedule IV has been committed, or

(c) the result of the election has been materially affected by the improper acceptance or refusal of any nomination, or by the improper reception or refusal of a vote, or the reception of any vote which is void, or by any non-compliance with the provisions of the Act or the rules or regulations made thereunder, or by any mistake in the use of any form annexed thereto,

(d) the election has not been a free election by reason of the number of cases in which undue influence or bribery, within the meaning either of Part I or of Part II of Schedule IV has been exercised or committed,

the election of the returned candidate shall be void.

(2) If the Commissioners report that a returned candidate has been guilty by an agent (other than his election agent) of any corrupt practice specified in Part I of Schedule IV which does not amount to any form of bribery other than treating as hereinafter explained or to the procuring or abatement of personation, and if the Commissioners further report that the candidate has satisfied them that—

(a) no corrupt practice was committed at such election by the candidate or his election agent, and the corrupt practices mentioned in the report were committed contrary to the orders and without the sanction or connivance of such candidate or his election agent, and

(b) such candidate and his election agent took all reasonable means for preventing the commission of corrupt practices at such election, and

(c) the corrupt practices mentioned in the said report were of a trivial, unimportant and limited character, and

(d) in all other respects the election was free from any corrupt practice on the part of such candidate or any of his agents,

then the Commissioners may find that the election of such candidate is not void.

Explanation.—For the purposes of this sub-rule “treating” means the incurring in whole or in part by any person of the expense of giving or providing any food, drink, entertainment or provision to any person with the object, directly or indirectly, of inducing him or any other person to vote or refrain from voting or as a reward for having voted or refrained from voting.

43. (1) At the conclusion of the inquiry the Commissioners shall report whether the returned candidate, or any other party to the petition who has under the provisions of these rules claimed the seat, has been duly elected, and in so reporting shall have regard to the provisions of rule 42.

(2) The report shall further include a recommendation by the Commissioners as to the total amount of costs which are payable and the persons by and to whom such costs should be paid. Such recommendation may include a recommendation for the payment of costs to the Advocate General or a person acting under his instructions, attending in pursuance of an order made under rule 41.

(3) The report shall be in writing and shall be signed by all the Commissioners. The Commissioners shall forthwith forward their report to the Governor who, on receipt thereof, shall issue orders in accordance with the report and publish the report in the Gazette, and the orders of the Governor shall be final.

report or upon any other matter there is a difference of opinion among the Commissioners, the opinion of the majority shall prevail, and their in the terms of the views of the majority.

45. Where any charge is made in an election petition of any corrupt practice, the Commissioners shall record in their report—

whether any corrupt practice has or has not been proved to be committed by any candidate or his agent, or with the aid of any candidate or his agent, and the nature of such corrupt practice, and

(b) the names of all persons (if any) who have been proved at the inquiry to have been guilty of any corrupt practice and the nature of such corrupt practice with any such recommendations as they may desire to make for the exemption of any such persons from any disqualifications they may have incurred in this connection under these rules :

Provided that no person shall be so named in the report unless he has been given a reasonable opportunity of showing cause why his name should not be so recorded.

PART VII.

SPECIAL PROVISION.

46. If any question arises as to the interpretation of these rules otherwise than in connection with an election inquiry held thereunder, the question shall be referred for the decision of the Governor, and his decision shall be final.

SCHEDULE I.

(See rule 4.)

I.—List of Constituencies.

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	Number of members.	Reserved seats.
Bombay City (North).	Non-Muhammedan Urban.	Municipal wards B, E, F, and G.	3	1
Bombay City (South).	Ditto	Municipal wards A, C, and D.	3	..
Karachi City	Ditto	The municipal district of Karachi, the cantonments of Karachi and Manora and the limits of the Karachi Port Trust.	1	..

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	Number of members.	Reserved seats.
Ahmedabad City ..	Non-Muhammadian Urban.	The municipal district of Ahmedabad, the cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kanakaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati.	1	
Surat City ..	Ditto ..	The municipal district of Surat.	1	
Sholapur City ..	Ditto ..	The municipal district of Sholapur.	1	
Poona City ..	Ditto ..	The municipal district of Poona, the suburban municipal district of Poona, and the cantonments of Poona and Kirla.	1	
Ahmedabad District	Non-Muhammadian Rural.	The District of Ahmedabad, excluding the municipal district of Ahmedabad and the Ahmedabad cantonment and the notified areas of Kanakaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati.	2	
Broach District ..	Ditto ..	Broach District ..	1	
Kaira District ..	Ditto ..	Kaira District ..	2	
Panch Mahals District.	Ditto ..	Panch Mahals District ..	1	
Surat District ..	Ditto ..	Surat District, excluding the municipal district of Surat.	2	
Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts.	Ditto ..	Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts.	2	
Ahmednagar District.	Ditto ..	Ahmednagar District ..	2	
East Khandesh District.	Ditto ..	East Khandesh District ..	3	
Nasik District ..	Ditto ..	Nasik District ..	2	
Poona District ..	Ditto ..	Poona District, excluding the municipal district of Poona, the suburban municipal district of Poona and the cantonments of Poona and Kirla.	2	

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	Number of members.	Reserved seats.
Satara District ..	Non-Muhammadan Rural.	Satara District ..	3	..
Belgaum District ..	Ditto ..	Belgaum District ..	2	..
Bijapur District ..	Ditto ..	Bijapur District ..	1	..
Dharwar District ..	Ditto ..	Dharwar District ..	2	..
Kanara District ..	Ditto ..	Kanara District ..	1	..
Ratnagiri District ..	Ditto ..	Ratnagiri District ..	2	1
Eastern Sind ..	Ditto ..	Hyderabad, Thar and Parkar and Nawabshah Districts.	1	..
Western Sind ..	Ditto ..	Karachi, Larkana, Sukkur and the Upper Sind Frontier Districts, excluding the municipal district of Karachi and the cantonments of Karachi and Manora and the Port Trust limits.	1	..
Sholapur District ..	Ditto ..	Sholapur District, excluding the municipal district of Sholapur.	1	1*
Kolaba District ..	Ditto ..	Kolaba District ..	1	1*
West Khandesh District.	Ditto ..	West Khandesh District ..	1	1*
Bombay City (Muhammadan).	Muhammadan Urban.	The City of Bombay ..	2	..
Karachi City (Muhammadan).	Ditto ..	The municipal district of Karachi and the cantonments of Karachi and Manora and the Port Trust limits.	1	..
Ahmedabad and Surat Cities (Muhammadan).	Ditto ..	The municipal districts of Ahmedabad and Surat and the cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati.	1	..
Poona and Sholapur Cities (Muhammadan).	Ditto ..	The municipal districts of Poona and Sholapur, the suburban municipal district of Poona and the cantonments of Poona and Kirkee.	1	..

*NOTE.—The seats allotted to the Sholapur District, the Kolaba District and the West Khandesh District constituencies are reserved for the purpose of all elections to the first, second and third Council respectively under part III of the Schedule and to succeeding Councils in the same rotation.

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	Number of members.	Reserved seats.
The Northern Division (Muhammadan).	Muhammadan Rural.	The Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach, Panch Mahals, Surat, Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts excluding the municipal districts of Ahmedabad and Surat and the cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati.	3	..
The Central Division (Muhammadan).	Ditto ..	The Districts of East and West Khandesh, Poona, Nasik, Satara, Sholapur and Ahmednagar, excluding the municipal districts of Poona and Sholapur, the suburban municipal district of Poona and the cantonments of Poona and Kirkee.	3	..
The Southern Division (Muhammadan).	Ditto ..	The Districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, Kolaba and Ratnagiri.	3	..
Hyderabad District (Muhammadan).	Ditto ..	The District of Hyderabad.	2	..
Karachi District (Muhammadan).	Ditto ..	The District of Karachi, excluding the municipal district of Karachi and the cantonments of Karachi and Manora and the Karachi Port Trust limits.	2	..
Larkana District (Muhammadan).	Ditto ..	The District of Larkana ..	3	..
Sukkur District (Muhammadan).	Ditto ..	The District of Sukkur ..	2	..
Thar and Parkar (Muhammadan).	Ditto ..	The District of Thar and Parkar.	2	..
Nawabshah District (Muhammadan).	Ditto ..	The District of Nawabshah.	1	..
Upper Sind Frontier District (Muhammadan).	Ditto ..	The District of the Upper Sind Frontier.	1	..
Bombay City (European).	European ..	The City of Bombay ..	1	..

Name of Constituency.	Class of Constituency.	Extent of Constituency.	Number of mem- bers.	Reserved seats.
Presidency (Euro- pean).	European	.. The Presidency of Bom- bay (excluding the City of Bombay and Aden).	1	..
Deccan Sardars and Inamdars.	Landholders	.. The Central and South- ern Divisions.	1	..
Gujarat Sardars and Inamdars.	Ditto	.. The Northern Division ..	1	..
Jagirdars and Zam- indars (Sind).	Ditto	.. The Province of Sind ..	1	..
Bombay University.	University	.. (Non-territorial)	1	..
Bombay Chamber of Commerce.	Commerce and Industry.	.. Ditto ..	2	..
Karachi Chamber of Commerce.	Ditto	.. Ditto ..	1	..
Bombay Trades Association.	Ditto	.. Ditto ..	1	..
Bombay Mallow- ners' Association.	Ditto	.. Ditto ..	1	..
Ahmedabad Mallow- ners' Association.	Ditto	.. Ditto ..	1	..
Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.	Ditto	.. Ditto ..	1	..

II. In interpreting this Schedule references to a division, district, municipal district, notified area or cantonment shall be deemed to be references to the division, district, municipal district, notified area or cantonment as constituted or defined for the time being under the Bombay Land Revenue Code, 1879, the Bombay District Municipal Act, 1901, or the Cantonments Act, 1910, as the case may be.

III. The seat allotted in this Schedule to the Sholapur District constituency shall, for the purposes of the general election to the first Council and of all bye-elections occurring during the continuance of that Council be a reserved seat, and the seat allotted to the Kolaba District constituency shall be a reserved seat for the purposes of the second Council and of all bye-elections occurring during the continuance of that Council, and the seat allotted to the West Khandesh District constituency shall be a reserved seat for the purposes of the third Council and of all bye-elections occurring during the continuance of that Council, and thereafter seats shall be reserved in those constituencies in the like rotation for the purposes of elections to succeeding Councils.

IV. No seat shall be deemed to be a reserved seat within the meaning of this Schedule for the purposes of any election if the constituency is already represented by a Mahratta member or if there is no Mahratta candidate.

SCHEDULE II.

(See rule 8.)

QUALIFICATIONS OF ELECTORS.

1. For the purposes of this Schedule—

(a) “a European” means every person of European descent in the male line being a British subject and resident in British India, who either was born in or has a domicile in the United Kingdom or in any British possession or in any State in India, or whose father was so born or has or had up to the date of the birth of the person in question such a domicile;

(b) “holder” means a person lawfully in possession of land whether such possession is actual or not;

(c) “publication of the electoral roll” means the first publication under these rules of the electoral roll or of the list of amendments thereto as the case may be for the time being under preparation;

(d) “tenant” means a lessee whether holding under an instrument or under an oral agreement, and includes a mortgagee of a tenant's rights with possession.

General Constituencies.

2. A person shall be qualified as an elector for a non-Muhammadan or Muhammadan urban constituency who is not a European and who, on the 1st day of April next preceding the date of publication of the electoral roll, had a place of residence within the constituency or, in the case of a Bombay City constituency, within the limits of the said city or within the limits of the North Salsette Mahal or the South Salsette Taluka or, in the case of any other urban constituency, within two miles of the boundary thereof, and who—

(a) on the 1st day of April aforesaid occupied, as owner or tenant, in such constituency, a house or building, or part of a house or building separately occupied, as a dwelling or for the purpose of any trade, business or profession,—

(i) of which the annual rental value was not less than Rs. 120 in the case of a Bombay City constituency, and not less than Rs. 60 in the case of a Karachi City constituency; or

(ii) in any other urban constituency, where any tax is based on the annual rental value of houses or buildings, of which the annual rental value was not less than Rs. 36; or, if no tax so based is levied, of which the capital value was not less than Rs. 1,500; or

(b) was assessed to income-tax in the financial year preceding that in which the publication of the electoral roll takes place; or

(c) is a retired, pensioned or discharged officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier of His Majesty's regular forces; or

(d) on the 1st day of January next preceding the date of publication of the electoral roll, held a qualification in respect of land within the constituency which, if held within the nearest rural constituency, would qualify him as an elector for such constituency :

Provided that—

(i) no person shall be qualified as an elector for a Muhammadan constituency who is not a Muhammadan, and

(ii) no Muhammadan shall be qualified as an elector for a non-Muhammadan constituency.

3. A person shall be qualified as an elector for a non-Muhammadan or Muhammadan rural constituency who is not

Non-Muhammadan and
Muhammadan Rural
Constituencies.

a European and who, on the 1st day of January next preceding the date of publication of the

electoral roll, had a place of residence within the constituency or within a contiguous constituency of the same communal description, and who—

(a) (i) in the case of any constituency in Sind, on the 1st day of January aforesaid held in his own right or occupied as a permanent tenant or as a lessee from Government alienated or unalienated land in such constituency on which, in any one of the five revenue years preceding the publication of the electoral roll, an assessment of not less than Rs. 16 land revenue in the Upper Sind Frontier district and of not less than Rs. 32 land revenue elsewhere has been paid or would have been paid if the land had not been alienated, or

(ii) in the case of any other constituency, on the 1st day of January aforesaid held in his own right or occupied as a tenant in such constituency alienated or unalienated land assessed at or of the assessable value of not less than Rs. 16 land revenue in the Panch Mahals or Ratnagiri districts and not less than Rs. 32 land revenue elsewhere or

(b) on the 1st day of January aforesaid was the alienee of the right of Government to the payment of rent or land revenue, amounting to not less than Rs. 16 in the Panch Mahals or Ratnagiri or Upper Sind Frontier Districts and to not less than Rs. 32 elsewhere, leviable in respect of land so alienated and situate within the constituency or was a khot or a sharer in a khoti village in the constituency or a sharer in a bhagdari or narvadari village in the constituency, responsible for the payment of not less than Rs. 16 land revenue in the Panch Mahals or Ratnagiri or Upper Sind Frontier Districts and of not less than Rs. 32 land revenue elsewhere; or

(c) was assessed to income-tax in the financial year preceding that in which the publication of the electoral roll takes place; or

(d) is a retired, pensioned or discharged officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier of His Majesty's regular forces ; or

(e) in any municipal district, cantonment or notified area in the constituency, on the 1st day of April next preceding the date of publication of the electoral roll, occupied, as owner or tenant, a house or building, or part of a house or building separately occupied, as a dwelling or for the purpose of any trade, business or profession,—

(i) of which the annual rental value was not less than Rs. 36 in a constituency in Sind ; or

(ii) in any other constituency, if in such municipal district, cantonment or notified area a tax is based on the annual rental value of houses or buildings, of which the annual rental value was not less than Rs. 24 in the Panch Mahals or Ratnagiri Districts and not less than Rs. 36 elsewhere ; or, if no tax so based is levied, of which the capital value was not less than Rs. 1,000 in the Panch Mahals and Ratnagiri Districts and not less than Rs. 1,500 elsewhere :

Provided that—

(i) no person who is not a Muhammadan shall be qualified as an elector for a Muhammadan constituency, and

(ii) no Muhammadan shall be qualified as an elector for a non-Muhammadan constituency.

European constituencies.	Consti-	(European) constituency who is a European and save in that respect has the qualification hereinbefore prescribed for an elector of a Bombay City constituency.
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(2) A person shall be qualified as an elector for the Presidency (European) constituency who is a European and who save in that respect has the qualification hereinbefore prescribed for an elector of an urban, other than a Bombay City, constituency or of a rural constituency according as he has a place of residence within an urban or rural constituency.

Special Constituencies.

Landholders' constituencies.	Consti-	<p>5. (1) A person shall be qualified as an elector for the constituency of the Deccan Sardars and Inamdars whose name is entered in the list for the time being in force under the Resolution of the Government of Bombay in the Political Department, No. 2363, dated the 23rd July 1867, or who, on the 1st day of January next preceding the date of publication of the electoral roll, was the sole alienee of the right of Government to the payment of rent or land revenue in respect of an entire village situate within the constituency.</p>
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(2) A person shall be qualified as an elector for the constituency of the Gujarat Sardars and Inamdars whose name is entered in the list for the time being in force under the Resolution of the Government of Bombay in the Political Department, No. 6265, dated the 21st September 1909, or who, on the 1st day of January next preceding the date of publication

of the electoral roll, was the sole alienee of the right of Government to the payment of rent or land revenue in respect of an entire village situate within the constituency, or was the sole holder on talukdari tenure of such a village.

(3) A person shall be qualified as an elector for the constituency of the Jagirdars and Zamindars (Sind) who is a jagirdar of the first or second class in Sind, or who in each of the three revenue years preceding the publication of the electoral roll has paid not less than Rs. 1,000 land revenue on land situate in any district in Sind.

6. A person shall be qualified as an elector for the Bombay University constituency who, on the 1st day of April next preceding the date of publication of the electoral roll, had a place of residence in the Bombay Presidency (excluding Aden) and was a member of the Senate or an Honorary Fellow of the University or a graduate of the University of seven years' standing.

7. A person shall be qualified as an elector for a Commerce and Industry constituency whose name is entered in the list of members, for the time being in force, of the association forming such constituency or who is entitled to exercise the rights and privileges of membership on behalf of and in the name of any firm or company or corporation entered in such list of members.

Miscellaneous.

8. Where any property is held or occupied or payment is made or received jointly by the members of a joint family, the family shall be adopted as the unit for deciding whether under this Schedule the requisite qualification exists; and, if it does exist, the manager of the family only shall be qualified as an elector in respect of such property or payment.

9. No person holding or occupying any property or making or receiving any payment in a fiduciary capacity shall be qualified as an elector for any constituency in respect of such property or payment.

10. The value of any machinery, furniture or equipment contained in, or situate upon, any house or building shall not be included in estimating the rental or capital value of such house or building.

11. A person who occupies any dwelling-house, other than a house in any military or police lines, by virtue of any office, service or employment shall, if the dwelling-house is not inhabited by the person in whose service he is in such office, service or employment be deemed to occupy the dwelling-house as a tenant.

12. The average rate of assessment on assessed land in a village or, if there is no such land in the village, the average rate of assessment on assessed land in the nearest

village containing such land shall be taken as the rate for calculating the assessable value of unassessed land in such village.

13. For the purposes of deciding any claim to be registered in respect of any assessment, payment of rent or land revenue, rental value, capital value or payment of income-tax, an entry in any revenue record or in the record of any municipal district or cantonment or notified area or in the records of the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay, stating the amount of such assessment, payment or value, shall be conclusive proof of the amount of such assessment, payment or value.

SCHEDULE II-A.

(See rule 11.)

Form of Nomination Paper.

NOMINATION PAPER.

Name of the Constituency for which the candidate is nominated	..	..
Name of candidate	..	..
Father's name	..	..
Age	..	..
Address	.....
Denomination (state whether non-Muhammadan, Muhammadan, Indian Christian, European, or Anglo-Indian)..	..	..
Constituency on the electoral roll of which the candidate is registered as an elector	..	..
*No. of the candidate in the electoral roll of the constituency in which he is registered as an elector	..	..
Name of proposer	..	..
*No. of the proposer in the electoral roll of the constituency	..	..
Signature of the proposer	..	..
Name of the seconder	..	..
*No. of the seconder in the electoral roll of the constituency	..	..
Signature of the seconder	..	..

Declaration by Candidate.

I hereby declare that I agree to this nomination and that I ^{have appointed} ~~do hereby appoint~~ to be my election agent for the election.

Date

Signature of Candidate

* Where the electoral roll is subdivided and separate serial numbers are assigned to the electors entered in each subdivision, a description of the subdivision in which the name of the person concerned is entered must also be given here.

(To be filled in by the Returning Officer or other authorised person.)

Certificate of delivery.

This nomination paper was delivered to me at my office at (date and hour _____).

Serial Number.....

Returning Officer or other authorised person.

Certificate of Scrutiny.

I have scrutinized the eligibility of the candidate, the proposer and seconder, and find that they are respectively qualified to stand for election, to propose and to second the nomination.

Returning Officer or other authorised person.

(N.B.—This nomination paper will not be valid unless it is delivered to the returning Officer, or other person authorised to receive it, at his office before 3-0 p.m. on 192 .)

SCHEDULE III.

(See rule 17.)

Return of election expenses.

1. Under the head of receipts there shall be shown the name and description of every person (including the candidate), club, society or association from whom any money, security or equivalent of money was received in respect of expenses incurred on account of, or in connection with, or incidental to, the election, and the amount received from each person, club, society or association separately.

2. Under the head of expenditure, there shall be shown :—

(a) the personal expenditure of the candidate incurred or paid by him or his election agent, including travelling and all other personal expenses incurred in connection with his candidature ;

(b) the name, and the rate and total amount of the pay, of each person employed as an agent (including the election agent), clerk or messenger;

(c) the travelling expenses and any other expenses incurred by the candidate or his election agent on account of agents (including the election agent), clerks or messengers;

(d) the travelling expenses of persons, whether in receipt of salary or not, incurred in connection with the candidature, and whether paid or incurred by the candidate, his election agent or the person so travelling ;

(e) the cost whether paid or incurred of—

(i) printing,

(ii) advertising,

(iii) stationery,

(iv) postage,

(v) telegrams, and

(vi) rooms hired either for public meetings or as committee-rooms :

(f) any other miscellaneous expenses whether paid or incurred.

NOTE.—(1) All expenses incurred in connection with the candidature whether paid by the candidate, his election agent, or any other person, or remaining unpaid on the date of the return are to be set out.

(2) For all items of Rs. 5 and over, unless from the nature of the case (e.g., travel by rail or postage) a receipt is not obtainable, vouchers are to be attached.

3. The form of the declarations referred to in rule 17 shall be as follows :—

Form of declaration by Election Agent.

I _____, being the appointed election agent for _____, a candidate for election in the _____ constituency, do hereby solemnly affirm that the above return of election expenses is true to the best of my knowledge and belief, and that, except the expenses herein set forth, no expenses of any nature whatsoever have to my knowledge or belief been incurred in or for the purposes of, _____'s candidature.

Election Agent.

Solemnly affirmed before me.

(Magistrate.)

Form of declaration by Candidate.

I _____, being a candidate for election in the _____ constituency, do hereby solemnly affirm that the above return of election expenses is true to the best of my knowledge and belief, and that, except the expenses herein set forth, no expenses of any nature whatsoever have to my knowledge or belief been incurred in, or for the purposes of, my candidature.

Candidate.

Solemnly affirmed before me.

(Magistrate.)

Special form of declaration by Candidate under rule 17, sub-rule (4).

I _____, being a candidate for election in the _____ constituency do hereby solemnly affirm that the return of election expenses signed by my election agent is (with the exceptions noted

below) true to the best of my knowledge and belief, and that (with the exceptions noted below) no expenses of any nature whatsoever other than the expenses therein set forth have to my knowledge or belief been incurred in or for the purposes of my candidature.

Particulars of Exceptions.

Candidate.

Solemnly affirmed before me.

Magistrate.

SCHEDULE IV.

(See rules 5, 7, 20, 31, 42 and 45.)

The following shall be deemed to be corrupt practices for the purposes of these rules :—

PART I.

1. A gift, offer or promise by a candidate or his agent, or by any other person with the connivance of a candidate or his agent, of any gratifications to any person whomsoever, with the object, directly or indirectly, of inducing—

Bribery.

(a) a person to stand or not to stand as, or to withdraw from being, a candidate, or

(b) an elector to vote or refrain from voting at an election, or as a reward to—

(a) a person for having so stood or not stood or for having withdrawn his candidature, or

(b) an elector for having voted or refrained from voting.

Explanation.—For the purposes of this clause the term ‘ gratification ’ is not restricted to pecuniary gratifications or gratifications estimable in money, and includes all forms of entertainment and all forms of employment for reward ; but it does not include the payment of any expenses *bona fide* incurred at or for the purposes of any election and duly entered in the return of election expenses prescribed by these rules.

2. Any direct or indirect interference or attempt to interfere on the part of a candidate or his agent or of any other person with the connivance of the candidate or his agent with the free exercise of any electoral right.

Undue influence.

Explanation.—(1) Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of this clause, any such person as is referred to herein who—

(a) threatens any candidate or voter or any person in whom a candidate or voter is interested, with injury of any kind ; or

(b) induces or attempts to induce a candidate or voter to believe that he or any person in whom he is interested will become or will be rendered an object of divine displeasure or spiritual censure,

shall be deemed to interfere with the free exercise of the electoral right of such candidate or voter within the meaning of this clause.

(2) A declaration of public policy or a promise of public action or the mere exercise of a legal right without intent to interfere with an electoral right shall not be deemed to be interference within the meaning of this clause.

3. The procuring or abetting or attempting to procure by a candidate or his agent, or by any other person with the

Personation.

connivance of a candidate or his agent, the appli-

cation by a person for a voting paper in the name of any other person, whether living or dead, or in a fictitious name, or by a person who has voted once at an election for a voting paper in his own name at the same election.

4. The publication by a candidate or his agent or by any other person, with the connivance of the candidate or

Publication of false statements.

his agent, of any statement of fact which is false and which he either believes to be false or

does not believe to be true in relation to the personal character or conduct of any candidate or in relation to the candidature or withdrawal of any candidate, which statement is reasonably calculated to prejudice the prospects of such candidate's election.

5. The incurring or authorising by a candidate or his agent of expenditure or the employment of any person

Authorisation of expenditure.

by a candidate or his agent in contravention of the provisions of any notification of the

Governor-General in Council issued under rule 18 of these rules.

PART II.

1. Any act specified in Part I, when done by a person who is not a candidate or his agent or a person acting with the connivance of a candidate or his agent.

Acts under Part I.

2. The application by a person at an election for a voting paper in the name of any other person, whether living or dead, or in a fictitious name, or for a voting

Personation.

paper in his own name after he has already voted at such election.

3. The receipt of, or agreement to receive, any gratification, whether as a motive or a reward,—

Bribery.

(a) by a person to stand or not to stand as, or to withdraw from being, a candidate ; or

(b) by any person whomsoever for himself or any other person for voting or refraining from voting or for inducing or attempting to induce any elector to vote or refrain from voting or any candidate to withdraw his candidature.

4. Any payment or promise of payment to any person whomsoever on account of the conveyance of any elector to or from any place for the purpose of recording his vote.

Payment for conveyance.

5. The hiring, employment, borrowing or using for the purposes of the election of any boat, vehicle or animal usually kept for letting on hire or for the conveyance of passengers by hire :

Hiring and use of public conveyances.

Provided that any elector may hire any boat, vehicle or animal, or use any boat, vehicle or animal which is his own property, to convey himself to or from the place where the vote is recorded.

6. The incurring or authorisation of expenses by any person other than a candidate or his election agent on account of holding any public meeting or upon any advertisement, circular or publication or

Incurring expense without authority.

in any other way whatsoever for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of such candidate, unless he is authorised in writing so to do by the candidate.

7. The hiring, using or letting, as a committee-room or for the purpose of any meeting to which electors are admitted, of any building, room or other place where

Hiring of liquor shops.

intoxicating liquor is sold to the public.

8. The issuing of any circular, placard or poster having reference to the election which does not bear on its face the name and address of the printer and publisher thereof.

Issue of circulars, etc., without printer's and publisher's name printed thereon.

No. 1190.—Under the provisions of sub-rule (2) of rule 9 and rule 13 of the Bombay Electoral Rules and in supersession of Government Notification in the Legal Department No. 874, dated the 28th May 1921, as subsequently amended, the local Government is pleased to direct that the following regulations for the preparation of the electoral rolls in constituencies of and the conduct of elections of members to the Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay shall be substituted for those published in the said notification, namely :—

REGULATIONS.

PART I.

GENERAL.

1. In these Regulations—

(a) "Returning Officer" means the person stated in the first column of the table hereto annexed in respect of the constituency or constituencies entered against him in the second column of the said table, or any person whom the Local Government may, by notification in this behalf, appoint as Returning Officer in respect of any election or part of an election in any constituency in lieu of the person stated in the said table, and shall include any person deputed for the time being by the Returning Officer to perform any of his duties.

Table.

The Collector within whose jurisdiction the constituency is included.	<p>(a) Non-Muhammadan Urban Constituencies ;</p> <p>(b) Non-Muhammadan Rural Constituencies excluding those in Sind and also the Thana and Bombay Suburban District Constituency.</p> <p>(c) Bombay City (Muhammadan) and Karachi City (Muhammadan) Urban Constituencies ;</p> <p>(d) Muhammadan Rural Constituencies in Sind ;</p> <p>(e) Bombay City (European).</p>
The Collector of Thana	<p>.. The Thana and Bombay Suburban District Constituency (Non-Muhammadan Rural).</p>
The Commissioner within whose jurisdiction the Constituency is included.	<p>(a) Non-Muhammadan Rural Constituencies in Sind ;</p> <p>(b) Muhammadan Urban Constituencies excluding Bombay City and Karachi City ;</p> <p>(c) Muhammadan Rural Constituencies excluding those in Sind.</p>

The Commissioner, C. D.	.. Deccan Sardars and Inamdars.
The Commissioner, N. D.	.. Gujarat Sardars and Inamdars.
The Commissioner in Sind	.. Jagirdars and Zamindars (Sind).
The Collector of Bombay	.. Presidency (European).
The Registrar, Bombay University	Bombay University.
The Secretary for the time being of the Association forming a Commerce and Industry Constituency.	The Constituency so formed.

(b) "Rules" mean the Bombay Electoral Rules.

(c) "Ballot paper" includes a part of a ballot paper.

PART II.

ELECTORAL ROLLS.

1. (1) The Collector shall cause to be prepared an electoral roll for each constituency or part of a constituency included within his jurisdiction : and where the Registering Officer: Form and Preparation of Roll: Language. Collector is not the Returning Officer for any such constituency, shall submit the roll to the Returning Officer in time to allow of the roll being published on the appointed date in the manner prescribed in this Regulation.

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in rule 7 of the Bombay Electoral Rules no woman shall be disqualified for registration on the electoral roll by reason only of her sex.

(3) The elector's name, his father's* name, his residence and the

* Except in the case of Christians. In case of a woman her husband's or father's name. nature of his qualification shall be entered in
the roll.

(4) The roll shall be prepared in a municipal, cantonment, or notified area, alphabetically and separately for the area under each Polling station or such sub-division of such area as the Collector may direct; and alphabetically and separately for each village or part of a village or tapa not included in any such area.

(5) An elector shall ordinarily be entered in the roll for the area in which he has a place of residence, but may and where the elector has not a place of residence within the constituency, shall be entered in the roll for an area in which his qualification is wholly or partly held : provided that in an urban constituency a person qualified as an income-tax payer or as a retired, pensioned or discharged officer or soldier and who has not a place of residence within the constituency, may be entered in the roll for any area which he may select. Where an elector does not reside in the area on the roll for which he is entered, the place where he resides shall be entered under his name.

(6) In a European, Bombay City or Karachi City Constituency and in the Bombay University Constituency the roll shall be prepared in *English*; in the Deccan Sardars and Inamdars Constituency in *Marathi*; and in the

case of any other constituency the roll shall be prepared in Sind in *Sindi*, in the Northern Division (excluding Thana and Bombay Suburban districts) in *Gujarati*, in the Central Division, in the Thana, Bombay Suburban, Kolaba and Ratnagiri districts, in the talukas of Belgaum, Khanapur and Chikodi in the Belgaum district and in the Supa Petha of the Kanara district in *Marathi*, and in the Southern Division (save as hereinbefore provided) in *Kanarese*.

2. Any person in charge of any municipal, notified area or cantonment record shall, on a requisition from the Collector, furnish within such time as may be specified in such requisition such extracts from the record in his charge as the Collector may require; and shall allow the Collector or any person acting under his authority such access to any such record as the Collector or the person acting under his authority may require.

3. (1) On or before such date as may be appointed by the local Government in this behalf a copy of the electoral roll for each constituency shall be published at the head-quarters office of the Returning Officer.

(2) There shall be published on or before the aforesaid date at the head-quarters office of each municipal, cantonment or notified area in the constituency, the parts of the roll relating to such area; at the head-quarters office of each village or part of a village or tapa in the constituency not included in any such area and at the head-quarters of the taluka or mahal in which such village or tapa is included, the parts of the roll relating to such village or part of a village; and where the constituency is not wholly included within the Collector's jurisdiction, at the Collector's head-quarters office the parts of the roll relating to the area under his jurisdiction.

(3) The parts and copies so published shall remain open to inspection during the period allowed for lodging objections.

4. (1) At the time of publishing the roll and the parts thereof, a notice shall be published in like manner in Form IV appended to these regulations calling upon persons entered in the roll to lodge in the manner herein prescribed any objection they may have to make to the roll as published, and upon persons claiming to be entered in the roll, to lodge their claim in the manner herein prescribed. A claim or objection may be lodged in the prescribed manner on behalf of the Collector in respect of any entry or omission in the roll.

(2) Such claim or objection shall be made in writing and shall specify the constituency in question, the grounds on which the right of any person to be entered in the roll is asserted or denied, the evidence which the claimant or objector intends to lead, the address of the claimant or objector, his number if any in the electoral roll and the area in the roll for which he is entered, and in the case of an objection, the number in the

electoral roll of the person to whose entry objection is taken and the area in the roll for which he is entered.

(3) Four copies of the claim or objection shall be delivered or sent by post so as to reach the office of the judge authorized to receive the claim or objection under these regulations on or before the tenth day from the publication of the roll, excluding the day of such publication.

(4) A claim or objection which is not lodged in the manner herein prescribed or which is lodged by a person not entitled to lodge the same shall be rejected.

5. (1) Claims and objections relating to any roll for any part of the area specified in the first column of the annexed table shall be received by the authority specified against such area in the second column of the said table.

Table.

The City of Bombay	.. The Chief Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Bombay.
The municipal district of Karachi, the Cantonments of Karachi and Manora, the limits of the Karachi Port Trust and the taluka of Karachi.	The Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Karachi.
The municipal district of Ahmedabad, the Cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge and Sabarmati.	The Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Ahmedabad.
The municipal district of Poona, the suburban municipal district of Poona, and the Cantonments of Poona and Kirkee. ¹	The Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Poona.
Any other area	.. The Subordinate Judge within the local limits of whose ordinary jurisdiction the area is situated.

(2) The Judge on receipt of a claim or objection lodged in the manner herein prescribed and by a person entitled to lodge such claim or objection, shall fix a date and place for hearing the same and shall give notice of such date and place to the claimant or objector; the Collector who prepared the roll shall be made a party to such claim or objection if not already a party thereto and shall be supplied with a copy of the claim or objection and with notice of the date and place fixed for hearing. Where objection is taken to the entry of any person on the register, a copy of the objection with notice of the date and place fixed for hearing shall be sent

to such person. A copy of the claim or objection with notice of the date and place fixed for hearing shall be placed on the judge's notice board.

(3) Where any copy or notice is to be sent under paragraph (2), such copy or notice shall be sent by post to a claimant or objector to the address given in the claim or objection, and to a person to the entry of whose name objection is taken, to the address given in the electoral roll; a copy or notice so sent shall be deemed to have been duly served.

(4) The parties shall produce before the judge the evidence on which they rely.

(5) Where a claim or objection is based upon any right, title or interest in anything and such right, title or interest is disputed, if the judge is of opinion that the dispute cannot be determined summarily but should be adjudicated upon by a civil court, he shall reject such claim or objection.

(6) The judge after hearing the evidence, if any, adduced on behalf of the parties and after such further enquiry as he may deem necessary, shall pass order on the claim or objection.

(7) The judge shall forthwith send a copy of his order to the Collector.

(8) If the judge is unable to dispose of the claims and objections made within the period of four weeks from the last date fixed for lodging claims and objections, he may transfer any claim or objection for hearing to a Small Cause Court Judge in the case of the City of Bombay, and in the case of any other area to a subordinate judge or joint or additional subordinate judge having jurisdiction within the local limits of the jurisdiction of the judge making such transfer; or may appoint such number of practising advocates, vakils or pleaders as he shall consider necessary for disposing of the said claims and objections within the said period. The provisions of this regulation applicable to a judge having jurisdiction under the provisions of paragraph 1 shall apply to a judge to whom a claim or objection has been transferred for hearing and to an advocate, wakil or pleader appointed as aforesaid.

6. (1) The Collector shall make such cancellations in, and shall prepare a list of such additions to, the roll for each constituency as may be required in accordance with the orders passed under regulation 5 of this Part; and where he is not the Returning Officer for the constituency, shall forward copies of the amended roll and of the list of additions to the Returning Officer in time to allow of the amended roll and list being published on the appointed date in the manner prescribed in this regulation.

(2) The list shall be prepared in the manner specified in regulation 1 (4) of this Part.

(3) The amended roll and the list of additions shall be published in the manner prescribed in Regulation 3 of this Part for the publication of the electoral roll, on or before such date as may be appointed by the local Government in this behalf.

7. The electoral roll of any constituency as amended and supplemented by the list of additions shall be conclusive evidence for the purpose of determining whether any person is an elector in such constituency.

8. In order to facilitate the preparation of the electoral roll under regulation 1 of this Part the local Government may, by notification in the Gazette, direct that prior to the first publication prescribed by regulation 3 of this Part there shall be a preliminary publication by the Collector, of the electoral roll for each constituency or part of a constituency included within his jurisdiction with notice that applications for enrolment submitted within a period to be specified in the notice will be heard and decided by the Collector or other officer deputed by him in this behalf. The roll shall then, on the expiry of the above period, be revised before publication under regulation 3 of this Part.

PART III.

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES.

1. Nomination papers in the form prescribed by rule 11 (3) of the rules shall be supplied by the Collector to any elector asking for the same.

2. On the date appointed by the local Government for the scrutiny of nominations under sub-rule (2) of rule 11 the candidates, their election agents, one proposer and one seconder of each candidate, and one other person duly authorised in writing by each candidate, but no other person, may attend at such time and place as the Returning Officer may appoint, and the Returning Officer shall give them all reasonable facilities for examining the nomination papers of all candidates which have been delivered within the time and in the manner prescribed in rule 11.

3. (I) The Returning Officer shall examine the nomination papers and shall decide all objections which may be made to any nomination, and may, either on such objection or on his own motion, after such summary inquiry, if any, as he thinks necessary, refuse any nomination on any of the following grounds :—

(i) that the candidate is ineligible for election under rule 5 or rule 6 ;

(ii) that a proposer or seconder is disqualified from subscribing a nomination paper under sub-rule (4) of rule 11 ;

(iii) that there has been any failure to comply with any of the provisions of rule 11 or rule 11A ;

(iv) That the candidate or any proposer or seconder is not identical with the person whose electoral number is given in the nomination paper as the number of such candidate, proposer or seconder, as the case may be ;

(v) that the signature of the candidate or of any proposer or seconder is not genuine or has been obtained by fraud.

(2) For the purpose of this regulation,—

(a) the production of any certified copy of an entry made in the electoral roll of any constituency shall be conclusive evidence of the right of any elector named in that entry to stand for election or to subscribe a nomination paper, as the case may be, unless it is proved that the candidate is disqualified under rule 5 or rule 6 or, as the case may be, that the proposer or seconder is disqualified under sub-rule (4) of rule 11 and

(b) where a person has subscribed whether as proposer or seconder a larger number of nomination papers than there are vacancies to be filled, those of the papers so subscribed which have been first received, up to the number of vacancies to be filled, shall be deemed to be valid.

(3) Nothing contained in clause (ii), clause (iii), clause (iv), or clause (v) of sub-regulation (1) shall be deemed to authorise the refusal of the nomination of any candidate on the ground of any irregularity in respect of a nomination paper, if the candidate has been duly nominated by means of another nomination paper in respect of which no irregularity has been committed.

4. (1) The Returning Officer shall endorse on each nomination paper his decision accepting or rejecting the same and, if the nomination paper is rejected, shall record in writing a brief statement of his reasons for such rejection.

(2) The scrutiny shall be completed on the day appointed in this behalf under clause (b) of sub-rule (2) of rule 11 and no adjournment of the proceedings shall be allowed.

5. On completion of the scrutiny of nominations and after the expiry of the period within which candidatures may be withdrawn under sub-rule (8) of rule 11, the Returning Officer shall forthwith prepare a list of valid nominations and cause it to be affixed in some conspicuous place in his office.

6. (1) If the number of duly nominated candidates is greater than the number of vacancies the Returning Officer shall forthwith publish in the Gazette, and in such other manner as the local Government may prescribe, and in such places in the constituency as he may consider necessary, the names of the candidates as given in the nomination papers in alphabetical order and the symbol, if any, allotted to each candidate.

(2) In such case the Returning Officer shall forthwith arrange for the printing and supply to the Collector, if such officer is not himself the Returning Officer, of a sufficient number of ballot papers in the prescribed form.

PART IV.

VOTING IN MUHAMMADAN AND NON-MUHAMMADAN
CONSTITUENCIES.

1. The local Government shall appoint the hour at which the poll shall commence and the hour at which it shall close on the date appointed for the poll under clause (c) of sub-rule (2) of rule 11. The hours so fixed shall be published by notification in the Gazette and in such other manner as the local Government may direct.

2. (1) The Collector shall select for each constituency, wholly or partly included in his jurisdiction, as many polling stations as he thinks necessary, and he and the Returning Officer shall publish in the manner prescribed by Resolution 3, Part II, lists showing the polling stations so selected, and the polling areas for which they have respectively been selected.

(2) The Collector shall appoint a presiding officer for each polling station and such other persons (hereinafter referred to as polling officers) to assist the presiding officer as he thinks necessary.

(3) The same polling stations and presiding officers may be appointed in respect of elections held simultaneously.

3. (1) The presiding officer shall keep order at the polling station, shall see that the election is fairly conducted, shall regulate the number of electors to be admitted at one time, and shall exclude all other persons except—

(a) the polling officers, the candidates, and one agent of each candidate (hereinafter referred to as the polling agent) appointed in writing by the candidate, and authorised in this behalf by the Returning Officer,

(b) the police or other public servants on duty, and

(c) such other persons as the presiding officer may from time to time admit for the purpose of identifying electors.

(2) The presiding officer shall close the polling station at the hour appointed in that behalf by the local Government under regulation 1 of this Part, so as to prevent the admission thereto of any voter after that hour.

4. No ballot paper shall be issued after the closing hour appointed under regulation 1 of this Part, but any voter who has received his ballot paper before that hour shall be allowed a reasonable opportunity to record his vote.

5. Each polling station shall be furnished with such number of compartments, in which voters can record their votes screened from observation, as the Collector thinks necessary.

6. The Collector shall provide at each polling station materials sufficient for the purpose of enabling voters to mark the ballot papers, as many ballot boxes as may be necessary, and copies of the electoral

roll or of such part thereof as contains the names of the electors entitled to vote at such station.

7. Every ballot box shall be so constructed that the ballot papers can be introduced therein, but cannot be withdrawn therefrom, without the box being unlocked. The presiding officer at any polling station, immediately before the commencement of the poll, shall show the ballot box empty to such persons as may be present in such station, so that they may see that it is empty, and shall then lock it up, and place his seal upon it in such manner as to prevent its being opened without breaking such seal, and shall place it in his view for the receipt of ballot papers and keep it so locked and sealed.

8. Before the polling station is open for the recording of votes, the presiding officer shall read to such persons as may be present the provisions of section 14 of the Election Offences and Inquiries Act, 1920, and shall explain the substance thereof in the vernacular of the district.

9. Immediately before a ballot paper is delivered to an elector, the number, name and description of the elector as stated in the electoral roll shall be called out, and the number of the elector shall be entered on the counterfoil, and a mark shall be placed in a copy of the electoral roll against the number of the elector, to denote that he has received a ballot paper, but without showing the particular ballot paper which he has received. On the counterfoil shall be entered the name of the constituency and the name or distinctive number of the polling station and the signature or thumb impression of the elector.

10. The elector, on receiving the ballot paper, shall forthwith proceed into one of the compartments in the polling station, and there mark his paper, and fold it up so as to conceal his vote, and, shall put his ballot paper, so folded up, into the ballot box. Every elector shall vote without undue delay and shall quit the polling station as soon as he has put his ballot paper into the ballot box.

11. The presiding officer shall give such assistance as may be required to any elector who is by reason of infirmity or illiteracy unable to vote in the manner prescribed.

12. At any time before a ballot paper is delivered to an elector, the presiding officer or polling officer may, of his own accord, if he has reason to doubt the identity of the elector or his right to vote at such station, and shall, if so required by a candidate or polling agent, put to the elector the following questions :—

(1) Are you the person enrolled as follows (reading the whole entry from the roll) ? and

(2) Have you already voted at the present election in this constituency ? and, at a general election,

(3) Have you already voted at this general election for the Legislative Council in any other general constituency ?

and the elector shall not be supplied with a ballot paper if he refuses to answer one of the questions and unless he answers the first question in the affirmative, the second question in the negative, and, at a general election, the third question also in the negative.

13. The ballot paper shall be in Form I annexed to these regulations.

The ballot papers shall be serially numbered, the serial number being printed on the counterfoil and on the back of the ballot paper.

14. If the person representing himself to be a particular elector named

Tendered votes.

on the electoral roll applies for a ballot paper after another person has voted as such elector, the applicant shall, after duly answering such questions as the presiding officer may ask, be entitled to mark a ballot paper in the same manner as any other voter. Such ballot paper (hereinafter referred to as a tendered ballot paper) shall, instead of being put into the ballot box, be given to the presiding officer and endorsed by him with the name of the voter and his number on the electoral roll and the name of the electoral area to which the roll relates and shall be set aside in a separate packet and shall not be counted by the Returning Officer. The name of the voter and his number in the electoral roll and the name or distinctive number of the polling station to which the roll relates shall be entered in a list in Form II annexed to these regulations, which shall bear the heading "Tendered votes list". The person tendering such ballot paper shall sign his name and address thereon or affix his thumb impression against the entry in that list.

15. If any polling agent declares and undertakes to prove that any

Challenged votes.

person by applying for a ballot paper has committed the offence of personation, the presiding officer may require such person to enter in the list of challenged votes (which shall be in Form III annexed to these regulations) his name and address, or, if he is unable to write, to affix his thumb impression thereto and may further require such person to produce evidence of identification. If such person on being questioned in the manner provided in regulation 12 of this Part answers the first question in the affirmative, and the other questions in the negative, he shall be allowed to vote after he has been informed of the penalty for personation. The presiding officer shall make a note of the circumstances, and of his decision on the list of challenged votes.

16. A voter who has inadvertently dealt with his ballot paper

Spoilt ballot papers.

in such a manner that it cannot conveniently be used as a ballot paper may, on delivering it to the presiding officer and satisfying him of the inadvertence, obtain another

ballot paper in place of the spoilt paper, and the latter shall, together with its counterfoil, be marked as cancelled.

17. A presiding officer, polling officer, or polling agent who is on duty at a polling station at which he is not entitled to vote shall, if he is certified by the Collector to be entitled to vote at the election for the constituency in connection with which he is employed or for any other constituency, be allowed to record his vote at that polling station. The name of the polling station at which he would otherwise have been entitled to vote shall be entered in the counterfoil of the ballot paper together with his number in the electoral roll for the constituency in which that polling station is situated.

18. Such ballot paper shall be placed in an envelope and sealed by the presiding officer, and returned with the certificate referred to in regulation 17 of this Part to the Collector who has granted the same, and such Collector shall cause such vote to be included among the other votes given for the candidate designated by the voter.

19. The presiding officer of each polling station, as soon as practicable after the close of the poll, shall, in the presence of any candidates or polling agents who may be present, make up into separate parcels and seal with his own seal and the seal of such candidates or agents as may desire to affix their seal:—

(1) each ballot box in use at each station unopened but with the key attached;

(2) the unused ballot papers;

(3) the tendered ballot papers;

(4) the spoilt ballot papers;

(5) the marked copy of the electoral roll;

(6) the counterfoils of the ballot papers;

(7) the tendered votes list; and

(8) the list of challenged votes;

and shall after endorsing on each packet a description of its contents deliver such packets to the Returning Officer, or to the Collector for submission to the Returning Officer where the Collector is not the Returning Officer.

20. The packets shall be accompanied by a statement made by the presiding officer, showing the number of ballot papers entrusted to him, and accounting for them under the heads of ballot papers in the ballot box, unused, spoilt, and tendered ballot papers, and ballot papers dealt with under regulation 18 of his Part.

PART V.

VOTING IN EUROPEAN, LANDHOLDERS' AND UNIVERSITY
CONSTITUENCIES.

European, Landholders' and University Constituencies.

1. (1) In European and Landholders' constituencies and in the Bombay University constituency—

(a) the Collector shall supply the Presiding Officer with one ballot box ;

(b) the ballot box shall be kept beside the Presiding Officer ; the elector shall mark his ballot paper in the voting partition and shall then place his ballot paper in the ballot box in the presence of the Presiding Officer ; more than one elector may be admitted into the voting partition at a time ;

(c) the voting paper shall be in Form I-A appended to these regulations ; the names of the candidates shall be printed thereon in the published order ; the number of the ballot paper shall be printed on the counterfoil and on the back of the ballot paper ;

(d) the elector shall record his vote by making a cross against the name of the candidate for whom he desires to vote, and shall then place the ballot paper in the ballot box ;

(e) an elector voting on a tendered ballot paper shall record his vote in the manner above described and shall deliver the ballot paper to the Presiding Officer.

(2) Save as herein provided, the provisions of Part IV shall be applicable to elections in the aforesaid constituencies.

PART VI.

COUNTING OF VOTES.

1. The Returning Officer shall, as soon as may be practicable after the close of the poll, give notice in writing to all candidates and election agents of the date, time and place appointed by the local Government for the counting of votes.

2. (1) No person shall be allowed to be present at the counting of the votes except the Returning Officer and such persons as he may appoint to assist him in counting of the votes, and such other persons, who may be present at the counting of votes, as have a right to be present under sub-rule (6) of rule 12.

(2) No person shall be appointed to assist in counting the votes, who has been employed by or on behalf of any candidate for any purpose whatsoever connected with the election.

3. On the day and at the time appointed under regulation 1 of this Part the Returning Officer shall, before he commences to count the votes, read the provisions of section 14 of the Indian Election Offences and Inquiries Act, 1920, to such persons as may be present, and shall then proceed as follows :—

Scrutiny of votes: Rejection of invalid votes: Counting of votes: Suspension of counting of votes.

(a) The ballot box or boxes relating to each polling station shall be opened one after another, and the Returning Officer shall take out the papers therefrom, count them or cause them to be counted, and record the number thereof in a statement. Such statement shall not be shewn to any candidate or agent.

(b) The Returning Officer shall then mix together all the ballot papers so taken out from the ballot boxes and distribute them in the convenient bundles to the persons appointed to assist in counting the votes.

(c) When the ballot papers have been so distributed, but not before, the Returning Officer shall allow the candidates and their agent, reasonable opportunity to inspect, without handling, the ballot papers, and shall on every ballot paper which is wholly or partially rejected endorse the word "rejected". If any candidate or agent present questions the correctness of the rejection, he shall also record, on the ballot paper, the grounds for the rejection. No candidate or agent shall be allowed to see the serial number on the back of any ballot paper.

(d) The Returning Officer shall, as far as practicable, proceed continuously with the counting of the votes; and shall, during any necessary intervals during which the counting has to be suspended, place the ballot papers, packets and other documents relating to the election under his own seal and the seals of such candidates, or agents as may desire to affix them, and shall cause adequate precautions to be taken for their custody.

Grounds of rejection of ballot paper. 4. (1) A ballot paper shall be rejected if—

(a) the number of votes recorded thereon exceeds the number of vacancies to be filled,

(b) no vote is recorded thereon,

(c) it is void for uncertainty,

(d) it bears any mark by which the elector can be identified.

(2) The decision of the Returning Officer as to the validity of a ballot paper shall be final, subject only to reversal on an election petition claiming the seat.

5. The Returning Officer shall not open the sealed packets of the tendered votes, the marked copy of the electoral roll or the counterfoils of the ballot papers. He shall verify the statement submitted by the Presiding Officer under regulation 20 of Part IV by comparing it with the number of counted votes and

Verification.

rejected ballot papers, the unused ballot papers in his possession and the tendered votes list, shall then reclose and reseal each packet which has been opened by him, shall record on each packet a description of its contents and the date of the election to which it refers.

Return.

6. The Returning Officer shall then prepare and certify a return setting forth :—

(1) the result of the verification referred to in regulation 5 of this Part,

(2) the names of the candidates for whom valid votes have been given,

(3) the number of valid votes given for each candidate,

(4) the name of the candidate elected,

(5) the number of votes declared invalid, and

(6) the number of tendered votes given,

and shall permit any candidate or any representative duly authorised under sub-rule (6) of rule 12 to take a copy or an extract from such return.

PART VII.

DISPOSAL OF BALLOT PAPERS.

1. The Returning Officer shall, after reporting the result, retain in his custody the return and the packets referred to in Part VI, regulation 5, and all other documents relating to the election.

2. While in the custody of the Returning Officer the packets of ballot papers whether counted, rejected or tendered, and of the counterfoils thereof, shall not be opened and their contents shall not be inspected or produced except under the order of a competent Court or of Commissioners appointed to hold an inquiry in respect of an election, but all other documents relating to the election shall be open to public inspection subject to such conditions and to the payment of such fee, if any, as the local Government may impose.

3. The packets aforesaid shall be retained for a period of one year and shall thereafter be destroyed subject to any direction to the contrary made by the local Government, or by a competent Court or by Commissioners appointed to hold an inquiry in respect of an election.

PART VIII.

ELECTIONS IN COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY CONSTITUENCIES.

Commerce and Industry Constituencies. 1. (1) In a Commerce and Industry Constituency—

(a) the Returning Officer shall prepare one roll for the constituency;

(b) the roll shall be prepared in English ;

(c) the electoral roll shall be published at the head-quarters office of the association or such other place in lieu thereof as the local Government may, by notification in this behalf, appoint ;

(d) claims and objections in respect of the electoral roll shall be received by the Chief Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Bombay, the Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Karachi, or the Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Ahmedabad, according as the head-quarters office of the association is in Bombay, Karachi or Ahmedabad ;

(e) four copies of the complaint or objection shall be delivered or sent by post so as to reach the office of the Judge authorised to receive the complaint or objection on or before the third day from the publication of the roll, excluding the day of such publication ;

(f) the Returning Officer shall be made a party to any claim or objection in lieu of the Collector ;

(g) claims or objections shall be disposed of within a period of seven days from the last date fixed for lodging claims or objections ;

(h) the Judge deciding a claim or objection shall send a copy of his order to the Returning Officer in lieu of the Collector ;

(i) the amended roll and list of additions shall be prepared by the Returning Officer ;

(j) a fresh electoral roll shall be prepared for each election in the prescribed manner ;

(k) a nomination paper shall be presented to the Returning Officer at the head-quarters office of the association or such other place in lieu thereof as the local Government may, by notification in this behalf, appoint ;

(l) the scrutiny of nomination papers shall take place at the head-quarters office of the association or such other place in lieu thereof as the local Government may, by notification in this behalf, appoint ;

(m) ballot papers shall not be supplied to the Collector ;

(n) the Returning Officer shall perform the duties of the Collector and of the Presiding Officer under Parts IV and V ;

(o) There shall be only one polling station which shall be the head-quarters office of the association or such other place in lieu thereof as the local Government may, by notification in this behalf, appoint ;

(p) the provisions of Part V shall apply ; in a plural member constituency an elector desiring to accumulate his votes on one candidate shall place two crosses against the name of such candidate.

(2) Save as herein provided, the provisions of these Regulations shall apply to an election in any such constituency.

PART IX.

ELECTIONS IN THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY CON-
STITUENCY.

1. The provisions of these Regulations shall apply to the Bombay
 Bombay University Con- University Constituency as if it were a territorial
 stituency. constituency including the whole of the Bombay
 Presidency excluding Aden.

PART X.

RETURN OF ELECTION EXPENSES.

The return of election expenses under rule 17 of the rules shall be in
 Form V appended to these regulations and shall
 Return, of election be accompanied by the affidavit in the form
 expenses. given in Schedule III to the rules.

FORM I.

FORM OF FRONT OF BALLOT PAPER.

Counterfoil.
Serial No.

Outerfoil.
Front.

Constituency _____

Number of polling station _____

Number of elector on electoral
roll _____

Signature or thumb impression
of elector _____

Name and Symbol
of Candidate.

Cross.

NOTE.—It is considered important that the whole of the outerfoil of the Ballot paper should be taken up by the cage containing the names and symbols of candidates and spaces for recording votes.

Back of Outerfoil.

Instructions.

(1) The number of members for whom you may vote is _____

(2) Place a cross mark thus \times against the
 name of the candidate for whom you wish to vote.
each of the candidates

(3) The mark should be placed against not _____ more
 than _____

Serial No.

FORM I-A

FORM OF FRONT OF BALLOT PAPER.

Counterfoil.
Serial No.Outerfoil.
Front.

Constituency _____

Number of polling station _____

Number of elector on electoral
roll _____Signature or thumb impression
of elector _____

Name of Candidate.	Cross.

NOTE.—It is considered important that the whole of the outerfoil of the Ballot paper should be taken up by the cage containing the names of candidates and spaces for recording votes.

Back of Outerfoil.

Instructions.

(1) The number of members for whom you may vote is _____

(2) Place a cross mark thus \times against the
 name of the candidate for whom you wish to vote.
 each of the candidates

(3) The mark should be placed against not _____ more
 than _____

Serial No.

BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

FORM II.

Tendered Votes List.

Polling station.

Name of Constituency.	Name of Vote	Number in Electoral Roll.	Number of votes recorded.

BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

FORM III.

List of Challenged Votes.

Signature sheet No.

Number on Electoral Roll.	Name.	Signature of voter if literate or thumb impression of voter if illiterate.	Name of identi- fier if any.

Order of Presiding Officer (in each case).

BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

FORM IV.

NOTICE.—Under Regulation 4 (I), Part II of the Bombay Legislative Council Electoral Regulations.

1. (a) The Electoral Rolls of the following constituencies for the*
of are hereby published in accordance
with Regulation 3, Part II :—

The	Non-Muhammadan Urban Constituency.
The	Muhammadan Urban Constituency.
The	Non-Muhammadan Rural Constituency.
The	Muhammadan Rural Constituency.
The	European Constituency.
The	Landholders' Constituency.
The	University Constituency.

- (b) The Electoral Rolls of the following constituencies are not published in this area because there are no persons qualified to vote in them in this area :—

The	Non-Muhammadan Urban Constituency.
The	Muhammadan Urban Constituency.
The	Non-Muhammadan Rural Constituency.
The	Muhammadan Rural Constituency.
The	European Constituency.
The	Landholders' Constituency.
The	University Constituency.

2. Any person entered on the roll who objects to any entry in the roll or any person claiming to be entered in the roll should lodge his claim or objection in the following manner :—

(a) Such claim or objection shall be made in writing and shall specify the constituency in question, the grounds on which the right of any person to be entered in the roll is asserted or denied, the evidence which the claimant or objector intends to lead, the address of the claimant or objector, his number, if any, in the electoral roll and the area in the roll for which he is entered and in the case of any objection, the number in the electoral roll of the person to whose entry objection is taken and the area in the roll for which he is entered.

(b) Four copies of the claim or objection shall be delivered or sent by post so as to reach the office of the judge authorised to receive the claim or objection under the regulations on or before the tenth day from the publication of the roll, excluding the day of such publication.

(c) A claim or objection which is not lodged in the manner herein prescribed, or by a person not entitled to lodge the same, shall be rejected.

* Here specify area.

NOTE.—Non-relevant entries in (a) and (b) should be cancelled. The cancellation will be alternate, i.e., those entries which are cut out in paragraph (a) will stand in paragraph (b) and vice versa.

N. B.—A full statement of the qualifications for each constituency can be seen at the Taluka Kacheri.

3. Claims and objections relating to a roll for any area stated in column I would be sent to the person entered against such area in column II of the table annexed :—

Table.

The City of Bombay	..	.. The Chief Judge of the Court of Small Causes.
The Municipal District of Karachi, the Cantonments of Karachi and Manora, and the limits of the Karachi Port Trust.		The Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Karachi.
The Municipal District of Ahmedabad, the Cantonment of Ahmedabad and the notified areas of Kankaria, Asarwa, Ellis Bridge, and Sabarmati.		The Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Ahmedabad.
The Municipal District of Poona, the Suburban Municipal District of Poona, and the Cantonments of Poona and Kirkee.		The Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Poona.
Any other area	..	.. The Subordinate Judge within the local limits of whose ordinary jurisdiction the area is situate.

N.B.—Cancel entries in table which are not relevant.

BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

FORM V.

(RULE 17 OF THE BOMBAY ELECTORAL RULES.)

Form of Return of Election Expenses.

For the Constituency of the Bombay Legislative Council.

Receipts.	Rs.	Expenditure.	Rs.	Voucher No.
Received of A. B., candidate for the above constituency. (Or when the candidate is his own election agent)		(A) THE PERSONAL EXPENDITURE OF THE CANDIDATE INCURRED ON PAID BY HIM OR BY HIS ELECTION AGENT ON HIS BEHALF, INCLUDING TRAVELLING AND ALL OTHER PERSONAL EXPENSES INCURRED IN CONNECTION WITH HIS CANDIDATURE.		
Paid by me, A. B., candidate for the above constituency.		Paid by me, C. D., as election agent.		
Received of		(Or when the candidate is his own election agent). Paid by me, A. B., candidate, as my own election agent		
(1)		(1) On		
(2)		(2) On		
(3)		(3) On		
(4)		(4) On		
etc., etc.				
Total Receipts . . .		(1) Paid to	on	
		(2) "	on	
		(3) "	on	
		(4) "	on	etc., etc

(Here set out the name and description of every person, club, society, or association, whether the candidate or not from whom any money, securities or equivalent of money was received in respect of expenses incurred on account of or in connection with or incidental to the above election. The amount received from each such person, club, society, etc., to be shown separately.)

Details of all expenditure incurred by or on behalf of the candidate whether in payment for personal services rendered, on account of hotel bills, for travelling whether by rail or in hired conveyance, or for the purchase of books or election literature, etc., should be shown, either in the account or in a separate list annexed to and referred to in the account.

(B) THE NAME AND THE RATE AND TOTAL AMOUNT OF THE PAY OF EACH PERSON EMPLOYED AS AN AGENT (INCLUDING THE ELECTION AGENT), CLERK OR MESSENGER;

Received by me, C. D., as election agent for A. B.
(When the candidate is his own election agent the above item will be omitted.)

(1) Paid to	as sub-agent at	etc.
(2)		
(3)		
(4)		

(The name and description of each sub agent and any sum paid to him must be set out separately.)

(1) Paid to	as polling agent at the polling
station of	
(2)	
(3)	
(4)	

(If the candidate is his own election agent leave out the above item.)	
(1) Paid to	sub agent of the polling district
of	as travelling expenses.
(2)	
(3)	
(4)	
<i>(The name and description of every sub-agent or polling agent and the sum paid to each on account of travelling or any other expenses must be set out separately either in the account or in a separate list annexed to and referred to in the account, which should include purchase of tickets by rail, hire of vehicles or refreshments provided.)</i>	
(1) Paid to	as clerk for travelling expenses.
(2)	
(3)	
(4)	
<i>(The name and description of every clerk and the sum paid to him on account of travelling or any other expenses must be set out separately either in the account or in a separate list annexed to and referred to in the account, which should include purchase of tickets by rail, hire of vehicles or refreshments provided.)</i>	
(1) Paid to	as messenger for travelling
expenses.	
(2)	
(3)	
(4)	
<i>(The name and description of every messenger and the sum paid to him on account of travelling or any other expenses must be set out separately either in the account or in a separate list annexed to and referred to in the account, which should include purchase of tickets by rail, hire of vehicles or refreshments provided.)</i>	

Form of Return of Election Expenses—contd.

Receipts.	Rs.	Expenditure.	Rs.	Voucher No.
		(D) THE TRAVELLING EXPENSES OF PERSONS, WHETHER IN RECEIPT OF SALARY OR NOT, INCURRED IN CONNECTION WITH THE CANDIDATURE, AND WHETHER PAID OR INCURRED BY THE CANDIDATE, HIS ELECTION AGENT OR THE PERSON SO TRAVELLING ;		
		(Under this head should be included any payments made by the candidate or by the election agent on account of any person who travels in connection with the candidature other than persons whose travelling expenses have been shown in the statement under C above)		
		(E) THE COST WHETHER PAID OR INCURRED OF— (i) printing, (ii) advertising, (iii) stationery, (iv) postage, (v) telegrams, and (vi) rooms hired latter for public meetings or as com- mittee rooms.		
		(f) Paid on account of Printing— (1) To on (2) To on (3) To on (4) To on		
		Total Printing .		

(The name and description of each person and the nature of the goods supplied, or the work and labour done by each, must be set out separately either in the account or in a separate list annexed to and referred to in the account with receipted vouchers for all sums above Rs. 5.)

(ii) Paid on account of Advertising—

(1) To on
 (2) To on
 (3) To on
 (4) To on

Total Advertising ..

(The name and description of each person and the nature of the goods supplied, or the work and labour done by each, must be set out separately either in the account or in a separate list annexed to and referred to in the account with receipted vouchers for all sums above Rs. 5.)

(iii) Paid on account of Stationery—

(1) To on
 (2) To on
 (3) To on
 (4) To on

Total Stationery ..

(The name and description of each person and the nature of the goods supplied, or the work and labour done by each, must be set out separately either in the account or in a separate list annexed to and referred to in the account with receipted vouchers for all sums above Rs. 5.)

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REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INDIAN EXCHANGE AND CURRENCY, 1919.

TO THE RIGHT HON. EDWIN S. MONTAGU, M.P., SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR INDIA.

1. We were appointed, on the 30th May 1919, as a Committee to advise in regard to the future of Indian Exchange and Currency. Our terms of reference were as follows:—

TERMS OF REFERENCE.

“To examine the effect of the war on the Indian exchange and currency system and practice, and upon the position of the Indian note-issue, and to consider whether, in the light of this experience and of possible future variations in the price of silver, modifications of system or practice may be required; to make recommendations as to such modifications, and generally as to the policy that should be pursued with a view to meeting the requirements of trade, to maintaining a satisfactory monetary circulation, and to ensuring a stable gold exchange standard.”

INTRODUCTORY.

WITNESSES.

2. We have held 40 meetings and examined 29 witnesses. We have endeavoured to obtain evidence of as widely representative character as possible. The official side of the case has been placed before us by Sir Lionel Abrahams, K.C.B., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Mr. F. H. Lucas, C.B., J.V.O., Financial Secretary at the India Office, and Mr. M. M. S. Gubbay, C.S.I., J.I.E., Controller of Currency in India, who, in addition to serving as a member of our Committee, was the accredited spokesman of the Government of India. Sir W. Meyer, J.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., who was Financial Member of the Governor-General's Council in India for practically the whole period of the war, also gave evidence. In addition, we had the advantage of hearing Sir David Barbour, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., who occupied the post of Financial Member of the Governor-General's Council from 1887-93, when the policy of closing the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver was adopted, and subsequently served as a member of the Indian Currency Committee presided over by Sir Henry Fowler (later Lord Wolverhampton) in 1893-99.

In order to ensure that all important representative associations in India should be given the fullest opportunity to nominate witnesses, we requested the Government of India, through the Secretary of State, to renew the invitation they had issued prior to our first meeting, and to facilitate the deputation of witnesses to this country. The majority of the Chambers of Commerce and other representative associations in India elected to submit their views in writing rather than depute a witness for the purpose. All the memoranda received from them will be found in the volumes of our proceedings, and we need scarcely say that we have given them the careful consideration to which the responsibility and experience of their authors entitle them. Witnesses were specially deputed from India on behalf of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau and the Bombay Mill-owners' Association.

Eight other witnesses, representative of financial, commercial, and banking interests in the East appeared before us. Apart from the representatives of the Eastern Exchange Banks Association, these included Lord Inchcape, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., who served on the Secretary of State's Council from 1897 to 1911; Mr. M. de P. Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., formerly Chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce; Mr. J. N. Stuart, of the Indian Tea Association; Sir E. Rosling, of the Ceylon Association; Mr. J. F. N. Graham, who represented the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce; and Mr. S. R. Bomanji, member of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, Bombay. Invitations were also issued to the East Indian Section of the London Chamber of Commerce and the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, but these bodies did not consider it necessary to nominate a special witness. The Ceylon Chamber of Commerce also found it impossible to depute a representative to give evidence before us.

3. Prior to our appointment the Secretary of State had appointed Professor C. G. Cullis, D.Sc., and Professor H. C. H. Carpenter, F.R.S., of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, to conduct an en-

quiry into the conditions of silver production, the prospects of future output, and the causes by which it was likely to be influenced. We were able to avail ourselves of the result of this valuable investigation, and the two gentlemen who had conducted the enquiry appeared before us. Mr. E. L. de M. Mocatta, partner in the firm of Messrs. Mocatta and Goldsmid, bullion brokers, also gave evidence on the conditions and prospects of the silver market.

We found it necessary to examine the bearing of the exchange value of the rupee on the level of prices in India, and, in response to our request for evidence on this point, the Government of India deputed Mr. K. L. Datta, who in 1910-13 had conducted an enquiry into the rise of prices in India from 1895, to appear before us, not indeed as the official spokesman of the Government, but as an authority on prices and economic conditions in India. We also took evidence from Sir James Douie, K.C.S.I., a retired officer of the Indian Civil Service, and Mr. James Campbell, O.B.E., I.C.S., on this aspect of the case.

Sir Brien Cokayne, K.B.E., Governor of the Bank of England, gave evidence with reference to the Indian demand for the precious metals.

The remaining witnesses were: Mr. F. T. Rowlatt, Governor of the National Bank of Egypt; Mr. F. I. Kent, Director of the Foreign Exchange Section of the Federal Reserve Board of the United States of America; Sir Stanley Reed, K.B.E., Editor of the *Times of India*; Mr. J. M. Keynes, C.B., a Member of the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency, 1913-14; Professor H. Stanley Jevons, of Allahabad University; and Mr. S. K. Sarma, a student of Indian currency questions.

question of returning to a silver standard such as existed before 1893, or of introducing a bimetallic standard. We think it was, however, to add that we are unanimously of opinion that no useful end would have been served by an enlargement of our recommendations so as to permit the consideration of the alternatives.

5. The history of the Indian currency system from 1893, when the Indian Mints were closed to the free coinage of silver, to 1914 is briefly described in paras. 12-43 of the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency, which sat in 1913-14 under the chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., now Chancellor of the Exchequer. In this report, issued a few months before the outbreak of war, the Commission generally endorsed the policies and measures which had been adopted with a view to the establishment of the value of the rupee on a stable basis. They made important recommendations regarding the use of gold as currency, the minting of gold in India, the development of the issue, the utilisation of Government balances in India and England, the sale of drafts in India and London, the constitution and location of the Gold Standard and Paper Currency Reserves, the organisation for the discharge of financial business, at the India Office, and the question of establishing a State or Central Bank in India. These recommendations were under the consideration of the Government of India when the financial and economic upheaval consequent on the outbreak of war supervened, and it was decided to postpone further action until the return of normal conditions. We shall refer in later passages of our Report to those suggestions made by the Royal Commission which more particularly concern our enquiry.

rove, being the equivalent of 1s. 4d. per pee. The rupee (as also the half-rupee) is unlimited legal tender and was the main metallic medium for the transaction of business. Currency notes of denominations of 5 and upwards were in circulation, and are legal tender without limit of amount. They were redeemable in coin on presentation at the Currency Offices.

Sovereigns had not been minted in India before the war, but the Government of India ordinarily issued them in exchange for rupees in response to any demand from the public, although they had not undertaken to do so. The extent to which gold coin, actually circulated in India before the war is uncertain, but in Bombay and parts of the Punjab its use as currency was not uncommon. In any case, the amount of gold coin absorbed was large, as will be seen from the figures for the five years before the war:—

Absorption of sovereigns and half-sovereigns in India.

	£.
1909-10	2,873,000
1910-11	1,433,000
1911-12	8,887,000
1912-13	11,100,000
1913-14	12,070,000

SALE OF COUNCIL DRAFTS.

7. There was normally a steady demand for remittance to India as the result of a favourable trade balance. This was adjusted partly by the importation of the precious metals, which was unrestricted, and partly by the sale by the Secretary of State of Council drafts on the Government of India. The sale of these drafts, generally known as Council Drafts, was primarily intended to provide funds for meeting expenditure on behalf of the Government of India in the United Kingdom. It had the effect of releasing currency (metallic rupees or notes or, exceptionally, gold) in India against payment of sterling in London, and was found convenient to extend the sales so as to provide additional currency in response to the requirements of trade. The same result would have been produced by the shipment of gold to India and its tender to the Government in exchange for rupees; but the acceptance in London of sterling (which was then equivalent to gold) instead of gold in India was convenient both for the Government and for the purchasers of Council Drafts.

REVERSE COUNCILS.

The amount of the Council Drafts offered for sale each week was therefore fixed not only with reference to the requirements

of the India Office, but also with reference to the demands for remittance to India, subject always to the capacity of the Government of India's resources to meet them. The rate obtained for the drafts varied from time to time according to trade demand, but as there was a standing offer to sell bills without limit of amount at 1s. 4½d. per rupee, the price never exceeded this figure, which corresponded to the theoretical gold export point. The Secretary of State also maintained the practice of not selling his bills below 1s. 3 29-32d. per rupee. If, owing to a temporary change in the normal current of trade, there was a tendency for the exchange value of the rupee to fall below this figure, and if this tendency was not sufficiently counteracted by a cessation of the sales of drafts, the situation was met by the sale in India of bills on London, generally known as "Reverse Councils," at 1s. 3 29-32d. per rupee. The Gold Standard Reserve, which had been accumulated from the profits on the coinage of rupees, was available for the purpose of meeting these Reverse Drafts, thus answering the purpose for which it was created, and preventing any further fall in the exchange value of the rupee.

The effect of these arrangements was to keep the exchange value of the rupee very near to the ratio of 15 rupees to the £. Such fluctuations as occurred were similar to those that occur from time to time in the exchange between gold standard countries where the variations are limited by the cost of moving gold to adjust the balance of indebtedness.

The effective maintenance of this fixed relation depended not upon the import and export of gold, but upon the action of the Secretary of State and the Government of India in giving rupees in exchange for gold or sterling, and sterling for rupee currency, in the manner explained above. The Indian standard of value has therefore been described not as a gold standard but as a gold exchange standard. This designation, however, is open to criticism on the ground that it does not take account of the distinction which it has now become necessary to observe between gold and sterling. This distinction, as we shall see later, introduces a new and critical problem in connection with the exchange.

TRADE BALANCE.

8. The precious metals played a part little less important than that of Council Drafts in the adjustment of India's trade balance. The following table sets forth the balance of trade on private account, the

net imports of treasure on private account, and the sales of Council Drafts for the 10 years prior to the outbreak of war:—

	Excess of Ex-ports over Im-ports on Private Account.	Net Imports of Treasure on Private Account (Gold & Silver, Coin and Bullion).	Net Sales of Council Drafts (i.e., Council Drafts less Reverse Drafts)
1904-5 ...	40,518,200	16,700,600	24,160,000
1905-6 ...	39,086,700	9,646,900	31,886,000
1906-7 ...	45,606,600	14,420,000	34,069,400
1907-8 ...	31,040,000	18,253,300	15,676,700
1908-9 ...	21,173,300	11,116,200	5,335,300
Total...	177,954,800	70,137,100	111,117,400
1909-10 ...	47,213,000	20,688,000	27,710,600
1910-11 ...	53,683,300	21,700,000	26,389,800
1911-12 ...	69,512,900	28,706,000	26,917,500
1912-13 ...	57,020,900	29,435,000	25,983,600
1913-14 ...	43,763,400	19,713,000	31,200,800
Total...	261,186,000	120,242,000	138,202,200

It is impossible, however, to arrive at any exact analysis of all the elements contributing to the settlement of India's trade balance, since the "invisible" exports and imports (freights, insurances, interest, transfer of profits, movements of capital, etc.) cannot be valued accurately.

Effect of Outbreak of War.

9. The outbreak of war immediately caused, in India as elsewhere, a general dislocation of trade and business of which the principal symptoms were the weakening of exchange, withdrawals of Savings Bank deposits, a demand for the encashment of notes, and a run on Indian gold stocks.

The weakening of exchange was met by the proved expedient of offering drafts on London. Between 6th August 1914 and 28th January 1915, Reverse Councils were sold to the extent of £8,707,000. In February 1915 the demand for Council Drafts revived, and, apart from further periods of weakness in 1915-16, and between November 1918 and April 1919, when Reverse Councils were sold to the extent of £4,893,000 and £5,463,000 respectively, Indian exchange remained strong throughout the duration of the war.

The net withdrawal of Savings Bank deposits amounted in the first two months of the war to Rs. 6 crores, out of the total deposits of 21½ crores on 31st July, 1914. From September to October, 1914 there were further withdrawals to the extent of Rs. 2 crores. Subsequently there was a recovery, but the net withdrawals for the year 1914-15 amounted to over Rs. 8 crores. The tide

turned in 1915-16, and since that date sits have continued to increase, with result that the figure at the end of 1915 was 18½ crores. There was also a run on banks, but this proved of short duration.

ENCASHMENT OF NOTES.

10. Some lack of confidence in the local note issue manifested itself at the outbreak of war and resulted in a net return of currency notes to the extent of 10 crores between 31st July, 1914, and 31st March, 1915, at which date the net circulation had declined from Rs. 66.28 crores to Rs. 56.28 crores. The silver held in the Paper Currency Reserve fell from Rs. 33.94 crores on 31st July to Rs. 29.87 crores on 31st December, 1914. But from the spring of 1915 onwards there has been a steady increase in the note circulation and on 30th November 1919, the net circulation amounted to Rs. 178.93 crores.

At the end of July, 1914, there arose a keen demand for gold in exchange for notes, and between the 1st and 4th of August the Government of India lost about £1,800,000 of gold. Some precautions had been taken to discourage the withdrawal of gold for international purposes when there was a demand for its use as a means of foreign remittance, but when it was seen that the precautions were unavailing it became necessary on 5th August to suspend the issue of gold to private persons. After that time notes presented for encashment were paid in silver coin only.

The disquieting symptoms to which we have referred lasted only for a short time. The return of public confidence was assisted by the assurance given to the banking and commercial community of adequate and continuous facilities for remittance and by the readiness with which the Government of India met demands for the encashment of currency notes.

Currency Difficulties

11. It is not surprising that the outbreak of war should have caused a temporary disturbance of Indian financial conditions, but when the first shock had passed away the currency mechanism worked smoothly. It was not until the end of 1916 that acute complications arose in the sphere of Indian currency and exchange. These complications showed themselves mainly in the rapid rise in the price of silver and later in the increasing difficulty of obtaining silver to meet the heavy demands for silver coin. These causes contributing to these results were

ous, and it will be necessary to trace a in some detail.

The Government of India, as is well known, are under the obligation of meeting sterling payments in the United Kingdom. The net amount of these in the years 1914 averaged over £25,000,000 a year. The ability of the Government of India to get to London the funds required for these payments, and also the successful working of the Indian currency system, depend on the existence of a substantial balance of trade in India's favour. In the period immediately preceding the outbreak of war India enjoyed a series of remarkably prosperous seasons, as will be seen from the following table, which exhibits the value of exports and imports on private account the years 1909-10 to 1913-14:—

Exports and Imports of Merchandise on Private Account.

Year.	Exports	Imports.	Net Exports
	£	£	£
1909-10 ...	125,253,000	76,040,000	47,313,000
1910-11 ...	139,921,200	86,236,000	51,685,200
1911-12 ...	151,896,100	92,333,200	59,512,900
1912-13 ...	164,361,800	107,343,900	57,017,900
1913-14 ...	165,919,200	122,165,300	43,753,900
Average for 5 years ...	149,470,900	97,233,700	52,237,200

The corresponding figures for the years 1915 to 1918-19 are as follows:—

Year.	Exports	Imports	Net Exports
	£	£	£
1914-15 ...	121,061,100	91,932,600	29,108,500
1915-16 ...	131,576,800	87,560,200	44,026,600
1916-17 ...	160,501,200	99,748,070	60,343,200
1917-18 ...	161,700,000	103,280,000	61,420,000
1918-19 ...	169,230,100	112,690,000	56,540,000
Average for 5 years ...	148,833,800	98,446,100	50,387,700

It will be observed that the average balance in India's favour was slightly higher in the earlier quinquennium than in the later, mainly owing to the heavy fall in the last two years of the war. But if we take the three years 1916-17, 1917-18, 1918-19, when Indian currency difficulties were most acute, the average balance of trade in India's favour, viz., £59,601,100, will be seen to have been decidedly in excess of the average of the last three years of the pre-war period (1911-12 to 1913-14), viz., £429,200. During the war imports into India were limited by the restriction of the available supplies from manufacturing countries in Europe. Imports from Germany and Austria ceased entirely on the outbreak of war, whilst the productive power of the

United Kingdom and her Allies was more and more completely absorbed on war industries as hostilities were protracted. There was consequently a large reduction in the quantity of goods imported into India, and it was only the rise in prices that maintained the value of the import trade and prevented its actual contraction. Exports from India, on the other hand, though restricted by difficulties of transport and finance, were in great demand. Supplies of raw materials and foodstuffs were required for the use of the Allied Powers, and the prices they realised were abnormally high. Enhanced values counteracted the shortage of freight and restrictions of finance, with the result already indicated, that the favourable trade balance was not only maintained, but even showed a tendency to increase.

EXCEPTIONAL DISBURSEMENTS.

13. The large balance of trade indebtedness in India's favour was reflected in the strength of exchange and the heavy demand on Government for currency; and other special causes were at work during the war to intensify this demand. India formed the base of important military operations in Mesopotamia, Persia and East Africa. The Government of India were called upon to provide funds for the payment of British and Indian troops engaged, for the purchase of a large part of the supplies, and for other expenses incidental to a modern campaign, and also for meeting civil expenditure in occupied territory. The amount of the recoverable expenditure incurred by the Government of India on behalf of the Imperial Government between 1914 and the present date has exceeded £240,000,000, and expenditure of this nature has not yet ceased. In addition to the above, arrangements were made for the financing of purchases in India on behalf of certain Dominions and Colonies and for the provision of rupee credits, amounting to 20 crores in 1917-18 and 1918-19, for American importers of Indian produce.

These exceptional disbursements created a heavy additional demand for Indian currency.

14. We have already referred to the part that the imports of gold and silver into India play in normal conditions in adjusting India's favourable trade balance. We shall deal later with the nature of the Indian demand, monetary, industrial and social, for the precious metals. At present we are concerned with the deficiency in the satisfaction of this demand in the period of the war. The following table exhibits the value of India's imports of gold and silver for the five years 1909-10 to 1913-14, and the corres-

ponding value in the years 1914-15 to 1918-19:—

Net Imports into India of Treasure on Private Account.

	Gold Coin and Bullion.	Silver Coin and Bullion.	Total.
	£	£	£
1909-10 ..	14,446,000	6,242,000	20,688,000
1910-11 ..	15,986,000	5,714,000	21,700,000
1911-12 ..	25,178,000	1,528,000	26,706,000
1912-13 ..	25,082,000	4,383,000	29,465,000
1913-14 ..	15,670,000	4,163,000	19,713,000
Total ..	93,212,000	24,030,000	1,07,242,000
1914-15 ..	5,577,000	6,678,000	12,255,000
1915-16 ..	3,267,000	3,717,000	6,984,000
1916-17 ..	2,797,000	—1,410,000	1,387,000
1917-18 ..	14,816,000	871,000	15,777,000
1918-19 ..	15,000	38,000	53,000
Total ..	26,012,000	9,962,000	35,974,000

Several factors contributed to the remarkable decline in the import of the precious metals during the latter period.

The first, and far the most important, factor was the difficulty of obtaining gold. The free market in London, on which India had been able to draw in the past, disappeared on the outbreak of war. Restrictions on the export of gold were imposed by belligerent Governments desirous of maintaining their stocks of the metal for war purposes, and India was accordingly only able to obtain very limited quantities. The relatively high imports in 1917-18, mainly from Japan and the United States, were largely caused by the difficulty of obtaining rupee exchange when the sales of Council Drafts were limited and controlled. The low figure for 1918-19 was mainly due to restrictions placed upon the export of gold from the United States.

SHORTAGE OF SILVER.

15. The dearth of gold created a strong demand for silver. This would have tended normally to increase the private imports of silver, which remained unrestricted until September, 1917. But during this period of the war the silver market was subject to conditions of supply and of demand which severely limited the amount of the metal available for private purchasers.

There was, in the first place, a great shortage of supply. The world's production of silver from 1914 onwards exhibited a marked decline from the production of the preceding years. The question is fully discussed in the Report on the World's Production of Silver by Professors Carpenter and Cullis, which is included in the Appendixes

to our Report. Their statistics are summarised in the following table:—

Mine production of Silver (in Fine Ounces 000 omitted).

Years	U.S.A.	U. S. A.	Mexico	Rest of World	Total
1910 ..	31,379	67,581	71,372	87,543	257,875
1911 ..	32,429	81,409	70,081	57,683	241,602
1912 ..	31,955	86,411	74,641	80,423	273,430
1913 ..	31,808	71,200	70,704	57,985	231,707
Average for 4 years 1910-13 ..	32,267	67,987	72,937	88,311	253,502
1914 ..	18,442	60,631	57,847	50,418	177,338
1915 ..	25,825	71,509	59,570	47,133	204,037
1916 ..	25,463	78,775	52,874	49,253	206,365
1917 ..	27,721	70,668	51,214	57,949	207,552
Average for 4 years 1914-17 ..	25,690	70,886	50,792	49,386	196,754

Approximately three-quarters of the world's silver is mined in North America and Mexico. The decrease in the Canadian production due to the progressive exhaustion of the Cobalt field was more than compensated by an increase in the production of the United States of America; and the key to the shortage of silver is to be found in Mexico, where, owing to political disturbances, the production of silver fell from an average of 73,937,000 fine ounces for the years 1910-13 to an average of 50,292,000 fine ounces for the years 1914-17, a reduction of 43.6 million ounces out of a total reduction of 50.5 million ounces in the world's production. It will be noted that the fall in Mexican production, though it coincided approximately with the beginning of the war, was not caused by the war, but by internal conditions in Mexico.

HEAVY WORLD DEMAND.

16. Had the world's demand for silver remained normal, the marked decline in supplies from 1914 onwards could hardly have failed to produce a rise in price and must have influenced the quantity of the metal available for India. But actually the world's demand for silver was unusually keen, particularly for coinage. The coinage of the British Empire for example absorbed nearly 108 million fine ounces of silver in the years 1915 to 1918 as against 30.5 million fine ounces in the years 1910 to 1913, and there is evidence that there were similar increases in the silver coinage of other countries.

There has also been a heavy demand for China during the last two years. In the years 1914-17 China was a seller of silver and her net exports of the metal amounted to over 77,000,000 standard ounces. From 1918, on the other hand, China has been a persistent buyer, and in recent months the intensity of her demand has been the domi-

ting feature of the silver market. It is probable that the export of the previous years has now been made good, but so far there is no indication of any slackening in the demand.

17. We have seen that war conditions militated against the normal flow of the precious metals to India, where their import could have assisted in the liquidation of the trade balance in India's favour. The burden of liquidating this balance was thus pushed on the Government of India and took the form of heavy demands for currency. The efforts made to meet these demands are indicated by the fact that between April, 1916 and March, 1919, over 80,000,000 standard ounces of silver were bought in the market for coinage in addition to 200,000,000 fine ounces purchased under the Pittman Act (see para. 23) as compared with about 150,000,000 standard ounces between April, 1904 and March, 1907, when the Indian demand was specially heavy and continuous.

RISE IN PRICE.

18. These large purchases, combined with the decrease in the supplies of silver and the increased demand from other quarters, reacted strongly on the price of the metal. In 1915 the highest price of silver in the London market was 27½d. per standard ounce. By April, 1916, it had risen to 35½d. and in December had reached 37d. The rise in price continued throughout the first part of 1917 and in August it exceeded 43d. We give attention to this figure, because it marks the point at which the exchange value of the rupee at 1s. 4d. is equivalent to its million value, and it was the rise in the price of silver to this figure and above it that necessitated the alterations in exchange which we refer in paragraph 22. In September, 1917, the price of silver rose to 55d. In September 1917, the United States Government instituted control over the trade in silver and prohibited the export of the metal except under licence. The effect of this control was to check the rising tendency of silver prices, and between October, 1917, and April, 1918, the London quotation varied between 41½d. and 49½d. per standard ounce. After the passing of the Pittman Act in April, 1918, (see para. 23), no export licences were granted by the Government of the United States of America except for silver which was bought at 101½ cents, or 80s. per fine ounce, and was required for purposes connected with the prosecution of the war. Similar measures were adopted by

the Canadian Government, and the British Government fixed a maximum price for silver corresponding to the American maximum. These measures had the effect of stabilising the market price of silver at about a dollar per fine ounce, and facilitated purchases for India. Between May, 1918, and April, 1919, the London price for silver ranged between 47½d. and 50d. per standard ounce. But when in May, 1919, the United States Government and the British Government withdrew control over the silver market, a further rise in price occurred, and in May the London price reached 59d., or more than double the maximum attained in 1915. Since that date, mainly on account of the exceptional demands from China, the price has risen still further and on 17th December stood at 78d. per standard ounce.

INFLUENCE OF DOLLAR-STERLING.

19. It is necessary at this stage to refer to another factor tending to raise the price of silver in the London market. During the war arrangements were concerted between the British and American Governments under which the sterling exchange on America was "pegged" at \$4.78 7/10. Government support of exchange was withdrawn on 20th March, 1919, and since that date the London-New York exchange has moved heavily against the United Kingdom. On 17th December the £ sterling was equivalent to only \$3.63 as against its par value of \$4.8666. As America is the principal source of the world's silver supply, the chief payments for the metal have to be made ultimately in that country. The sterling price of silver accordingly takes account of the state of the London-New York exchange, and any rise or fall in that exchange is reflected in the London price. A fall in sterling exchange has thus the effect of raising the London quotation for silver. For any given sterling value of the rupee there is a corresponding sterling price for silver above which silver for coinage into rupees can only be purchased at a loss. If, without any change in the gold price of silver as measured in dollars, the London quotation should rise in consequence of a fall in the London-New York exchange, purchases of silver for India may be rendered impracticable unless the rupee exchange is raised to redress the fall in sterling. The position may be made clear by an illustration. If the exchange value of the rupee is 2s., the Secretary of State can buy silver for coinage into rupees without loss at 63d. per standard ounce. If the London-New York exchange fell 10 per cent., the sterling quotation for silver would, *ceteris paribus*, react

in proportion, and assuming that the price stood at 63d. before the fall in American exchange, it would rise to over 69d. as the direct consequence of the fall in exchange. If in these conditions the Secretary of State wished to purchase silver for coinage without loss, it would be necessary for the rupee exchange to be raised to about 2s. 2½d.

CURRENCY SYSTEM IMPRACTICABLE.

20. In the circumstances we have described the purchase of silver for coinage was attended with *serious difficulty*. In paragraph 23 we give details of the purchases made. Though these purchases represent a considerable proportion of the world's annual supply, they were insufficient for the heavy and continuous requirements for silver coin. This fact, taken in conjunction with the *rising price at which purchases had to be effected*, rendered the maintenance of the pre-war currency and exchange system impracticable. The Secretary of State was unable to maintain his offer to sell Council Drafts without limit of amount, while in view of the rise in the price of silver to a level higher than that which corresponds to a bullion value of 1s. 4d. for the rupee, he was compelled to raise the rate at which he sold the limited amount of Council Drafts which he was able to offer.

These fundamental changes in the system were accompanied by a number of supplementary measures designed to meet special difficulties which arose from time to time. We propose to deal first with the changes in the machinery for regulating exchange, viz., (a) the Government control of exchange and (b) the raising of the rate for the sale of Council Drafts, and then to pass on to the other measures adopted by the Government to conserve their resources and to meet the exceptional demands for currency.

Measures Taken.

(a) CONTROL OF EXCHANGE.

After exchange had recovered from the temporary dislocation consequent upon the outbreak of war, the demand for Council Drafts continued on a normal scale until October, 1910. During November the amount of the weekly sales increased rapidly, and in the first fortnight of December they exceeded £5,000,000. The rupee holding in the Paper Currency Reserve had then fallen to 14 crores, and though there was silver awaiting coinage and the Secretary of State had made large purchases, it was evident that the continuance of sales on this

scale would endanger the convertibility of the note issue. To avoid this danger the Council Drafts sold by the Secretary of State were limited from 20th December, 1910, the weekly amount, which varied between 120 lakhs and 30 lakhs, being fixed from time to time mainly on a consideration of the rupee resources of the Government of India. The limitation of the amount of Council Drafts at a time when the demand for remittance to India was exceptionally strong and no adequate alternative method of remittance was available led to a divergence between the market rate of exchange and the rate at which the drafts were sold. It also became evident that the remittance available *might be insufficient to finance the whole of the Indian export trade*, and it was essential that the exports required for war purposes should not be impeded. It was found necessary, therefore, to introduce certain measures of control. From 3rd January, 1917, Council Drafts were sold at a fixed rate, which at the outset was 1s. 4½d. for immediate telegraphic transfers, and the sale was confined to banks and firms on the "Approved List," which included the chief exchange banks and a few large purchasers of drafts. A little later these banks and firms were required to do business with third parties at prescribed rates and to apply their resources primarily to financing the export of articles of importance to the Allies for the purpose of carrying on the war, a list of which was drawn up by the Secretary of State. An appeal was at the same time addressed to other firms engaged in Indian trade to conduct their remittance transactions through the exchange banks. Further, in order to encourage the exchange banks to buy export bills in excess of their purchases of exchange in the other direction, the Secretary of State insured them against the risk of a rise in exchange, by undertaking to sell to them within a year after the war exchange up to the amount of their overbuying at the rate at which their excess purchases had been made.

This scheme of Government control constituted a complete departure from the system of free and unlimited remittance that prevailed before the war, and was naturally unpalatable to the commercial community. But the evidence we have taken shows that the intervention of Government was regarded as inevitable in the circumstances, and it was due largely to the hearty co-operation of the exchange banks and trading firms with the Government that the market rate of exchange was maintained near the rate at which Council Drafts were sold and the necessary finance was success-

fully provided for the large volume of exports of national importance.

TERMINATION OF CONTROL.

After the conclusion of the armistice the necessity for reserving finance for particular exports ceased. The overbuying guarantee was in due course terminated, and the list of articles to which priority of export finance was given was abolished. On the withdrawal of these restrictions, importers were naturally unwilling to continue incurring loss by effecting homeward remittances through the exchange banks, and a considerable business was transacted between importers and exporters direct at rates appreciably higher than the rate for Council Drafts. Meanwhile, the revival at the end of July, 1919, of a free market for gold, to which we shall refer below, provided an alternative method of remittance, and facilitated the return to more natural conditions than had been possible during the latter part of the war. From 18th September, 1919, drafts have been sold by open competitive tender, subject to a minimum rate and subject to the condition that no applicant may apply for more than 20 per cent. of the amount offered each week. The amount of drafts offered weekly is fixed on a consideration of the trade demand and the resources of the Government of India.

(b) RAISING OF RATE FOR SALE OF COUNCIL DRAFTS.

22. The rise in the price of silver to a point at which the bullion value of the rupee exceeded 1s. 4d. made the sale of Council Drafts at the rates fixed on 3rd January, 1917, impossible, except at a loss to Government. There was also a danger that if the rupee were undervalued it would tend to disappear from circulation, to be melted down and possibly to be exported. These tendencies probably existed in any case owing to the prohibition of the import of silver, but would have been aggravated by any undervaluing of the rupee. These considerations led to a series of changes in the rate of exchange. The first of these changes took place on 28th August, 1917, when the rate for immediate telegraphic transfers was raised from 1s. 4½d. to 1s. 5d. Shortly afterwards the Government of India announced that the price at which Council Drafts would be sold in future would be based roughly on the price at which silver could be bought, and this policy has governed alterations in the rate of exchange up to the present time. On 12th April, 1918, in con-

sequence of the agreement with the United States Government for the purchase of silver from the dollar reserve at 101½ cents per fine ounce, the price for immediate telegraphic transfers was raised to 1s. 6d. This rate was maintained until 13th May, 1919, when the removal of the American control over the export of silver led to a rise in the price of the metal and necessitated a further rise to 1s. 8d. While we have been conducting our enquiries, the price of silver has broken all records, and the rate has been raised successively to 1s. 10d. on 12th August, 1919, to 2s. on 15th September, 1919, to 2s. 2d. on 22nd November, 1919, and to 2s. 4d. on 12th December, 1919. The last figure is now the minimum rate for the sale of immediate telegraphic transfers by competitive tender, while the Secretary of State has announced that he will sell reverse immediate telegraphic transfers at the rate of 2s. 3 29-32d. if the demand for them should arise. Thus the rate of exchange has been raised by successive steps from 1s. 4d. to 2s. 4d., as shown in the following table:—

Date of Introduction.	Minimum Rate for Immediate Telegraphic Transfers.
3rd January 1917	... 1 4½
28th August 1917	... 1 5
12th April 1918	... 1 6
13th May 1919	... 1 8
12th August 1919	... 1 10
15th September 1919	... 2 0
22nd November 1919	... 2 2
12th December 1919	... 2 4

(c) PURCHASE OF SILVER.

23. These modifications of system would not have been effectual in meeting the situation unless special measures had also been taken to increase the supply of currency. In February 1916 the necessity for rupee coinage on a large scale became apparent and the Secretary of State began to purchase silver. In 1915-16 and the subsequent years he bought in the market the amounts shown below. To facilitate his operations, by excluding from the market Indian buyers who would otherwise have bought for non-coinage purposes, the import of silver into India on private account was prohibited on the 3rd September 1917. This measure, however, removed only a few of the smaller competitors for the world's diminished supply of silver, and the world demand remained so heavy that it was impossible to satisfy India's demand without tapping sources of

supply outside the ordinary market. The Government of the United States of America, therefore, were approached, through His Majesty's Government, on the subject of releasing a portion of the silver dollars held in their reserve. These representations met with a ready response, and on 23rd April 1918 the United States Congress passed the Pittman Act, which authorised the sale to other Governments of silver not exceeding 350,000,000 silver dollars from the holding in the dollar reserve. Of this amount the Government of India acquired 200,000,000 fine ounces at 10½ cents per fine ounce. Delivery in India began in July 1918, and was spread over a period of about a year. The timely help thus rendered by the United States Government in placing at India's disposal a supply of silver which represents considerably more than the world's annual mine production since 1914, enabled the Government of India to tide over a very serious currency crisis and to maintain the convertibility of the note issue.

The following table shows the amount of silver purchased by the Secretary of State in the last five years:—

	In open Market (Standard Ounces)	From United States Dollar Reserve (equivalent in Standard Ounces).
1915-16 ..	8,636,000	—
1916-17 .	124,535,000	—
1917-18 .	70,923,000	—
1918-19 ..	106,410,000	152,518,000
1919-20 (to 30th November 1919)	14,108,000	10,875,000
Total ...	324,612,000	213,393,000

The total amount is thus 538,005,000 standard ounces.

(d) MEASURES FOR CONSERVATION AND ECONOMY OF SILVER.

PROHIBITION OF EXPORT AND MELTING.

21. These special measures for obtaining silver were supplemented by endeavours to protect the currency against depletion by export or melting. From 29th June, 1917,

the use of silver or gold coin for other than currency purposes has been illegal, and from 3rd September 1917 the export of silver coin and bullion from India has been prohibited except under license. Steps were also taken to economise silver by the issue of Rs. 2½ and one-rupee notes, to which we shall refer in more detail below, and by extending the use of nickel for coin of small denominations. At the end of March 1918 a new two-anna nickel coin was issued to replace the silver two anna piece, and this new coin has been so readily accepted that legislation was passed in September 1919 authorising the issue of four-anna and eight anna nickel coins. The eight-anna nickel piece will not be unlimited legal tender like the corresponding silver coin; it will be legal tender up to one rupee only. We understand that the new coins will be issued at an early date.

(e) ACQUISITION AND USE OF GOLD

23. In view of the shortage of silver it was important that the Government stock of gold should be as large as possible. With this object an Ordinance was issued on 29th June 1917, requiring all gold imported into India to be sold to Government at a price which, being based on the sterling exchange value of the rupee, took no account of the premium on gold as compared with sterling. The gold so obtained was placed in the Paper Currency Reserve as a backing against the issue of additional notes. To enable the gold bullion and foreign coin held by the Government of India to be converted into sovereigns without the delay involved by sending it to Australia for coinage and return, a branch of the Royal Mint was opened in Bombay in August 1918. Pending the establishment of the Royal Mint the gold mohur, a 15-rupee coin of the same weight and fineness as the sovereign, was minted as an emergency coin in order to supplement the stock of sovereigns available for issue as currency during the crisis of 1918. 2,110,000 gold mohurs and 1,295,000 sovereigns were coined in Bombay before the suspension of gold coinage in April 1919, when in view of difficulties in supplying the necessary staff it was decided to close temporarily the branch of the Royal Mint.

GOLD AS CURRENCY.

As we have mentioned above, the issue of sovereigns was stopped shortly after the outbreak of war. Owing to the demand for gold for social and industrial purposes and

the restricted supply, the bazaar price of the sovereign gradually rose and remained considerably above its statutory rate of Rs. 15. This premium on gold precluded its use as currency except in emergencies, but on two occasions attempts were made to prevent a further diminution of the rupee stocks by the issue of gold. At the beginning of 1917 gold bullion of the value of about £4,000,000 was sold and subsequently sovereigns to the amount of about £5,000,000, were issued for the purchase of crops in certain areas. Again, from February 1918, sovereigns and gold mohurs amounting to nearly £6,000,000 were issued for the financing of certain crops. The earlier issue of sovereigns was coincident with a large return of rupees from circulation, especially in those districts where sovereigns had been issued, but in 1918 the issue of gold was not followed by a return of rupees.

26. During the war the amount of gold which could be obtained by India was limited by the restrictions on its export from belligerent countries. The removal of the embargo on the export of gold by the United States Government on the 9th June 1919, and the freeing of the market for South African and Australian gold enabled India to obtain a larger supply. From 18th July 1919, immediate telegraphic transfers on India were offered against deposit at the Ottawa Mint of gold coin or bullion at a rate corresponding to the prevailing exchange rate. Very little gold was obtained from this source, and the arrangement was terminated on 15th September 1919. From 22nd August 1919 a limited amount of immediate telegraphic transfers on India were offered weekly for sale by competitive tender in New York, the proceeds of the sales being remitted to India in gold. Towards the end of October the demand for these transfers fell off and the sales were discontinued. The amount of gold obtained in this way was about 467,000* fine ounces. Arrangements were also made for the direct purchase of gold in London, the United States and Australia, and by 20th November 1919, about 2,153,000 fine ounces had been purchased. Finally, on 15th September 1919, the rate paid by the Government of India for the acquisition of gold brought into India on private account was fixed so as to include the premium on gold over sterling as measured by the dollar-sterling exchange, and has been varied from time to time approximately in accordance with the fluctuations of this exchange. The effect of the change in the basis of the acquisition rate was to re-establish an effective gold

point, and to facilitate the import of gold in payment for export as an alternative to the purchase of Council Drafts. The amount of gold imported on private account and tendered to the Government of India between 15th September and 20th November was approximately 345,000 fine ounces.

27. In order to make a portion of the gold so obtained available for the use of the public of India, the Government of India announced, at the end of August 1919, that sales of gold would be held fortnightly until further notice, and that in each of the first three months not less than the equivalent of the gold content of 1,000,000 sovereigns would be offered for sale. The amount offered at the second sale in November was increased to 500,000 tolas (equivalent to nearly 800,000 sovereigns), and it was announced that this amount would be offered fortnightly for the three months beginning from December. The immediate effect of these sales was a considerable drop in the bazaar price of gold. The price of English bar gold fell from Rs. 32.12 per tola (Rs. 20.9 per sovereign) on 15th August to Rs. 27 per tola (Rs. 16.5 per sovereign) and 22nd September, but by the end of October the market had recovered and the price was Rs. 29.12 per tola (Rs. 18.11 per sovereign). At the beginning of December the price had again fallen to Rs. 25.5 per tola (Rs. 17.11 per sovereign). The total amount of gold sold up to 30th November amounted to about 2,159,000 tolas, being the equivalent of the gold content of about 3,439,000 sovereigns.

(f) INCREASE IN THE NOTE ISSUE EXPANSION OF NOTE CIRCULATION

23. The difficulties of obtaining sufficient quantities of the precious metals for coinage purposes, and as backing for the issue of additional notes, made it necessary to increase the fiduciary portion of the note issue. Prior to the war the invested portion of the Paper Currency Reserve was limited by law to 14 crores of rupees. Since the beginning of November 1915, the legal limit of the invested portion of the Reserve has been modified nine times and now stands at 120 crores, of which 50 crores may be invested in securities of the Government of India. During this period the gross circulation of notes has increased nearly threefold, while the percentage of metallic backing has decreased by nearly one half. The following table shows the growth of the circulation and the changes in the composition of the Reserve:—

Date.	Lakhs of Rupees.				Percentage of Total Metallic Reserve to gross Note Circulation.	
	Gross Note Circulation.	Composition of Reserve.				Total.
		Silver.	Gold.	Securities.		
31st March 1914	66.12	20.63	31.53	11.00	60.12	78.0
" " 1915	61.63	32.44	16.19	14.00	61.63	77.3
" " 1916	67.73	23.67	24.16	20.00	67.73	70.5
" " 1917	86.38	19.32	18.67	48.40	86.38	43.9
" " 1918	90.79	10.70	27.62	61.48	91.70	38.4
" " 1919	153.46	37.30	17.40	98.68	153.46	35.8
30th November 1919	178.67	47.41	32.70	99.63	179.67	44.6

The use of paper currency was further stimulated by the issue in December 1917 and January 1918 of notes for Rs. 2½ and one rupee respectively, to supplement the notes of Rs. 5 and higher denominations already in circulation. At first these notes of small denomination did not circulate to any appreciable extent, but later, when the supply of rupees was curtailed, their circulation increased rapidly, and on 31st March 1919 the gross circulation exceeded Rs. 1.84 lakhs in the case of the Rs. 2½ denomination and Rs. 10.50 lakhs in the case of the one-rupee denomination.

RESTRICTIONS ON ENCASHMENT.

29. The encouragement of the use of notes by the provision of ample facilities for their encashment had been one of the most prominent features of the currency policy of the Government of India in the years preceding the outbreak of war, and this policy was continued as long as the supply of rupees was adequate. From 1916, owing to the causes which we have already indicated, the absorption of rupees was abnormally large, the figure for 1916-17 being Rs. 38.81 lakhs and for 1917-18 Rs. 27.66 lakhs; and on 1st April 1918, the silver balances had fallen to under 10½ crores, or about 8 crores less than what was considered a safe minimum in the period before the war. The unfavourable war news in March and April 1918 caused a run on the Bombay Currency Office for the encashment of notes, and this was followed by similar difficulties elsewhere, notably in Lahore. Inconvertibility appeared to be inevitable, and was only averted by the energy and resource of the officers responsible, and by the timely announcement of the acquisition of the Pittman silver. By the first week in June the rupee balance had diminished to little more than 4 crores. From July the delivery of the Pittman silver commenced and the situation gradually improved, but the necessity for conserving their reduced stock of rupees had forced on the Government a reversal of their previous policy. Facilities for the encashment of notes at district Treasuries were in a large degree withdrawn. The conveyance of specie by rail and river steamer was prohibited, and an embargo was placed on its transmission by post. Later, in January 1919, owing to the practical administrative difficulties of dealing in full with the demands for encashment at the Currency Offices during the busy season, the daily issues of rupees to single tenderers of notes were limited to a figure which made it practicable to satisfy large demands in part and small demands as a rule in full. The result of these restrictions was the substitution to a large extent of notes for rupees as the common circulating medium.

The evidence which we have had regarding the extent of this substitution, and the ease with which it was accomplished, is rather indefinite. The continued abnormal absorption of rupees—Rs. 45.02 lakhs were absorbed in 1918-19—points to a very large use of rupees as currency. On the other hand, there is little doubt that large quantities of rupees have been retained as a store of value or have been used for industrial purposes in spite of the prohibition of melting, while the purchase of jute,

cotton and other crops from the cultivators has recently been effected almost entirely by means of notes. There was in many parts of India a considerable discount on notes, especially the new Rs. 2½ and one-rupee notes, when they were first issued in large quantities to replace rupees. Discounts as high as 15 per cent. and 19 per cent. have been reported; but the discount rapidly diminished when it was seen that the notes were freely accepted in payment of Government dues and when small coin was made available in large quantities. The reports received by the Government of India in the year 1919 do not show any discount on the notes as compared with silver coin exceeding 3 per cent.

FINANCIAL MEASURES.

30. Our summary would be incomplete without a brief reference to other financial measures which affected the currency situation indirectly. Throughout the war ordinary expenditure and, in particular, capital expenditure, were kept as low as possible, while from 1916-17 onwards additional taxation was imposed which, together with the normal growth of revenue, raised the total revenue of the Government of India from £81,413,500 in 1915-16 to an estimated figure of £123,404,200 for 1919-20. The resources available for meeting the heavy war expenditure in India were further increased by extensive borrowing in India. The loans of 1917, 1918 and 1919 yielded about Rs. 130 crores and from October 1917 short-term Treasury Bills have been issued in considerable quantities, the amount outstanding on 30th November 1919, being about Rs. 65.58 crores.

These measures materially assisted towards meeting the heavy demand for remittance to India.

SUMMARY OF PRESENT POSITION.

31. We may now summarise the main facts of the present position. Council Drafts are being sold by competitive tender, subject to a minimum rate, at present 2s. 4d. sterling, the amount being fixed weekly by the Secretary of State. It has been announced that reverse immediate telegraphic transfers will be sold at the rate of 2s. 3 29-32d. if the demand for them should arise. All gold imported into India has to be sold to Government at a prescribed price. The rate fixed contains an allowance to cover the premium on gold over sterling. As there is now a free market for gold, this import acquisition rate, which is varied from time to time in accordance with the movement of the dollar-sterling exchange, fixes an upper gold point which tends to prevent the

rate bid for Council Drafts from rising above the minimum rate by much more than the cost of shipping gold, except possibly for short periods when the demand for remittance is urgent. The rate in force for the sale of Reverse Councils fixes a limit to the fall of exchange so long as the means for meeting them are available.

The sovereign is still legal tender in India for Rs. 15, and the Government is under an obligation to pay Rs. 15 for sovereigns presented for encashment. As, however, the bazaar price of gold is considerably above this parity, sovereigns have disappeared from circulation and are not being issued by Government. The import and export of silver are prohibited, and its price is at a level which prevents purchases by the Secretary of State for coinage except at a loss. The restrictions on the encashment of notes to which we have referred in paragraph 29 are still in force.

32. We have now completed our sketch of the developments in the Indian exchange and currency system since 1914. Before passing on from this section of our Report, those of us who are not connected with Indian official administration desire to place on record our recognition of the skill, courage and resource which the Government of India and the authorities at the India Office have shown in dealing with the complicated and ever-changing problems that presented themselves throughout the latter part of the war in connection with the Indian currency system.

Conclusions and Recommendations.

INTRODUCTORY.

33. Having traced the history of the Indian currency system during the period of the war we proceed to state the conclusions which we draw from it, and our recommendations for future action.

The system built up since 1893 worked well, and was beneficial to India. It supplied suitable media for the internal circulation, provided means for the settlement of the balance of trade, and secured stability between the rupee and sterling, which until recently was in practice synonymous with gold. It has proved effectual in preventing the fall in value of the rupee below a certain point, and unless there should be profound modifications in India's position as an

country with a favourable trade balance, there was no reason to apprehend any breakdown in this respect.

But the system was not proof against a great rise in the value of silver. In framing it this contingency had not been taken into account. So little was it anticipated, that the system was not criticised on this ground, so far as we are aware, by any of the witnesses who have appeared before the successive Committees and Commissions on Indian currency. But the unexpected has happened. The price of silver has risen to unprecedented heights, partly, as we have seen, owing to the shortage of supplies from Mexico (caused by internal conditions independent of the war), and partly owing to causes arising out of the war, with the result that there has been extreme difficulty in obtaining the silver required for Indian currency, that the convertibility of the note issue has been in danger, and that the exchange value of the rupee has been raised by successive steps from 1s 4d. to 2s. 4d.

STABILITY OF EXCHANGE

34. The terms of our reference place before us as one of the objects of our enquiry the re-establishment of stability. We find it necessary, before formulating our recommendations, to examine in what respects exchange stability is important, and what degree of urgency attaches to its re-establishment.

The evidence we have received was unanimous as to the benefit which India has derived from the maintenance of a fixed rate of 1s. 4d. per rupee for the 20 years from 1893 to 1917; but some witnesses expressed the opinion that fixity is not indispensable. Our conclusion, after considering the views put before us, is that, for the current operations of trade, stability is an important facility rather than an essential condition. There are many instances, including that of India herself before the closing of mints, which show that trade has flourished, and can flourish, with a fluctuating exchange. The conditions are somewhat more speculative, but the difficulties which may arise are not insuperable, and the banks are not slow to supply machinery which enables the merchant to cover his risks.

This is specially true of day-to-day fluctuations of exchange of moderate scope, if the movements are of greater extent and produce large changes in the basis of relative values, a different set of considerations comes into play. For a time, at any rate, a large rise in exchange tends to stimulate

the import trade and to impede the export trade, while the reverse effect is produced by a fall in exchange. If exchange is made stable at a new level we believe that these effects are in the main transitory, and do not continue beyond the period necessary for wages and other elements of cost to adjust themselves to the new conditions. But this process of adjustment is a difficult and sometimes a prolonged one, and causes severe strains in the social fabric.

35. The question must also be considered in relation to the movements of capital. Stability is a necessary condition for the free investment of external capital in India as well as for the protection of capital already invested. The effect on new investments may be less important in the next few years, since it is to be anticipated that Indian capital will play an increasing part in the development of Indian resources, and that owing to the urgent demands arising in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, the supply of external capital available for India may be comparatively small. The above observations apply specially to permanent or long-term investment; but they are also true as regards the more liquid employment of money. A stable exchange facilitates the free movement of funds to and from India, thus assisting commercial finance and tending to avert temporary stringencies.

OBJECTIONS TO INSTABILITY.

Whatever the evils and inconveniences of instability may be, they are increased if the movements of exchange are brought about not by the automatic action of economic causes, but by administrative acts. The commercial community are prepared to deal with fluctuations in exchange as well as with fluctuations in the other elements entering into a transaction, and to provide against any risks that may arise; but they feel that if official action intervenes to interpret the play of natural forces and to give effect to them, an element of uncertainty is introduced which is beyond their reckoning. However complete the integrity and however great the intelligence on which official action is based, an automatic system, which does not depend upon such action for its operation, is greatly to be preferred.

✓ 36. Our conclusion, therefore, is that a stable level of exchange gives the most healthy condition for production and trade, and for the employment of capital, and that large changes in the exchange value of a currency are an evil, which should be avoided so far as possible; but if a large change has taken place it may be preferable to establish stability at the new level rather

than to submit to the further change which is necessary for a return to the old level, especially if the former course shortens the periods of uncertainty.

The object should therefore be to restore stability to the rupee at as early a date as practicable, and also to restore the automatic working that characterised the Indian currency system in the past.

Modifications of System.

37. It will be convenient to consider, first, certain special proposals that aim at giving stability to the exchange value of the rupee in such a way as to avoid the necessity for following the price of silver to higher levels, or, in the view of some witnesses, with the object of making it possible to revert to a value for the rupee not much above the old level of 1s. 4d. In a later part of this Report (paras. 41-54) we give our reasons for considering a high exchange value to be preferable to a low value; but as the proposals to which we refer are inadmissible on other grounds, it is desirable to deal with them at the outset.

(i) REDUCTION OF THE FINENESS OR WEIGHT OF THE RUPEE.

38. It has been suggested that a new rupee should be issued having a lower silver content than the present coin. If the existing standard of fineness or the weight were sufficiently reduced, it would be possible to fix the exchange value of the rupee at any level that might be chosen, and to maintain its token character however great the rise in the price of silver might be.

The evidence we have taken was decisively hostile to this proposal. It has been urged in support of it that in the Straits Settlements and elsewhere the reduction of the silver content of full legal tender coins has been successfully made; but in none of the cases brought to our notice were the conditions similar to those existing in India. The fineness of the present rupee, which is known to every village goldsmith and silver-smith, has remained unaltered since 1835, and its use is so firmly rooted in the habits of the Indian people as to have given it the character of a standard weight. Modification of the fineness or weight of the standard coin of the country would, we have been assured, react gravely on the credit of the Government, and possibly lead to serious social and economic consequences. A new rupee of lower silver content would, in accordance with Gresham's law, tend to drive the present rupee out of circulation,

and very large quantities of the new rupees would be required to meet demands for metallic currency. Even if the problem of minting on the scale required could be overcome, there might be great difficulty in obtaining the necessary supplies of silver either from existing currency or otherwise. We concur, therefore, in the view of the Government of India that proposals of this character must be dismissed as impracticable.

(ii) ISSUE OF 2 OR 3-RUPEE COINS OF LOWER PROPORTIONAL SILVER CONTENT.

39. A suggestion of a similar nature is that while the shortage of silver continues, 2 or 3 rupee pieces of lower proportional silver content than the rupee should be issued, with the intention that they should circulate side by side with the existing rupee, the coinage of which would be temporarily suspended. This proposal is open to many of the objections stated in the previous paragraph. Rupees would tend to disappear from circulation before the competition of the new and baser coins, and the credit of the Government would be affected by the decision to stop the minting of the coin to which India has been so long accustomed. Moreover, a 2 or 3-rupee unit would be inconveniently large for the great bulk of retail transactions in India.

(iii) NICKEL COINS.

40. For the same reasons we are unable to support the suggestion that a nickel rupee should be issued, either alone or in association with 2 or 3-rupee pieces of lower proportional silver content than the existing rupee; but we welcome the recent legislation of the Government of India authorising the issue of 4-anna and 8-anna nickel coins. Witnesses who have appeared before us have emphasised the fact that the reluctance to use Rs. 2½ and one-rupee notes when these were first issued in large quantities was due in great measure to the difficulty of obtaining small change. We hope that abundant supplies of the new nickel coins will be made available as soon as possible, and if the low legal tender limit of one rupee for the 8-anna nickel piece should prove an obstacle to its free circulation the question of raising the limit to Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 should be considered.

(iv) INCONVERTIBLE NOTE ISSUE.

41. Another proposal aiming at the establishment and maintenance of a stable exchange, even though silver should continue to rise in price, is that which was put forward by the Government of India before our enquiry began. Circumstances have changed since then, especially by the establishment

of a free gold market, and the later proposals of the Government of India are of a different character; but it is necessary to explain the reasons against the adoption of the earlier proposal.

It was proposed that exchange should be stabilised at a rate which could reasonably be expected to afford an assurance that the rupee would remain a token coin. If, contrary to expectations, the price of silver should rise to a height which would defeat this assurance, the Secretary of State should be prepared to suspend the purchase of silver. In that case it would probably be impossible to provide silver coin to meet the demands of India, and the notes would become inconvertible.

It was suggested that this situation would not last long, since the Indian demand for silver is so important a factor in the silver market that the abstention of the Government of India from purchases would very soon bring about a fall in price. Recent experience, however, has shown that this result is not necessarily produced in all circumstances. For the last six months the Secretary of State has made no purchases of silver, but in spite of his abstention the price has risen to an unprecedented height. We cannot shut our eyes to the possibility that under the influence of an intense demand from China (such as has prevailed recently) or from some other quarter, a considerable period might elapse in which the price of silver might remain beyond the reach of the Government of India.

It was suggested also that the inconvertibility might be partial; that is to say, that the Government of India should take powers to restrict the issue of rupees from the Currency Offices and should issue them only under such conditions as they might think advisable. Some of the practical inconveniences of complete inconvertibility might be avoided in this way, but there would be difficulties in the administration of such a system, and we do not think that in its effect on the credit of the Government and on popular confidence in the note issue it would differ greatly from complete inconvertibility.

The evidence submitted to us was strongly opposed to allowing the note issue in India to become inconvertible, whether wholly or partially, if it can possibly be avoided. It is true that as a result of the war the paper currency has become practically, if not legally, inconvertible in many countries, including the United Kingdom. In Egypt, for instance, where the currency position was affected by influences in some respects similar to those that operated in India, the

note issue has been inconvertible since August 1914, and the change was accomplished without difficulty. We believe, however, that the note-using habit is not yet sufficiently established in India to render the introduction of a similar measure there possible without grave risks. Until recently the circulation of notes outside the larger towns was comparatively small, and only two years have passed since notes of small denomination have been introduced. In many parts of the country the climate is not suitable for the use of paper money, and the preference for coin will probably prevail among the mass of the population for many years. In these circumstances a failure to maintain convertibility may be expected to lead to a considerable discount on the note, the extent of which cannot be predicted with any accuracy. The credit of the Government would suffer a severe blow, and if belief in the convertibility of the note were once shaken it might take many years of anxious labour to restore confidence, while the set-back to the development of a sound and economical monetary circulation in India would be disastrous.

We hold, therefore, that the maintenance of the convertibility of the note issue is a vital part of the Indian currency system.

Price of Silver.

42. We have in paragraphs 15-19 traced the causes of the rise in the price of silver. The enquiry conducted by Professors Cullis and Carpenter suggests that on the restoration of order in Mexico the pre-war figures of production will again be reached, and that it is possible that the increasing world demand for the base metals with which silver is associated as a by-product, together with improvements in the method of extraction and the stimulus of high prices, may at an early date lead to a considerable increase in production. On the other hand, the evidence suggests that the demand for silver is likely to continue for a few years on a large scale. The general rise in prices creates a demand for increased supplies of subsidiary silver coinage throughout the world, and though the high price of silver may tend to reduce the demand for the arts, it is difficult to say whether the reduction will be on a sufficient scale to influence appreciably the price of the metal. We have been unable to obtain any reliable evidence regarding the probable demand from China in the near future. As we have stated, China has already imported sufficient silver to counterbalance her exports during the war, but it is still buy-

ing, and it is impossible to foresee how long her demand is likely to continue. It would be rash, therefore, to formulate any definite conclusion as to the level at which the price of silver is likely to stand.

43. There are, however, certain considerations which must be taken into account. The Pittman Act imposes on the United States Government the obligation of replacing the silver taken from their reserves, and lays down that until this silver has been replaced they must buy for this purpose at the price of one dollar per fine ounce any silver "of the product of mines situated in the United States, and of reduction works so located" which is tendered to them for purchase. As this replacement will involve the acquisition of considerably more than a year's total production of silver on the present basis of output, while the world's demand for silver is likely to remain high, the process of replacement cannot be completed for some years. During the interval the price of silver cannot be expected to fall below one dollar per fine ounce. Even when the dollar-sterling exchange returns to par, it will be impossible to mint rupees without loss from silver purchased at this price unless the exchange value of the rupee is fixed at 1s. 6d. or some higher figure.

It is more difficult to form any conclusion as to the maximum beyond which the price of silver is unlikely to rise. When the exchanges are at par, the prices of silver at which the principal silver coinages of the more important countries have a bullion value equivalent to their nominal value, are as follows:—England, 66d.; France (5 franc piece), 60½d.; U. S. A. (dollar), 59½d. If the price of silver were to remain for any long period at a level substantially over that corresponding to the above figures, it would threaten the silver coinages of France and the United States with the risk of depletion by melting and export and would also offer inducements to these countries to convert their silver reserves into gold at a favourable rate. In support of this view, we may refer to the recent announcement that the American Treasury has decided to sell to certain American Banks established in the Far East silver obtained by melting the available dollars in their possession (now \$35,600,000) at their gold equivalent of 129·29 cents., plus melting, insurance, and shipping charges, whenever that price can be obtained, the intention, presumably, being to prevent silver rising to a point which would lead to the melting down of subsidiary coin. When

the price of silver is 137·8 cents per fine ounce, corresponding to 62·9d. (gold) per standard ounce, and therefore well above both the French and the American parity, the corresponding bullion value of the silver in the rupee is 1s. 11·36d. (gold), and the cost of the rupee (including all charges) is approximately 2s. (gold). We believe that, if the exchange value of the rupee is fixed at a figure not lower than this, there is substantial ground for holding that the rupee can be established as a token coin, and the maintenance of a satisfactory monetary circulation in India assured.

Effects of High Exchange.

44. Our conclusion that a high level of exchange is essential for the establishment of a sound monetary system leads us to a consideration of the more general economic effects of a high rate. Some of the witnesses who have appeared before us have laid great stress on the dangers attending a high level of prices in India, and on the beneficial effect of a high rate of exchange in restraining the rise of prices; others have expressed apprehension as to the effect that a high rate of exchange might have on the well-being of the people of India, the maintenance of Indian trade and the development of Indian industry. We recognise the great importance of the arguments laid before us from these opposite points of view, both in oral evidence and written memoranda, and we now proceed to examine the issues raised by this aspect of the case. This review will lead us to consider the effect of a high rate of exchange on the remittance of funds from India to meet the requirements of the Government.

(a) EFFECT ON THE LEVEL OF PRICES IN INDIA.

45. At the outset of our enquiry we requested the Government of India to furnish us with up-to-date information regarding price movements in India. The particulars we received in response to our request will be found on pages 159 to 176 in the volume of Appendices to our Report, and we invite attention to the memorandum submitted by the Government of India on the subject.

In illustration of the rise in the price of necessities of life we cite the following index numbers for the prices of selected articles in 1914, 1915-17, and 1918-19, based on the average wholesale prices for 1900-09

which are taken as the equivalent of 100

	1914	1915-17.	1918 '19
Wheat	... 118	135	180
Country rice	... 126	122	133
Ghāṭ	... 132	130	183
Jawar	... 123	103	230
Bayra	... 130	123	249
Dal	... 125	130	166
Raw sugar (gur)	... 101	134	149
Country salt	... 111	214	413
Cotton piece goods (Indian made)	103	94	164
Cotton piece goods imported.	112	133	206

The following table exhibits the rise in Indian prices since 1910, this year being taken as the basic year for the preparation of the table:—

Index Numbers of Prices in India.

Year	Special Index Number for Food Grains (Retail Prices). Col. 1.	Special Index Number for Imported Articles (Wholesale Prices). Col. 2.	Special Index Number for Articles exported (mostly Wholesale prices). Col. 3.	General Index Number for the Articles covered by Columns 2 and 3. Col. 4.
1910	100	100	100	100
1911	98	104	107	100
1912	112	107	114	112
1913	118	107	121	117
1914	122	103	125	120
1915	120	134	122	125
1916	130	217	128	151
1917	120	240	133	161
1918	161	265	157	194

For comparison with the above we give for the same years corresponding figures deduced from Mr. Sauerbeck's tables for prices in the United Kingdom, which, though based entirely on wholesale prices, may serve to give an indication of the comparative rise in the two countries:—

Year.	Index Nos. of Prices in United Kingdom.	General Index Nos. for the Articles covered by Cols. 2 & 3 (see Col. 4 above)
1910	100	100
1911	103	106
1912	110	112
1913	110	117
1914	110	120
1915	119	125
1916	176	151
1917	226	161
1918	249	184

46. It will be seen from these tables, and from the more detailed information contained in Appendix XXVIII, that there has been a great increase in all prices in India in the last few years. The upward movement had begun before the war, but it has continued, and during the last two years its rapidity has greatly increased. The serious and widespread failure of crops in 1918 was in part responsible for the special rise in the price of food grains in 1918-19; but the general upward movement is mainly due to causes resulting from the war, including the excessive creation of credit and paper currency and restraints upon free commercial intercourse, which have raised prices throughout the world and have been operative in India as well as elsewhere.

The figures show that on the whole the rise of prices in India has not been so great as the rise in the United Kingdom. A similar conclusion would probably be reached if a comparison were made between Indian prices and prices in other countries outside India whose currencies are depreciated. Amongst the various causes, not easily to be disentangled, which have contributed to this result, the one which specially concerns us is the rise in the exchange rate of the rupee. We shall examine later the operation of this cause and the inferences to be drawn from it as to the level of exchange which it is desirable to establish; but in the first place we proceed to examine the economic effects of a rise in prices on the population of India.

EFFECT OF RISE IN PRICES.

47. As India is a country whose export trade is more valuable than her import trade it might be thought that an increase in prices would be on the whole advantageous to her. This view has been strongly

represented by some of our witnesses; whilst others have expressed equally strongly the opinion that any considerable increase in prices is an evil and a danger. In order to decide between these conflicting views, we have endeavoured to examine the effect of rising prices on the main classes of the population.

According to the census of 1911, 217 millions, that is, 72 per cent. of the population of India, are engaged in pasture and agriculture. But this number embraces classes who are differently affected by the rise in prices. Of 167 million cultivators of their own or rented land, those who have a surplus for sale would ordinarily benefit by a rise in the price of the commodities they produce, but even these—and perhaps their position is the most favourable—have had to contend with the large increase in the price of imported articles, notably cotton piece goods and other necessities of life. Moreover, if, as is often the case, the cultivator has received advances for his maintenance and for seed, repayable in grain after the harvest, any increase in the value of the grain repaid benefits the money-lender and not the cultivator. On the other hand, the agriculturist who has little surplus produce to sell and lives on what he produces, would, in so far as he maintains himself on his own produce, be unaffected by a rise in the price of foodstuffs, and he would have only a small profit to set against the heavy rise in the cost of the articles he has to buy. The numerous class of farm servants and field labourers, estimated in the census of 1911 at over 41 millions, would ordinarily stand to lose by a rise in prices, except in so far as their wages are payable in kind and not in money. The large class of persons with fixed incomes, which would include persons living on rents, Government servants, professional men, and pensioners, have suffered severely from the rise in prices of the commodities they require, and the urban population, who are not producers, may be placed in the same category. Industrial wage-earners, labourers, and domestic servants have, as a result of increased demands for their services during the war, been able to obtain increased wages. But the evidence which we have received suggests that wages generally in India have advanced more slowly than prices, and much suffering is entailed in the course of the adjustment of wages to new price levels.

VIEW OF GOVERNMENT.

48. The general effect of the rise in prices is summarised in the following passage,

which we quote from the Government of India's memorandum:—

"The effect has of course been felt most directly by the poorer classes, but it has reacted on all sections of the community. Complaints on the subject have been universal throughout the country, and it is reported from the districts that in recent months the topic of high prices has engaged the minds of the people at large to the exclusion of every other; they could understand dearth during the war, but cannot understand why prices do not fall now that the war is over; they can account for some of the rise in the price of food-grains by last year's poor monsoon, but they are puzzled by large increases in the prices of their other necessities of life, the supply of which is not dependent on a good rainfall. There is no longer any room for doubt that the resultant increase in the expense of living due to the high prices of food grains, as also of other necessities, such as cloth, kerosene oil, and the hardships which this increase has entailed on the poorer classes and those on fixed incomes, have been a very important factor in promoting unrest and discontent. At the same time the cultivator, who would ordinarily be the first to profit by the high prices of produce, whether food-grains or other raw material such as jute and cotton, has seen his profits disappear owing to the simultaneous rise in the price of other necessities. The wages of manual labour have no doubt been to some extent readjusted, and ultimately the wages of the clerical and other classes of employees will undergo a similar readjustment. But the process of adjustment, however rapid, must inevitably be a painful one, which no amount of administrative palliatives, such as control of distribution, can alleviate."

These views are not a matter of theory alone. Disturbances have actually arisen in various parts of the country from time to time as a result of high prices, and the social and economic discontent to which they give rise is especially serious in a country where the mass of the population is ignorant and uneducated, and inclined to attribute all calamities to the action of the Government. The rise in prices in India has now reached a point at which it is injurious to the country as a whole, and we believe that any measures tending either to reduce prices or to check a further increase would be beneficial to the mass of the population.

49. The exceptional conditions under which trade was conducted in the course of the war make it impossible to arrive at any precise conclusions as to the extent to which the rise in prices has been influenced by the

rise in the exchange value of the rupee. Government control over the movement and prices of food-grains in India undoubtedly prevented prices rising to the full extent that might otherwise have been the case. Restrictions on finance and freight also exerted a powerful influence in the same direction. Again, the scarcity in 1918 operated to raise the prices of food-grains to an abnormal height. While these complicated factors make it impossible to estimate in precise terms the effect of the rise in the exchange value of the rupee on Indian prices, we see no reason to doubt that, in accordance with accepted economic theory, Indian prices would, but for the rise in exchange, have been still further enhanced. Taking the case of imported commodities, the sterling price at which the merchant can lay down goods in India is determined by the cost of production and the transport and other charges. If the exchange value of the rupee rises, this sterling cost is represented by a smaller number of rupees, and the goods can be sold at a lower rupee price. Again, in the case of exports such as wheat, whose price outside India is determined by world-wide conditions of production and consumption, the sterling price which can be obtained for a given quantity of wheat will, if exchange rises, be represented by a smaller number of rupees, and the price which the grower will receive must necessarily be lower.

These considerations do not apply with equal force to exported produce such as jute, of which India enjoys a practical monopoly, since, if exchange rises, the Indian producer has it in his power to exact a larger sterling price in order that he may receive the same number of rupees. But even for such commodities as jute, the power of varying the price to be paid by the consumer is far from absolute, and it is probable that a higher exchange means a somewhat lower price to the producer. Nor do precisely the same considerations apply to products which are grown almost entirely for internal consumption, as, for instance, food-grains such as *jawar* or *bajra*. While, however, movements of exchange have little direct effect on the price of such products, it is probable that they have indirect effects which give a result similar in kind though less in degree.

50. We are led therefore to the conclusion that on economic and social grounds it is not desirable to restore a low level of exchange for the rupee under present conditions. Such a level would tend to augment prices generally and to aggravate the dangers of social and economic discontent.

Having regard to the conditions under which the large mass of the population lives, we are satisfied that in so far as the rise in exchange has mitigated a rise in Indian prices, it has been to the advantage of the country as a whole, and that it is desirable to secure the continuance of this benefit.

(b) EFFECT ON INDIAN TRADE.

51. We now pass on to consider how far Indian commerce is likely to be affected by the maintenance of the exchange value of the rupee at a high level. We have already referred to the effects of a rise in exchange in stimulating imports and checking exports, and have expressed the opinion that these effects are transitory, and that they are no longer operative when wages and other elements of cost have adapted themselves to the new level of exchange.*

Indian trade is at present prosperous, and India is in a favourable position for maintaining this prosperity. The world shortage of raw materials and foodstuffs is likely to ensure a continuing demand for Indian produce during the period necessary for complete adjustment, while the great rise in the level of prices in countries importing from India should generally enable the Indian producer to obtain a satisfactory rupee price for his commodities in spite of the high exchange. It has, moreover, to be remembered that a high exchange brings with it certain counter-balancing advantages even to producing interests. It tends, for instance, to keep down the cost of imported stores and machinery as measured in rupees, and, as we have pointed out above, exercises a check on the rising cost of living in India and consequently on the rise in wages.

We do not think it necessary to enter into a detailed review of the conditions under which trade in India's staple products is conducted. Some of these commodities, of which jute is the most important, are virtually monopolies with assured markets, while others, such as tea, cotton, seeds and hides, are articles for which the world demand is insistent despite the high range of prices. Exchange is only one and not necessarily the most important factor of which account has to be taken. After careful consideration of the evidence placed before us we have arrived at the conclusion that Indian trade is not likely to suffer any permanent injury from the fixing of exchange at a high level.

*This question was discussed fully in the Report of the Hirschell Committee of 1893 (paras 27 and 116-120). See also Memorandum received from the Government of India regarding Indian price movements (Appendices p. 164, § 13).

There is one qualification which it is necessary to add to the above statement. It seems probable that prices generally will remain at a high level for a considerable time, and that any return to lower level will be gradual; but if, contrary to this expectation, a great and rapid fall in world prices were to take place, a new element of disturbance would be introduced. The costs of production in India might fail to adjust themselves with equal rapidity to the lower level of prices, and Indian exports might suffer to an extent which would endanger the maintenance of exchange at the level which we propose. In that case it would be necessary to consider the problem afresh, and take the measures which might be required by the altered circumstances.

(c) EFFECT ON INDIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

52. Our attention has been drawn by certain witnesses to the important movement that is now taking place in the development of industry in India, and some apprehension has been expressed lest a high rate of exchange should exercise a retarding influence on this welcome activity. We recognise that competitive imports into India may be temporarily stimulated by the high rate of exchange, especially from countries where the cost of production is low; but even in the period which may elapse before the adjustment of prices and other conditions to the new level is complete, this influence, so far as manufactured articles from Europe and America are concerned, is likely to be counteracted by the greatly increased cost of production in the exporting countries at the present time. Moreover, a high exchange will tend to retain for India the advantage of a low cost for wages and raw materials, and in so far as nascent industries are dependent on imported machinery, plant and stores, they will benefit from the lower rupee prices payable for them. On a review of all the facts, we are of opinion that the development of Indian industry will not be seriously hampered by a high rate of exchange.

(d) EFFECT ON HOME CHARGES.

53. One of the reasons for the closing of the mints to the free coinage of silver in 1893 was the increasing difficulty experienced by the Government of India in providing for their sterling obligations when the exchange value of the rupee was continuously falling. The fixing of the rupee at 1s. 4d. materially improved the revenue position and enabled the Indian Treasury to do without the additional taxation that would

otherwise have been necessary. A high rate of exchange would result in further advantages in this direction. When the exchange value of the rupee was 1s. 4d. the rupee equivalent of the Home charges on the basis of £25,000,000 a year was 37½ crores; while, if the necessary sum were remitted at an exchange of 2s., the cost would be 25 crores only, a saving of 12½ crores.

On the other hand there would be a loss involved in the revaluation in rupees of the sterling investments and the gold in the Paper Currency Reserve.

If the revaluation were made at 2s. to the rupee, the depreciation to be made good would amount to 38.4 crores. If the whole of the revenue saved in respect of the Home charges could be employed for the purpose of meeting this loss it would be recouped in about three years. Thereafter a considerable surplus revenue would remain which might be employed in furthering the development of India or in the reduction of taxation.

This is an incidental advantage in fixing a high rate of exchange which must be taken into consideration.

54. We are thus led to the conclusion that the material interests of India are not likely to suffer from the fixing of a high rate of exchange for the rupee, and that certain important advantages will follow from such a course of action. The question now arises as to the manner in which the exchange should be fixed.

Gold or Sterling.

55. Before the war the convertibility of sterling into gold was complete. Sovereigns and half-sovereigns were in circulation, and Bank of England notes and other bank notes which were in use in the United Kingdom could be exchanged without any difficulty for gold. It was therefore unnecessary in considering the problems of Indian exchange to make any distinction between the two. At the present time, however, gold coin is no longer in circulation in the United Kingdom, and Treasury notes, which form the great bulk of the full legal tender currency, are not in practice convertible into gold. The result is that there is a divergence between the value of the pound sterling and the sovereign. One hundred ounces of fine gold can be coined into 425 sovereigns; but at the quotation on 17th December (108s. 9d. per oz.) 100 ounces of fine gold cost approximately £344 in sterling, i.e., in notes. Thus £1 sterling (paper) is equivalent to 425/344 or .78 of the sovereign (gold), a discount of 22 per cent.; or, conversely, the

sovereign (gold) is worth £511/425 or £1.28 sterling (paper), a premium of 23 per cent.

A corresponding depreciation is shown in the exchange between sterling and the American dollar, which is convertible into gold. The gold sovereign is equivalent to \$1 5666, while the pound sterling was quoted on 17th December at \$3.83, a depreciation of over 21 per cent.

It therefore becomes necessary to consider whether, if the rupee is to be stabilised, its fixed relation should be with sterling, as hitherto, or with gold. In the latter case the necessary result will be that, until the gold basis of the British currency is restored and sterling becomes equivalent to gold again, the rupee-sterling exchange will fluctuate in the same manner as the dollar-sterling exchange. This issue was brought into prominence by Mr. Lucas, Financial Secretary at the India Office, who in his written memoranda and oral evidence has argued the case for a fixed relation with gold with much force and ability. We have given anxious consideration to this question, and our unanimous conclusion is that, for the reasons which we proceed to state, the balance of advantage lies in fixing the relation of the rupee with gold rather than with sterling.

ADVANTAGES OF STERLING.

36. The main inducement for retaining the fixed relation with sterling is that a larger part of the trade of India is with sterling using countries than with countries upon an effective gold basis. The only important countries to be placed at present in the latter class are the United States and probably Japan. The exports to these two countries in 1918-19 amounted to 23 per cent. of the total exports of India (as compared with 14 per cent. before the war), while the import trade from them was 30 per cent. of the total (as compared with 5 per cent. before the war). On the other hand, the trade with the British Empire (excluding those portions which do not use sterling) amounted to 40 per cent. for exports and 43 per cent. for imports. It is argued that the advantage of fixity of exchange should be retained for the most important section of India's trade; and also that, in the interests of the Empire as a whole, it is desirable that the exchange system should be such as to facilitate and promote trade within the Empire rather than outside it, and, we may add, to retain for centres within the British Empire the finance of Indian trade.

This consideration has undoubtedly some weight, especially as the effect of war conditions has already been to divert to Japan

and the United States a part of the trade formerly exchanged with the United Kingdom and other European countries. We do not, however, consider that a fluctuating sterling exchange will create an obstacle of a serious character to trade between the United Kingdom and India or to existing methods of financing that trade, provided that the system in force is such as to enable trade requirements for remittance to be met readily and to their full amount. In any case the fluctuations of the rupee-sterling exchange will only exist until the gold basis of the British currency is restored.

ADVANTAGES OF GOLD.

57. The advantages, on the other hand, of fixing the exchange value of the rupee in relation to gold may be stated as follows:—

(i) Great and admitted inconveniences attach to a currency which is depreciated and may suffer further depreciation. If India's currency is linked to sterling it will share those inconveniences. Her position as an exporting country with a favourable trade balance enables her to avoid them by linking her currency to gold.

(ii) We have already stated our conclusion that it is desirable to stabilise the rupee at as early a date as practicable at a level which will ensure that it remains a token coin, and will remove the necessity, for further increases in its value to meet further rises in the sterling price of silver. We have also pointed out that such rises might result from further depreciation of sterling. This possibility increases very seriously the difficulty of fixing a sterling value for the rupee which could be maintained with certainty; but if the value of the rupee is fixed in relation to gold and not to sterling, one disturbing cause at least is eliminated, since any rise in the sterling price of silver resulting from further depreciation in sterling would be counter-balanced by a similar automatic rise in the sterling value of the rupee.

(iii) The value which it would be necessary to fix in sterling at the present time, in order that the rupee might have an exchange value exceeding that of its silver content, would be a high one. Under present conditions we do not as we have explained, regard that as a disadvantage. But if at some future time sterling recovers its value and becomes equivalent once more to gold, the sterling value for the rupee imposed by present conditions might be found too high, since that value would have increased in relation to gold, and probably in relation to other commodities, in proportion to the recovery of sterling from its depreciation. It may be answered that it

the value is found to be too high, it can be reduced. But any reduction of the value fixed would have to be made by the Legislature or by acts of the Executive, similar in character to those which have enforced successive rises in value, but arbitrary because not dictated by circumstances and therefore specially injurious to commercial confidence. If on the other hand, the value is fixed in relation to gold, it can be fixed with safety at a lower figure; and although at the present time the corresponding sterling value of the rupee will be no less high than if it had been fixed in sterling, the sterling equivalent will automatically fall in correspondence to any recovery in sterling, and will ultimately coincide with the gold value.

(iv) If the relation of the rupee to sterling is fixed, while sterling varies in relation to gold, it is evident that the relation of the rupee to gold will vary. But if (as we think essential) the rupee and the sovereign are both to remain unlimited legal tender in India, and to be available for circulation, it is necessary that the relation of the rupee to the sovereign should be fixed, since two coins cannot remain in circulation as unlimited legal tender and at the same time stand in a variable relation to one another. The result would be that the relation of the sovereign to gold would vary—in fact, that the sovereign would become a token coin in India, divorced from its bullion value, and rated at a fixed number of rupees. It would follow that the import of sovereigns by the public must be prohibited, that the danger of smuggling and illicit coinage must be incurred, and that gold coin and bullion would not be interchangeable.

(v) In paragraph 65—67 we state our view that it is very desirable to permit the free export and import of gold bullion and coin, and to issue gold coin in India for an equal weight of gold bullion subject only to an appropriate coinage charge. It is clear from what we have said above that these objects can be attained in the near future if the rupee stands in a fixed relation to gold, but not otherwise.

The balance of advantage appears to us for these reasons to be decidedly on the side of fixing the exchange value of the rupee in terms of gold.

Postponement Undesirable.

58. We have now dealt with the various aspects of the question which it was necessary to examine, and we are in a position to formulate our definite recommendations

as to the course to be pursued; but before doing so we must give our reasons for not accepting the view, which has been pressed upon us, that no attempt should be made at the present time to fix any definite or final figure for the relation between the rupee and either gold or sterling, but that the policy followed since 1917 should still be pursued. For the development of this view and the explanation of the practical steps which would give effect to it, we must refer to the very able evidence of Sir Lionel Abrahams.

It is true, as we readily admit, that present circumstances are abnormal, and that it is extremely difficult to foresee future developments. This has been demonstrated by the changes in the situation which have taken place since our inquiry began, and this fact was advanced as a reason for recommending that policy should wait upon events, that the exchange value of the rupee should be raised, if a further increase in the price of silver required it, and that it should again be lowered if events proved that the level reached was inconveniently high. But in our terms of reference we are directed to make recommendations with a view "to ensuring a stable gold exchange standard," and we do not think that it would be an adequate discharge of our responsibilities to submit proposals which did not aim at securing stability in the near future, if, as we believe, such a result is attainable. The postponement of a decision which is synonymous with the continuance of the existing uncertainty would be open to serious criticism, and would entail the prolongation of Government control over exchange and over the import of the precious metals into India.

Rate Recommended.

59. We have now arrived at the following conclusion:—

- (i) The object should be to restore stability to the rupee, and to re-establish the automatic working of the currency system at as early a date as practicable (para. 36).
- (ii) The stable relation to be established should be with gold and not with sterling (para. 57).
- (iii) The gold equivalent of the rupee should be sufficiently high to give assurance, so far as is practicable, that the rupee, while retaining its present weight and fineness, will remain a token coin, or in other words, that the bullion value of the silver it contains will not exceed its exchange value (para. 43).

After most careful consideration we are unanimous (with the exception of one of our members, who signs a separate report) in recommending that the stable relation to be established between the rupee and gold should be at the rate of ten rupees to one sovereign, or in other words, at the rate of one rupee to 11.30016 grains of fine gold both for foreign exchange and for internal circulation. While some of our number would have preferred that the rate to be adopted should be nearer to that which has been in force for the last 20 years, we all recognise that no lower rate will attain the objects which we find to be indispensable. Our recommendation accords with the views expressed by the Government of India after they had taken account of the changes in the situation since the preparation of their original proposals. They strongly support the establishment of a fixed relation between the rupee and gold, and the adoption of the rate of ten rupees to one sovereign, and they express the view that this solution "combines a more real stability with maximum possible assurance of convertibility, and has, in fact, all the elements of a completely satisfactory permanent system."

We believe, as we have already stated (para. 43), that strong forces will come into operation to prevent the price of silver rising to a point which will cause the bullion value of the rupee to exceed 2s. (gold) If, however, contrary to our expectation, the price of silver should rise for more than a brief period to such a point, the situation should be met by all other available means rather than by impairing the convertibility of the note issue. In the event of such a rise in the price of silver, the Government might diminish the demands upon them for currency by reducing as far as possible the sale of Council Bills, relying on the free import of gold and silver, which we recommend to provide alternative means of remittance. They would naturally endeavour to meet the demands for metallic currency by the use of gold, and abstain as far as possible from purchasing silver. If, in their judgment, it should be absolutely necessary to purchase silver, they should be prepared to purchase even at a price such that rupees would be coined at a loss.

The principal steps for giving effect to our recommendation are (1) a notification changing the present acquisition rate for imported gold and fixing it at the rate of Rs. 10 to the sovereign, (2) an amendment of the Indian Paper Currency Act and Indian Coinage Act, so as to make the sovereign legal tender for Rs. 10 instead of for Rs. 15,

and (3) the withdrawal of the existing undertaking to give Rs. 15 for a sovereign.

In this connection it is necessary to consider whether an opportunity should be given to holders of sovereigns to present them for exchange at the existing rate at the time of the introduction of the new ratio (see para. 69 below).

Other steps necessary as regards,—

(1) sales of Council Drafts and Reverse Councils;

(2) import and export of gold and silver;

(3) coinage;

and also as regards the Paper Currency Reserve and the Gold Standard Reserve, are dealt with in the appropriate paragraphs of this Report.

POSSIBLE OBJECTIONS

60. Two objections have been raised to the course which we recommend.—

(i) It is suggested that if the sovereign, or the weight of gold in a sovereign is obtainable for Rs. 10 instead of Rs. 15, or even larger number. Indians will regard gold as exceptionally cheap, and will absorb greatly increased quantities. It is possible that the Indian demand may, to some extent, be diverted from silver to gold; but in the present conditions of the supply of the two metals, and the demand for them, we do not regard this necessarily as an evil. At the same time, we emphasise the necessity for using all possible means for encouraging the people of India to employ their savings in more useful and fruitful ways than in the acquisition of precious metal, whether gold or silver.

(ii) It is urged that the existing ratio between gold and silver in India is sanctioned by the law and has been in existence for a considerable period, and that to disturb it will be contrary to sound policy. We only agree in this argument to the extent that the legally established ratio ought not to be modified lightly or on insufficient grounds. The modification is, however, clearly within the competence of the legislature, and if it is necessary in order to remove the grave evils of the present position and to re-establish a sound and automatic currency system, we think it is undoubtedly justified. We believe that it is open to far less objection than any of the other alternative courses that have been suggested.

Drafts and Reverse Councils.

61. We now proceed to consider questions connected with the system of remittance to and from India.

We agree with the Chamberlain Commission in holding that Council Drafts are sold not for the convenience of trade, but to provide the funds needed in London to meet the requirements of the Secretary of State on India's behalf in the widest sense of the term. There is, in our opinion, no obligation to sell drafts to meet all trade demands. If our proposals in paragraph 63 to 67 regarding the free import of gold into India and the maintenance of a gold mint are adopted, the way will be open for the settlement of trade balances by means which are independent of the sale of Council Drafts. India, however, normally enjoys a large favourable balance of trade, and the adjustment of this balance mainly by the import of gold would probably involve the shipment to India of more gold than is actually required for absorption by the public. If, therefore, without inconvenience or with advantage the Secretary of State is in a position to sell drafts in excess of his immediate requirements when a trade demand for them exists, we see no objection to his doing so, provided that due regard is had to the proper location of the reserves, to which we refer later. Such sales would tend to economise the movements of gold, and would provide additional facilities for telegraphic remittance, which is an advantage to trade.

The above observations apply to normal times when the purchase of silver for coinage can be readily effected. So long as the existing difficulties continue it will be advisable to adhere to the system at present in force, according to which the actual amounts of Council Drafts sold weekly are fixed with reference to the Secretary of State's requirements and the capacity of the Government of India to meet them.

MINIMUM RATE

While sterling continues to be divorced from gold, the fixing of the rupee in terms of gold will involve fluctuations in its sterling equivalent; and the minimum rate for Council Drafts will be fixed from time to time on the basis of the sterling cost of shipping gold to India. When sterling is again equivalent to gold, the minimum rate will remain fixed and the price obtained for Council Drafts will vary between the gold points according to the demand.

REVERSE COUNCILS.

62. The Chamberlain Commission recommended that the Government of India should make a public notification of their intention to sell in India bills on London at a price corresponding to the gold export point, whenever they were asked to do so, to the full extent of their resources. We agree entirely with this recommendation. We are informed that inconvenience has resulted in the past from the necessity of consulting the Secretary of State before offers of reverse remittance were announced, and to ensure public confidence in the system it is desirable that the authorities in India should be in a position to take action without the delay involved by reference to London. We are also informed that facilities for telegraphic remittance, which were first offered in connection with the sales at the outbreak of the war, were greatly appreciated by the commercial community in India. We, therefore, recommend that the Government of India should be authorised to announce, without previous reference to the Secretary of State on each occasion, their readiness to sell weekly a stated amount of Reverse Councils (including telegraphic transfers) during periods of exchange weakness. The rate will, as in the past, be based on the cost of shipping gold from India to the United Kingdom. So long as sterling is divorced from gold, it will not be possible to announce a fixed rate at which sales will uniformly be made, but the Government of India should be prepared to quote the appropriate figure as soon as the demand for remittance from India makes itself apparent. During this period, assuming that our recommendations regarding the exchange value of the rupee are adopted, 10 rupees will purchase the sterling equivalent of one sovereign less a percentage to cover the charges of remittance.

Indian Demand for Precious Metals.

63. We now turn to the policy that should be adopted in regard to the import and export of the precious metals into and from India.

Statistics regarding the imports of gold into India on private account in recent years are shown in paragraph 14. It will be seen that during the five years preceding the war, India's average annual import of gold coin and bullion exceeded £10,000,000.

It has frequently been alleged that an undue proportion of the world's gold supply is absorbed by India. It must be remembered,

however, that the population of India exceeds 315 millions, and that the use of gold (or, alternatively, of silver) plays an important part in social ceremonies sanctioned by religion and tradition. Presents of gold or silver ornaments are obligatory at weddings, and on other ceremonial occasions; and this custom is supported by the practical consideration that a woman, whether Hindu or Moslem, who possesses gold and silver ornaments or coins converted into ornaments, is entitled to hold them as her personal property. It has also always been the habit in India to use the precious metals as a store of value, and to hold savings in this form; nor, until banking and investment facilities have been extended, and the habit of using them has been acquired by the people of India, is it easy to see in what other form savings can be accumulated. We do not, therefore, consider that the quantity of gold taken by India for all purposes in the period before the war was disproportionately large in relation to her economic condition and it must be assumed that so long as existing conditions prevail India will continue to require a considerable quantity of gold for the purposes named above.

64. We have previously pointed out that the normal balance of trade makes India a creditor country, and as such she is entitled to require payment for her produce in the form most acceptable to her people. Indeed, India's capacity to draw gold from other countries depends in the last resort on the desire of her customers to secure her produce, and, so long as they continue to take it, India will be in a position to demand gold, in so far as she may prefer payment in this form to the import of commodities or the investment in foreign securities of credits due to her.

We do not wish, however, by these remarks to lend support to any suggestion that the import of precious metals is the most advantageous way by which India can adjust her claims against other countries. The accumulation of stores of gold and silver is an unprofitable method of saving, and it would undoubtedly be to India's own interest, and to the interests of the world at large, for her to employ her wealth in productive directions. We are, therefore, glad to learn that an increasing interest is now being shown by Indians in the promotion of industrial enterprise, and we consider (see para. 73) that facilities for the deposit and investment of savings should be increased in all practicable ways. This may tend ultimately to reduce India's demand for the precious metals.

IMPORT AND EXPORT OF GOLD.

65. Under the Gold Import Act all gold imported into India has to be tendered to Government at a specified rate based on the exchange value of the rupee and the premium on gold. The export of gold is not prohibited, but owing to the fact that gold commands a substantial premium in the Indian bazaar, there is no tendency for it to leave the country under existing conditions. The provisions regarding the import of gold were avowedly enacted under the stress of war and were only intended to be temporary. It is, in our opinion, desirable that the entry of gold into India should be freed from regulation or control by the Government. We accordingly recommend that the Gold Import Act should be repealed as soon as the change in the statutory ratio of the rupee to the sovereign, to which we refer below, has been effected. Movements of gold to and from India would of course continue, as in the past, to be reported for registration and statistical purposes.

GOLD AS CURRENCY.

USE OF GOLD AS CURRENCY.

66. The fixation of the rupee in terms of gold and the disappearance of the internal premium on gold due to the removal of the prohibition on import will again enable gold to circulate as currency. It is, therefore, necessary to consider how far the extended use of gold currency is desirable in India. We agree in principle with the recommendations of the Chamberlain Commission in this connection, but the position has changed in certain respects since the issue of their report, and some modifications in the policy suggested are advisable. We agree with their conclusions that the Government should continue to aim at giving the people the form of currency which they demand, whether rupees, notes, or gold, that the use of the note should be encouraged, that the currency must generally be suitable for the internal needs of India consists of rupees and notes, and that it would not be to India's advantage actively to encourage the increased use of gold in the internal circulation. We also share the view that gold can be more advantageously employed in the Government reserves, where it is available for meeting demands for foreign remittance, than in the hands of the people in the form of currency. For some time, however, it may be difficult to meet all demands for metallic currency in rupees, and a more extensive use of gold may be necessary to ensure confidence in the note issue. We understand that on recent occasions the issue of gold coin by the Government has been

looked upon in certain parts of India as an indication that the Government were in difficulties regarding the provision of metallic currency. In order to avoid creating this impression by exceptional issues, we think that so long as the purchase of adequate supplies of silver continues to be difficult it would be advisable for the Government, as one of the normal methods for meeting demands for currency, to issue gold coin in moderate quantities. When the supply of silver has ceased to be difficult, the necessity for the issue of gold coin will diminish, but it is probable that there will always be a demand for gold in certain parts of India. We consider, therefore, that the Government of India should maintain their pre-war practice of making gold-coin available when it is demanded by the public.

FACILITIES FOR MINTING.

67. In order that gold currency may be available when required it is important to provide facilities in India for the conversion of gold bullion into legal tender coin. These facilities might be given by the establishment of an Indian gold mint, which would mint Indian gold coins such as the gold mohur, or by the re-opening of the branch of the Royal Mint in Bombay. After careful consideration we have come to the conclusion that it will be more advantageous to India to continue to use the form of gold currency to which she has become accustomed and which, on account of its wide circulation, is a universally recognised medium for the settlement of external obligations. We therefore recommend that the branch of the Royal Mint which was opened in Bombay during the war for the coinage of sovereigns and half-sovereigns and has since been temporarily closed, should be re-opened, and that arrangements similar to those in force in the United Kingdom should be made for the receipt of gold bullion from the public for coinage. The Government of India should announce its readiness to receive gold bullion from the public, whether refined or not, and to issue gold coin in exchange at the rate of one sovereign for 113.0016 grains of fine gold, subject to a small coinage charge. This undertaking would not of course require the constant operation of the gold mint, if the demand for the coinage of gold did not justify it. The issue of gold coin in exchange for unrefined gold makes a gold refinery necessary. If the need is not met by private enterprise, we recommend that facilities should be given to the public by which they may be able to have gold refined at the Government refinery on payment of charges sufficient to cover the cost of the operation.

68. Sovereigns and half-sovereigns have been for many years legal tender in India, and, as we have stated in paragraph 6, the Government of India have undertaken by notification to issue rupees in exchange for sovereigns presented to them. In normal times, and whenever the supplies of silver permit, the Government of India will doubtless offer all facilities for the conversion of legal tender gold into legal tender silver coin and *vice versa*; but, in view of the present shortage of silver, we consider that the obligation to give rupees for sovereigns should be withdrawn.

EXISTING HOLDERS.

69. Under the scheme we have advocated the gold content of the sovereign will be exchangeable in India for Rs. 10, and in order to put this rate in force it will be necessary to amend the status under which the sovereign is rated at Rs. 15, and to reduce the rate to Rs. 10. It will also be necessary to cancel the notification under which the Government have undertaken to give Rs. 15 for all sovereigns tendered at the Reserve Treasuries. The question thus arises as to the treatment that should be accorded to the present holders of sovereigns in India. It is undoubtedly open to the Government to enact through the competent legislature that the rate at which the sovereign is legal tender should be reduced from Rs. 15 to Rs. 10 and to cancel the notification to which we have referred. We do not recognise any legal obligation on the part of the Government to indemnify holders of sovereigns from loss through change of rate, but we think that reasonable opportunities should be given to the public to exchange sovereigns in their possession at the rate of Rs. 15 at the time of the introduction of the new ratio. In order to reduce the period of transition, which must necessarily be attended by obvious risks and inconveniences, the offer should run for a short period only, and if the impending change is widely notified and opportunities for the tender of sovereigns are made available at a large number of places (which would include all Treasuries and possibly all Sub-Treasuries), we hope that it may be found practicable to limit the period to a calendar month. The period suggested is short, and its precise duration should be determined on the discretion of the Government of India; but we feel strongly that action, when taken, should be prompt. In order to prevent an excessive call upon their resources of silver, the Government should reserve to themselves the option of redeeming sovereigns in gold coin at the rate corresponding to the new ratio (*viz.*, 15 sovereigns for

each sovereign), to be payable after the termination of the period of redemption, and to be represented in the meantime by certificates or other suitable instruments created for the purpose.

There would be advantages in carrying out this operation at an early date so that the imports of gold coin and bullion into India may be free from control, and that the sovereign may be put into circulation as the equivalent of Rs. 10. But it must be for the Government to determine the detailed steps by which effect should be given to our suggestions.

The gold mohurs which were coined and issued during the war as the equivalent of 15 rupees should also be redeemed at that rate either now or at some later period as may be convenient. After a reasonable opportunity for redemption has been given, any remaining unredeemed should be demonetised."

Import and Export of Silver.

70. We have already indicated that we are in favour of the removal of Government intervention in the free flow of the precious metals to and from India as soon as practicable. The import of silver was prohibited at a time of abnormal demand for currency and limitation of supply with the object of preventing private buyers in India from competing in the silver market with the Secretary of State. It is difficult to estimate how far the removal of their competition has facilitated the silver purchases of the Secretary of State during the last two years. The evidence we have taken suggests that, in spite of the prohibition of the melting of silver coin, the melting of rupees has taken place on a large scale. When the bullion value of the rupee approximates closely to its exchange value the most economical method of obtaining silver in India is by melting coin. In so far as the demand for silver for social and industrial purposes, enhanced by the scarcity of gold, has been met in this way, the effect of the prohibition of private imports was to increase the amount of silver which the Secretary of State had to purchase. If the restrictions on gold are removed the demand for silver may be expected to decrease, but a considerable quantity will always be required for social and industrial purposes. We consider that the disadvantages of meeting the public demand through Government agency by the indirect and expensive method of issuing additional currency, outweighs any advantage

which may be gained in respect of the Secretary of State's purchases. We therefore recommend the removal of the prohibition on the import of silver as soon as is convenient.

IMPORT DUTY ON SILVER.

71. Prior to the year 1910 silver bullion and coin other than current coin of the Government of India were included in the general tariff schedule of articles liable to an import duty of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. In that year it was necessary to raise additional taxation, and it was decided that silver was a luxury article on which an additional import duty might suitably be imposed. The rate was accordingly raised to four annas per ounce. At that time the price of silver was such that the additional duty on silver could have no influence on the currency system, but the rise in the price of silver to a height at which the bullion value of the rupee approximates to its exchange value introduces fresh considerations: for whenever the exchange value of the rupee does not exceed the bullion value by the amount of the duty, it is cheaper to obtain silver for the arts in India by melting the currency than by importing silver bullion. So long, therefore, as the divergence between the bullion value and the exchange value of the rupee is not large, the retention of the import duty may throw upon the Government of India the burden of providing rupees in excess of the needs for currency purposes. The removal of the duty has also been advocated on the ground that it imposes an unfair burden on the poorer classes, to whom a certain quantity of ornaments is a social necessity rather than a luxury. We do not attach weight to this argument, but we believe that there is a strong feeling in India against the retention of the duty in that it is an obstacle to the establishment of a world market for silver in Bombay, and places the Indian consumer of silver at a disadvantage in comparison with that of the population of other countries. The Government of India would prefer to defer consideration of the removal of the duty until the results of the relaxation of the control over the movement of the precious metals have been observed, but we see no reason for the postponement of the decision on the point of principle involved. Since the prohibition of the import of silver, the revenues of the Government of India have been deprived of the yield from the silver duty, which was about one crore annually before the war, and the gap has been filled from other sources. The abolition of the duty at the present time would therefore involve no readjustment of the burden of

taxation. For these reasons we recommend that when the prohibition of import of silver is removed, the duty should also be removed, unless in the opinion of the Government of India the fiscal position demands its retention.

RETENTION OF CONTROL.

72. As regards the export of silver, we are unable to recommend the removal of the prohibition at present, although we think that the removal of all restrictions is an ideal to be attained as soon as circumstances permit. As long as the bullion value of the rupee is near its exchange value, it is possible that the export of silver rupees or silver obtained by melting rupees will be a profitable transaction, and it is necessary that Government should be in a position to protect the currency from depletion by export. We recommend, therefore, that the export of silver, except under licence, should be prohibited, until changed conditions again definitely establish the rupee as an over-valued token coin. Meanwhile it is important that the production of silver in India should not be discouraged by a measure which is intended only to protect the currency. We understand that silver mined in India is now purchased by the Government of India at rates fixed by contract with the producers. We hope that so long as the Government of India require silver this arrangement will be continued on suitable terms; but if at any time before the removal of the export prohibition the continuance of the purchase by Government of silver mined in India should be unnecessary or impracticable, we consider that the producers should be permitted to export freely under licence the silver produced from their mines.

FACILITIES FOR SAVING AND INVESTMENT.

73. We have already referred to the extensive use in India of the precious metals, mainly in the form of currency, as a store of value. It has been urged that this practice is largely due to the inadequacy of the disposal of savings in a manner which will enable them to be used productively. We, therefore, welcome the recent announcement of the Government of India that a feature of the scheme for the amalgamation of the Presidency Banks is the opening of at least 100 new branches within the next five years. We recommend that this policy should be actively pursued. By the extension of the activities of the amalgamated Presidency Banks and other sound banking institutions in India, we hope that facilities for the deposit of savings will gradually be made available in all headquarters of ad-

ministrative districts and other towns where no banks have yet been established. We suggest also that the Government of India should consider whether it is practicable to abolish the existing stamp duty on cheques.

An extension of banking facilities, however, on such a scale as would attract deposits from the remoter areas is unlikely in the near future, and we think, therefore, that the rural population should be encouraged to take fuller advantage of the opportunities for making interest-bearing deposits in Co-operative Credit Societies and the Post Office Savings Banks. We are impressed by the comparatively insignificant figure of the total deposits in the Post Office Savings Banks, amounting to only Rs. 2½ crores on 31st July, 1914, before the condition that ensued on the outbreak of war led to the heavy withdrawals referred to in paragraph 9. We understand that the substantial increase in deposits in the years 1912-13 and 1913-14, amounting to over four crores, was due mainly to the grant of additional facilities, and we recommend that the Government of India should examine how far, notwithstanding the admitted administrative difficulties, it may be possible to improve the present procedure for the deposit and withdrawal of money, and to increase the number of post offices conducting savings bank business.

In addition, we advise that all possible facilities should be made available for the investment of savings in Government Loans. In particular, in view of the success which has attended the Government of India's war borrowings through the Post Office, notably in the form of cash certificates, we suggest that a Postal Section should be retained as part of the normal borrowing system of India.

It has been suggested to us that Indian investors would be prepared to purchase sterling securities of the Indian Government if facilities were given for the purpose. We are not in a position to judge how far this proposal is practicable or expedient, but we desire to bring it to the notice of the Secretary of State and the Government of India.

SILVER PURCHASES.

74. Before leaving the subject of the precious metals, it will be convenient to deal with the criticisms of certain witnesses regarding the conditions under which purchases of silver for coinage have been made. The allegations of the critics are to the effect that the method of purchase through a broker, mainly in the London market, is unsatisfactory, and has resulted in pur-

chases being made at an unnecessarily high price; and that purchases by open tender in India would give better results. We have considered the subject carefully, and without entering into unnecessary details, we are satisfied that the purchases of the Secretary of State, which are made in the same manner as the purchases of His Majesty's Mint, many foreign Governments, and the banks concerned in the supply of silver to the Far East, are suitably conducted. We do not, therefore, make any recommendation for modifying the present practice, though we have no wish to suggest any limitation of the freedom which the Secretary of State now enjoys of making purchases in India or elsewhere than in the United Kingdom should he think it advantageous to do so.

PAPER CURRENCY RESERVE.

75. In paragraph 23 we have referred to the large expansion of the note-issue during the war. This expansion has been in great part due to special causes arising from the war; but we believe that it has been beneficial to India, and we should welcome any further action that might tend to foster the note using habit, especially under present conditions when the purchase of silver for coinage is attended with serious difficulty. But the continued popularity of the note can only be assured if its convertibility is guaranteed beyond all possible doubt. Our recommendations regarding the note issue have accordingly been framed with the express purpose of justifying the confidence of the Indian public in the note by the provision of an adequate metallic reserve and the grant of ample facilities for converting the note into coin. We also take into account the necessity of avoiding on the one hand the inconveniences attending an inelastic currency, and on the other the risks of inflation arising from a currency which can be expanded with undue ease.

76. At the outbreak of war the limit to the invested portion of the Paper Currency Reserve was 14 crores, of which 4 crores might be held in sterling securities, defined as "Securities of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland or securities issued by the Secretary of State for India in Council under the authority of Act of Parliament, and charged on the revenues of India." The great expansion of the note issue during the war, coupled with the difficulty of obtaining gold or silver, made it necessary to enlarge these limits. The limits of investment were modified by no less than nine Acts and Ordinances, and the statutory maximum is now 120 crores, of which 20 crores may be held in securities of the Government of India. The

increased powers of investment taken since the outbreak of the war are temporary and will, unless re-enacted, lapse six months after the official date for the termination of the war.

77. The Chamberlain Commission commented in paragraphs 103 to 105 of their Report on the inelasticity of the Indian paper currency system. The maximum limit for the invested portion of the reserve is fixed by Statute, and when that limit is reached any further increase in the note-issue requires the deposit of an exactly equal amount of gold or silver in the reserve. Special application to the legislature is necessary when an increase in the circulation renders it expedient to increase the amount of the invested reserve. It may be added that legislation would equally be required if a decrease in the circulation made it desirable to reduce the limit of investment. We recognise the special need for caution in dealing with the note-issue in such a country as India, where a large part of the population is illiterate and the extended use of paper currency is a habit of very recent growth, but we think it essential to introduce some elasticity into the system, and at the same time to obviate the necessity for constant fresh applications to the legislature as the circulation grows. Both these objects can be attained, if instead of laying down that the invested portion of the reserve must not exceed a fixed maximum, the legislature prescribes that it shall not exceed a maximum percentage of the total issue; or, alternatively, that the metallic portion shall not fall below a minimum percentage of the total issue. In recommending that this method should be adopted we find ourselves in accord in principle with the views of the Chamberlain Commission, and also with those expressed in the memorandum annexed to the statement submitted on behalf of the Government of India.

RESERVE TO BE 40 PER CENT.

78. The Chamberlain Commission recommended that the fiduciary portion of the Paper Currency Reserve, which at the time of their Report stood at 14 crores, should be increased at once to 20 crores and should thereafter be fixed at a maximum of the amount of notes held by Government in the Reserve Treasuries, plus one-third of the net circulation. The large increase in the note circulation that has taken place during the course of the war and subsequently has modified the position as it existed when the Commission reported. Under their recommendation it would be necessary that on the present basis of circulation the metallic re-

serve should amount to 110 crores of rupees, as compared with 80 crores so held at the present time. We do not consider that so large a reserve is required for ensuring the convertibility of the note issue, especially when it is remembered that in the case of any drain arising from demands for foreign remittance the Gold Standard Reserve is also available. We recommend that the statutory minimum for the metallic portion of the reserve should be 40 per cent. of the gross circulation.

It would, of course, be desirable to maintain in the metallic reserve a substantial margin above the statutory minimum, especially at the beginning of the busy season, which always brings a demand for issues of coin.

It might appear that our recommendation is less cautious than that put forward by Mr. Howard, who proposes for the metallic reserve a minimum proportion of 50 per cent. But he applies the percentage not to the circulation of the moment, but to the average of the gross circulation on the closing days of the three preceding financial years. In times when the circulation is growing rapidly the figure so ascertained is greatly reduced. At the present time, for instance, Mr. Howard's proposal would fix the minimum metallic reserve at 56½ crores, while our recommendation would make it nearly 72 crores.

79. As regards the composition of the fiduciary portion of the reserve, we recommend that the amount to be held in securities issued by the Government of India should be limited to 20 crores, the figure at present permissible under the temporary legislation now in force, and that the balance should be held in securities of other Governments comprised within the British Empire. Of the amount so held not more than 10 crores should be invested in securities with more than one year's maturity, and any securities so held should be redeemable at a fixed date. The balance of the invested portion of the reserve over and above the 30 crores already provided for should be held in short-date securities with not more than one year's maturity, issued by Governments within the British Empire other than the Government of India. The operation of our recommendations may be illustrated by the following figures exhibiting the composition of the reserve as it stood on 30th November 1919, as it would stand if the invested portion stood at the maximum permitted under the existing law and consequently if the metallic reserve was at the minimum permissible, and as it would stand if the metallic reserve did not exceed the

minimum permitted under our recommendations:—

	Gross Note Circulation	Composition of Reserve (Lakhs of Rupees).				Percentage of Total Metallic Reserve to Gross Note Circulation
		Silver	Gold	Securities Indian	Securities British	
Actual figures for 30th November 1919	170.67	47.41	32.70	17.03	82.50	41.6
Figures showing maximum fiduciary issue under present law	179.67	50.67		20.00	100.00	73.2
Figures showing maximum fiduciary issue under proposals in report	179.67	71.87		20.00	87.80	40

These are our proposals regarding the permanent constitution of the Paper Currency Reserve, but we recognise that it may not be possible to maintain continuously such a large proportion of the reserve in metal in the immediate future. We accordingly recommend that, when permanent legislation is introduced in replacement of the present temporary provisions, authority for retaining for a limited period the existing permissive maximum of 120 crores for the fiduciary issue should be sought.

The change in the gold equivalent of the rupee will involve a revaluation of the sterling investments and gold now held in the reserve. We recommend that the sterling investments should be valued at the rate of 10 rupees to the £, no account being taken for this purpose of the temporary depreciation of sterling in terms of gold. The revaluation of the sterling investments and gold at 2s. to the rupee will lead to a deficiency at once, but we are of opinion that any savings or profits arising from the rise in the equivalent of the rupee from 1s. 4d. to 2s. gold, such as the saving in the remittances made to meet the direct Home expenditure of the Government of India, will supply a suitable means for discharging this liability in a limited number of years.

SEASONAL DEMAND.

80. While our recommendations introduce a measure of elasticity into the Indian note issue, we think it desirable to provide for a further limited power of expansion with a special view to meeting the seasonal demand for additional currency which is normal in India. The proposals formulated by Mr. Howard contemplate that the note-issue should be based in part upon commercial bills of exchange. We have given careful consideration to this plan, with special reference to its application on the largest scale

as the basis of the Federal Reserve Note system in the United States of America; and we recommend that it should be tried experimentally in India on a small scale, as the basis for the special power of expansion which we find to be advisable. The requirements of the case would, we think, be met by authorising in the first instance the issue of notes up to 5 crores on the security of commercial bills of exchange in addition to the normal issue. The issue would take the form of loans to the Presidency Banks on the collateral security of bills endorsed by the Presidency Banks and having a maturity not exceeding 90 days. The interest charged to the banks for such advances should be not less than 8 per cent. per annum. The advances should be outside any loans made from Government Treasury balances. The bills tendered as collateral should be bona fide commercial bills against goods under export, not only because such bills would lead to the automatic retirement of the emergency note issue on their maturity, but also because such bills are more commercial transaction than internal bills easily identifiable as representing a definite commercial transaction than internal bills which may be created for purposes of finance or against goods held for speculative transactions. If the difficulty of connecting internal bills with definite transactions in commodities can be overcome, we should see no objection hereafter to authorising the tender of such bills as collateral in addition to export bills, but we think that at the inception of a scheme which is admittedly experimental it would be wiser to authorise the tender of export bills only.

LOCATION OF RESERVE.

81. The location of the Paper Currency Reserve has given rise to considerable discussion in the past. The main facts of the position may be stated as follows: The reserve exists primarily for the redemption of notes, and the proper place for holding the greater part of the reserve must therefore be in India where the notes may have to be met. The silver reserves should, therefore, as in the past, be normally held in India, but silver under purchase or in the course of shipment should be treated as part of the reserve pending its arrival in India.

The gold also in the Paper Currency Reserve should normally be held in India; but some Paper Currency Gold may at times be held in London, either because it has been purchased there and is awaiting shipment, or because it is held in anticipation of its use in payment for purchases of silver.

Of the securities held in the Paper Currency Reserve, the Government of India's

securities would naturally be held in India while the remainder would be held in the United Kingdom where they would be more redeemable or realisable in event of need.

ENCASHMENT.

82. As soon as circumstances permit, facilities for the encashment of notes should be given, and the restrictions imposed during the course of the war should be withdrawn. We do not suggest that the legal obligation of Government to encash notes should be extended beyond the Currency Offices, but we are satisfied that the additional facilities provided by the Government have tended to encourage confidence in the note issue, and we would, therefore, welcome their restoration, although we recognise that this may not be practicable at the moment. The obligation of the Government to redeem its notes should be to redeem them in full legal tender coin. It is not necessary that the public should have the option of demanding gold or silver when they present notes. The choice of the metal should be, as it is now, at the option of the Government, who would, no doubt, in normal conditions endeavour to make payment in whatever form of currency is preferred by the tenderer of the note.

Gold Standard Reserve

83. The Chamberlain Commission held that no limit could be fixed at the time when they reported to the amount up to which the Gold Standard Reserve should be accumulated, and that the profits on the coinage of rupees should continue to be credited exclusively to the reserve. During the war the circumstances have been abnormal, and we consider that it will be advisable to await the return of normal conditions before fixing any maximum figure for the reserve. In reaching this conclusion we are also influenced by the proposal we have made in regard to the new ratio for the rupee. So long as prices throughout the world remain at or about the present level, we believe that India will maintain a prosperous export trade, and that the present strength of the Gold Standard Reserve, assisted by the other resources of the rupee at the point we suggest. But if there were a sudden fall in world prices it is possible, we have pointed out in paragraph 51, that the normal current of Indian trade might be affected for a period, and that a heavier call might be made on the resources for supporting exchange than has occurred in the past. We hold, therefore, that when profits again accrue on the coinage of rupees they should be credited in their entirety to the reserve.

COMPOSITION OF RESERVE.

81. The recommendation of the Chamberlain Commission that the silver branch of the Gold Standard Reserve, which in June 1914 amounted to 6 crores of rupees, should be abolished, has already been carried out.

At present the reserve is held almost entirely in securities, and on the 30th November, 1919, was constituted as follows, the figure given representing in each case the face value of the security:—

British Treasury Bills, maturing between December, 1919, and March, 1920	£ 8,219,000
Exchequer Bonds, redeemable between February, 1920, and October, 1921	16,199,300
National War Bonds, redeemable 1st October, 1922	7,500,000
Five per cent War Loan 1929-47	3,762,181
Local Loans, 3 per cent. Stock ...	200,000
Irish Land Stock, 2½ per cent.	438,720
Transvaal Government 3 per cent. Guaranteed Stock, 1923-53	1,092,223
	37,411,224
Cash	27,093
Total	37,438,317

The Chamberlain Commission were of opinion that a considerable portion of the reserve should be held in gold, and suggested that the total gold holding should be raised as opportunity offered to £15,000,000 and that the authorities should thereafter aim at keeping one-half of the total reserve in actual gold. We agree in principle that the reserve should contain a considerable proportion of gold, but we do not anticipate that under the changed conditions a large gold holding will be attainable for some years, and we feel that in the present state of the note issue such gold as the Government of India can obtain should be added to the Paper Currency Reserve rather than to the Gold Standard Reserve. At the present moment, therefore, the most satisfactory course lies in keeping the reserve as liquid as possible by ample holding of securities with early dates of maturity. This condition is secured under the present scheme of investment. From the statement given above it will be seen that, with the exception of about £5,500,000, the securities in the reserve are redeemable by October, 1922, at the latest. We are of opinion that the amount of securities with a maturity exceeding three years should not be increased, and that the authorities should aim at holding all

the invested portion of the reserve in securities issued by Governments within the British Empire (other than the Government of India), and having a fixed date of maturity of not more than 12 months.

LOCATION OF RESERVE.

85. The object for which the Gold Standard Reserve exists is to afford protection against a fall in exchange by meeting demands for sterling remittance to London; and it is evident that its resources will be most readily available for this purpose if they are held in London. This consideration has governed the location of the fund hitherto, and was considered by the Chamberlain Commission to be decisive.

There is, however, a strong sentiment in India in favour of the location of the whole, or at any rate a large part, of the reserve in India. In currency matters the possession of public confidence is an asset of great value, and we therefore think it advisable to comply with the Indian demand, so far as this can be done without detracting from the utility of the fund for the purposes for which it exists. Gold in India can be made available for the purpose of foreign remittance, either by export or by transfer to the Paper Currency Reserve in India against a corresponding release of Paper Currency assets in the United Kingdom or, in circumstances of urgency, by arranging to earmark it for the Bank of England. We consider, therefore, that a portion of the gold in the Gold Standard Reserve should be held in India; but the gold so held should not exceed one-half of the total and steps should be taken to ensure that it is not made available to the public except for the purpose of export.

The sterling investments of the Gold Standard Reserve (including cash on deposit) should, as in the past, continue to be held in London.

86. Our colleague, Mr. Dalal, submits a separate report. While we regret that he does not share our conclusions, we wish to record our appreciation of the assistance which we have derived from his knowledge and experience.

Summary of Conclusions.

87. We now proceed to summarise the main conclusions at which we have arrived.

(i) It is desirable to restore stability to the rupee and to re-establish the automatic working of the Indian currency system. (Para. 36.)

(ii) The reduction of the fineness or weight of the rupee (para. 38), the issue of 2- or 3 rupee coins of lower proportional silver content than the present rupee (para. 39), or the issue of a nickel rupee (para. 40), are expedients that cannot be recommended.

If the legal tender limit of one rupee for the 8-anna nickel coin should prove an obstacle to its free circulation the question of raising the limit to Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 should be considered. (Para. 40.)

(iii) The maintenance of the convertibility of the note issue is essential, and proposals that do not adequately protect the Indian paper currency from the risk of becoming inconvertible cannot be entertained. (Para. 41.)

(iv) The rise in exchange, in so far as it has checked and mitigated the rise in Indian prices, has been to the advantage of the country as a whole, and it is desirable to secure the continuance of this benefit. (Para. 50.)

(v) Indian trade is not likely to suffer any permanent injury from the fixing of exchange at a high level.

If, contrary to expectation, a great and rapid fall in world prices were to take place, and if the costs of production in India fail to adjust themselves with equal rapidity to the lower level of prices, then it might be necessary to consider the problem afresh. (Para. 51.)

(vi) The development of Indian industry would not be seriously hampered by a high rate of exchange. (Para. 52.)

(vii) The gain to India of a high rate of exchange for meeting the Home charges is an incidental advantage that must be taken into consideration. (Para. 53.)

(viii) To postpone fixing a stable rate of exchange would be open to serious criticism and entail prolongation of Government control. (Para. 58.)

(ix) The balance of advantage is decidedly on the side of fixing the exchange value of the rupee in terms of gold rather than in terms of sterling. (Para. 56-7.)

(x) The stable relation to be established between the rupee and gold should be the rate of Rs. 10 to one sovereign, or, in other words, at the rate of one rupee = 11.30016 grains of fine gold, both for foreign exchange and for internal circulation. (Para. 59.)

(xi) If silver rises for more than a brief period above the parity of 2s. (gold), the situation should be met by all other available means rather than by impairing the convertibility of the note issue. Such measures might be (a) reduction of sale of Council bills; (b) abstention from purchase of silver; (c) use of gold to meet demands for metallic currency. If it should be absolutely necessary to purchase silver, the Government should be prepared to purchase even at a price such that rupees would be coined at a loss. (Para. 59.)

(xii) Council Drafts are primarily sold not for the convenience of trade but to provide for the Home charges in the widest sense of the term. There is no obligation to sell drafts to meet all trade demands; but, if without inconvenience or with advantage the Secretary of State is in a position to sell drafts in excess of his immediate needs, when a trade demand for them exists, there is no objection to his doing so, subject to due regard being paid to the principles governing the location of the reserves.

Council Drafts should be sold as now by open tender at competitive rates, a minimum rate being fixed from time to time on the basis of the sterling cost of shipping gold to India. At present this rate will vary; but when sterling is again equivalent to gold, it will remain uniform. (Para. 61.)

(xiii) The Government of India should be authorised to announce, without previous reference to the Secretary of State on each occasion, their readiness to sell weekly a stated amount of Reserve Councils (including telegraphic transfers) during periods of exchange weakness at a price based on the cost of shipping gold from India to the United Kingdom. (Para. 62.)

(xiv) The quantity of gold taken by India for all purposes in the period before the war was not disproportionately large having regard to her social customs and economic position; but more productive methods for employing wealth should be encouraged. (Para. 63-4.)

(xv) The import and export of gold to and from India should be free from Government control. (Para. 65.)

(xvi) The Government should continue to aim at giving the people the form of currency

which they demand, whether rupees, notes, or gold; but gold can be employed to the best advantage in the Government reserves where it is available for meeting the demand for foreign remittance.

It would not be to India's advantage actively to encourage the increased use of gold in the internal circulation, but it may for some time be difficult to meet all demands for metallic currency in rupees, and a more extensive use of gold may be necessary. In order that confidence may not be disturbed by exceptional issues, the issue of gold coin in moderate quantities should be one of the normal methods of meeting demands for currency. (Para. 66.)

(xvii) The Bombay branch of the Royal Mint should be re-opened for the coinage of sovereigns and half sovereigns and facilities should be afforded to the public for the coinage of gold bullion and for the refining of gold. (Para. 67.)

(xviii) The obligation of the Government to give rupees for sovereigns should be withdrawn. (Para. 68.)

(xix) Opportunities should be afforded to the public to exchange sovereigns in their possession at the rate of 15 rupees per sovereign at the time of the introduction of the new ratio. Similar opportunities should be given to holders of the gold mohur which should eventually be demobilised. (Para. 69.)

(xx) The prohibition on the import of silver should be removed as soon as is convenient. (Para. 70.)

(xxi) When the prohibition on the import of silver is removed, the import duty should also be removed, unless the fiscal position demands its retention. (Para. 71.)

(xxii) The prohibition on the export of silver should be retained for the present with a view to the protection of the silver currency from depletion by export.

If the silver mined in India should cease to be purchased by the Government, its export should be permitted under licence. (Para. 72.)

(xxiii) Improved banking facilities and increased opportunities for the investment of savings should be afforded. (Para. 73.)

(xxiv) No recommendations is made for modifying the present practice regulating the purchase of silver for coinage. (Para. 74.)

(xxv) The statutory minimum for the metallic portion of the Paper Currency Reserve should be 40 per cent. of the gross circulation.

As regards the fiduciary portion of the reserve, the holding of securities issued by the Government of India should be limited to 20 crores. The balance should be held in secu-

rities of other Governments comprised within the British Empire, and of the amount so held not more than 10 crores should have more than one year's maturity, and all should be redeemable at a fixed date. The balance of the invested portion above these 30 crores should be held in short-dated securities, with not more than one year's maturity, issued by Governments within the British Empire.

The existing permissive maximum of 120 crores should be retained for a limited period.

The sterling investments and gold in the Paper Currency Reserve should be revalued at 2s. to the rupee. The depreciation which will result from this revaluation, cannot be made good at once, but any savings resulting from the rise in exchange will afford a suitable means of discharging this liability in a limited number of years. (Paras. 78, 79.)

(xxvi) With a view to meeting the seasonal demand for additional currency, provision should be made for the issue of notes up to five crores over and above the normal fiduciary issue as loans to the Presidency Banks on the security of export bills of exchange. (Para. 80.)

(xxvii) The silver and gold in the Paper Currency Reserve should be held in India except for transitory purposes. (Para. 81.)

(xxviii) As soon as circumstances permit, free facilities for the encashment of notes should be given, and the restrictions imposed during the war should be withdrawn. The Government should have the option of redeeming its notes in full legal tender gold or silver coin. (Para. 82.)

(xxix) No limit can yet be fixed to the amount up to which the Gold Standard Reserve should be accumulated and when profits again accrue on the coinage or rupees they should be credited in their entirety to the reserve. (Para. 83.)

(xxx) Under present conditions Government should hold such gold as they obtain in the Paper Currency Reserve rather than in the Gold Standard Reserve. The Gold Standard Reserve should when practicable contain a considerable proportion of gold; but the most satisfactory course at present lies in keeping the reserve as liquid as possible by the holding of securities with early dates of maturity.

The amount of securities in the reserve with a maturity exceeding three years should not be increased, and the aim should be to hold all the invested portion of the reserve in securities issued by Governments within the British Empire (other than the Government of India) and having a fixed

date of maturity of not more than 12 months. (Para. 84.)

(xxx) A portion of the gold in the Gold Standard Reserve, not exceeding one half, should be held in India; the sterling investments should continue to be held in London. (Para. 85.)

88. We desire to place on record our high appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. C. H. Kisch, C.B., and Mr. H. Denning, I.C.S., as Secretaries to the Committee. They have discharged the duties entrusted to them with unflinching promptness and courtesy, and their valuable assistance has greatly facilitated our enquiry.

(Signed.) H. BABINGTON SMITH,
CHALMERS.
MARSHALL REID.
J. B. BRUNYATE.
F. C. GOODENOUGH.
C. S. ADDIS.
C. T. NEEDHAM.
M. M. S. GUBBAY.
W. B. HUNTER.
T. W. McMORRAN.

C. H. Kisch,
H. Denning,

Secretaries.

Dated, 22nd day of December, 1919.

MINORITY REPORT.

Recommendations.

Mr. Dadabhai Merwanji Dalal writes a Minority Report in which he says:—

1. I regret that the divergence of opinion between my colleagues on the Committee and myself on vital currency principles is so great as to render it impossible for me to concur with the views of the majority.

2. The tragedy of the great war in its world-wide effects has dealt very unequally with different countries. To India as a whole it brought a period of great economic prosperity, because India was able to supply produce and material which were urgently required in connection with the prosecution of the war, besides taking a full active part in the conflict. Notwithstanding this prosperity, which might have been expected to increase her financial strength, India has been called upon to face a veritable revolution in her currency arrangements which must cause widespread and lasting hardship amongst the masses of the people of India.

3. This revolution has been brought about by the executive action of the authorities by means of raising the sterling rate of exchange. The only occasion on which this Committee were consulted regarding the changes made was when the rate was altered from 2s. to 2s. 2d. Against this alteration I felt it to be my duty to protest.

4. The rate of exchange was raised by stages from the normal rate of 1s. 4d. to 2s. 4d., and the reason assigned was that, owing to the rise in the price of silver, the bullion value of the rupee was above the rate fixed from time to time in relation to sterling. But that reason cannot be held to be the sole reason, since even if the price of silver should fall, the intention is to maintain the rate of exchange at a much higher level than 1s. 4d.

5. I cannot acquiesce in the great change in the money arrangements of India which must accompany this alteration in the rate of exchange. The legally established money standard is the sovereign, with rupees definitely related thereto at the rate of 15 to 1. That standard ratio has been broken by the raising of the rate of exchange, and I hold that it is vitally important that that ratio should be maintained.

6. In my opinion the reason given for raising the rate of exchange is altogether inadequate. The rise in the price of silver could have been prevented by removing the embargo on exports of silver from India after the war had ended, and it was after the war that the greater part of the rise in exchange was brought into force. India could easily have spared silver for export; such exports would have been profitable to her, and they would have prevented the great rise in the price of silver upon which so much has been made to depend through the raising of the rate of exchange. It was chiefly because the export of silver from India was prohibited, and because India was made a potential buyer instead of a seller, that the silver markets were inflamed and the price was raised.

7. Even if silver exports from India were not considered desirable there was still no occasion for raising the rate of exchange after the war because of the rise in the price of silver. It would only have been necessary to stop the sale of rupee bills by Government in excess of their own Treasury requirements and leave the balance of trade to be adjusted by other means than silver.

THE PAPER CURRENCY.

8. There was one important obstacle to the removal of the embargo on silver exports. The paper currency had been heavily

watered by the issue of notes not backed by coin but by British Treasury bills held in London. As a war measure and a temporary expedient to meet the difficulties of the time this might have been excused. After the war, however, this temporary expedient had the effect of blocking the removal of the embargo on silver exports by providing the only strong reason for retaining it, namely, the protection of the paper currency coin reserves against withdrawals of silver for export. This temporary expedient, therefore, turned to the permanent disadvantage of India when it provided a reason for retaining the embargo. But the necessity for protecting in this way the paper currency coin reserves was due to the very artificial conditions created by the extensive watering of the note issue, and consequently the need for the embargo was artificial.

9. As long as a world-wide embargo on gold exports existed a rise to some extent in the rate of exchange could not, perhaps, be temporarily avoided; but when the United States became a free market for gold on the 9th June, 1919, and the gold production of South Africa became available to the highest bidders in London from the 18th July, 1919, the need for further raising the exchange rate from 1s. 8d. by four stages to 2s. 4d. was absolutely uncalled for.

10. These new currency arrangements must, if continued, have disastrous consequences to India and to the people of India. They must seriously disturb the relations existing between creditor and debtor. They will cause dislocation and a set-back to several Indian industries and vast continuous losses on the exports of Indian produce. There is a danger of India's balance of trade turning against her and so checking her prosperity. And it should be remembered that between 100 and 200 millions of people live on the brink of starvation, and a great permanent change in the rate of exchange must ultimately bring intense distress to millions of the helpless masses. A fixed high level of exchange must also cause enormous losses in the rupee value of the invested reserves in sterling securities and of gold held as part of the metallic reserves against the note issue. It will also cause a colossal loss if the sovereigns now held by the Indian public, estimated to amount to about 50,000,000, have to be redeemed at the statutory rate of 15 rupees to the sovereign.

11. In my opinion the gold exchange standard as applied to India is entirely discredited as a currency system intended to meet Indian conditions. I make every allowance for the difficulties with which it had to

contend during and since the war, but the raising of the rate of exchange after the war was wholly unnecessary. The people of India have strong objections to the purchase of silver at the present inflated and thoroughly artificial price.

REMEDIES.

12. I discuss in detail below these and other points referred to the Committee, and now state here the recommendations I desire to make:—

(a) The money standard in India should remain unaltered; that is, the standard of the sovereign and gold mohurs with rupees related thereto at the ratio of 15 to 1.

(b) Free and unfettered imports and exports by the public of gold bullion and gold coins.

(c) Free and unfettered imports and exports by the public of silver bullion and silver coins.

(d) The gold mint at Bombay to be continued and to receive gold bullion from the public and to coin free of charge gold mohurs of the same exact weight and fineness as the sovereign and to hand them over to the tenderers of gold bullion in less than 15 days.

(e) The Bombay mint to undertake refining of raw gold for the public and not to make any profit on the transaction.

(f) The existing silver rupees of 165 grains of fine silver at present in circulation to continue full legal tender.

(g) As long as the price of silver in New York is over 92 cents, Government should not manufacture silver rupees containing 165 grains fine silver.

(h) As long as the price of silver is over 92 cents Government should coin 2 rupee silver coins of reduced fineness compared with that of the present silver rupee and the same to be unlimited legal tender.

(i) Government to coin a new 8-anna silver piece of reduced fineness and the same to be unlimited legal tender.

(j) Government not to coin an 8-anna nickel piece.

(k) Government to sell Council bills by competitive tenders for the amount defined in the Budget as required to be remitted to the Secretary of State. The Budget estimate to show under separate headings the amount of Council bills drawn for Home Charges, for Capital Outlay and Discharge of Debt. Council bills to be sold for Government requirements only and not for trade purposes, except for the pur-

pose mentioned in the next succeeding recommendation.

(1) "Reverse" drafts on London to be sold only at Rs. 3 29-32d. The proceeds of "Reverse" drafts to be kept apart from all other Government funds and not to be utilised for any purpose except to meet drafts drawn by the Secretary of State at a rate not below s. 4 3-32d. per rupee.

(m) Currency notes should be printed in India.

(n) Government not to interfere with the immemorial practice of the Indian public of melting currency coins.

(o) The sterling investments held against the Indian note issue to be liquidated as early as possible and transmitted to India in gold.

(p) The use of one rupee currency notes to be discontinued as early as possible and meanwhile not to be forced into circulation.

13. The Terms of Reference to the Committee were as follows:—

"To examine the effect of the war on the Indian exchange and currency system and practice and upon" the position of the Indian note issue, and to consider whether in the light of this experience and of possible future variations in the price of silver, modifications of system or practice may be required, to make recommendations as to such modifications, and generally as to the policy that should be pursued with a view to meeting the requirements of trade, to maintain a satisfactory monetary circulation, and to ensuring a stable gold exchange standard."

Rupees and the Sovereign.

14. The outstanding effect on the Indian exchange and currency system has been that the system has broken down at a time when India enjoyed a large measure of prosperity as displayed by the foreign trade returns. The undertaking by the authorities to supply rupees without limit of amount at the rate of fifteen to the sovereign could not be maintained owing to the rise in the price of silver which made it impossible to supply fresh rupees (containing 165 grains of fine silver) at that ratio without loss. In consequence of this rise in the price of silver the standard ratio of rupees to the sovereign was given up, the sterling rate of exchange for the rupee was raised by stages to 2s. 4d., and the Secretary of State for India is now selling rupee bills at that rate

which makes the present relationship of the rupee to the sovereign in working practice 11 to 1.

15. It is true that the main object which the authorities kept before themselves in working the system was to maintain the exchange value of the token rupee in meeting foreign payments. In the words of the Chamberlain Commission the "cardinal feature" of the system was "absolute security for the convertibility into sterling of so much of the internal currency as may at any moment be required for the settlement of India's external obligations." But whatever object the authorities had in view in working the system, this cannot alter the fundamental fact that the Indian currency was founded on the sovereign (a full value gold coin) as the money standard with rupees (token silver coins) definitely related to the sovereign at the rate of 15 to 1, and if it is impossible to maintain this ratio between the sovereign and rupees I consider that the system has failed in its most important part.

16. In support of this opinion it is necessary to recall the alterations made in the Indian currency arrangements in 1893. Up to that time India had a silver standard with mints open to the free coinage of silver. The mints were then closed and the silver standard was given up. The silver standard was replaced a few years later by the standard of the sovereign, sovereigns and half-sovereigns being made legal tender for 15 and 7½ rupees respectively, rupees being thus definitely connected with the sovereign at the ratio of 15 to 1 and also remaining full legal tender.

THE MONEY STANDARD.

17. There has been a difference of opinion as to the effect of these alterations in the currency arrangements. According to information placed before the Committee they have sometimes been described as having placed India on a gold standard, while, on the other hand, some authorities prefer to describe the Indian standard of value as a gold exchange standard since the effectiveness of the arrangements largely depended in practice on the action of the Secretary of State and the Government of India in selling or exchanging rupees for gold or sterling and sterling for rupees. But whether the standard is called a gold standard or a gold exchange standard, the alterations referred to could have no meaning except on the hypothesis that the money standard had been changed from a silver standard to the standard of the sovereign and that rupees were in effect made a fixed fraction of the sove-

reign. I cannot conceive that the mere title by which the standard is described, or any mere arrangements followed in working practice, can admit of any alteration of the ratio legally established between the rupee and the sovereign.

18. It seems to me to be impossible to exaggerate the importance of the legal standard for money payments. This standard should be and usually is regarded as less open to repeal or modification than perhaps any other legislative Act. It gives the people rights as to the kind of money they may demand in exchange for their labour or goods, rights which cannot be removed or modified without inflicting widespread injury and risking the greatest discontent. The Indian money standard was definitely changed from silver to gold so recently as 1893 for reasons affecting directly the Government of India and the Indian people, and proved to be of great benefit to India as a whole. But it is impossible to contemplate another permanent change in the rupee value of the sovereign for reasons which have not originated in India and at a time when neither the Government (apart from the part they play in the currency policy) nor the public have been inconvenienced by the standard legally established.

19. It is true that under the stress of war it has been a common expedient of Governments concerned to treat their money standards as of little account and to resort to inflation of currency as a means of conducting the finance of war. No such reason applies to the Indian case. The inflation of the Indian currency during the war was a genuine inflation as distinguished from the artificial inflation witnessed in most of the belligerent countries. It arose from the balance of indebtedness due to India. The breakdown of the system was not due to war expenditure by the Government of India. It was caused by the acceptance in London of payments due to India in the form of sterling, which could not be transmitted to India by the usual methods. The commitments to India of the belligerent nations, as to other countries, could be met in the usual manner through exchange operations or specie remittances. They were, in fact, unable to pay in international money, and obviously the best course to follow was that in fact followed in settling similar commitments in the United States by the flotation of loans.

BRITISH LOANS.

20. Unfortunately, India had not been prepared financially for absorbing her favourable trade balances in any other form than the precious metals. Although India

is normally a creditor country with trade balances running highly favourable to her, other means of adjusting favourable balances than the precious metals have not been actively sought for. That is one of the disadvantages of currency arrangements conducted by the Government. Great Britain as a creditor country set an excellent example of cancelling her favourable balances by investments abroad. There has been no encouragement in India of that method of settling trade balances. There is far more British and other money invested in India than Indian money invested abroad. Still, there is little room for doubt that, during the war, British Government loans could have been successfully floated in India on a very large scale on the same lines, and terms as some of those publicly floated in the United States to meet the expenditure of the Imperial Government. It is also probable that something could have been done to encourage Indian investors to buy the Indian sterling loans held in London, if arrangements had been made for payment of the interest at the Government district treasuries in India.

21. The break in the standard ratio during the war was, however, less serious than the still greater break during the present year. The overwhelming demands for war requirements were at an end, and, although trade demands were urgent, it was imperative, in the interests of the great majority of the people of India, that their rights in the standard money of the country should have been protected from further modification. Trade and circumstances, especially in peace, must conform to the standard of money rather than that the money standard should accommodate itself to them. If it was impossible to meet trade demands without breaking the standard, that would be a reason for declining to meet them, but hardly a reason for meeting them and breaking the standard.

II.—Watering the Note Issue.

22. With regard to the note issue there has been a complete reversal of the procedure formerly observed in the matter of the fiduciary issue the effect of which on the note issue itself can only be described as extremely unfortunate. The former practice was to increase the fiduciary issue by investment of a portion of the metallic reserves, and this was done only when the proportion of the latter to the total of the notes in active circulation had shown, over a considerable period, a position sufficiently

strong to warrant an extension of the invested reserves and a corresponding diminution of the metal reserves. During the war, however, the fiduciary issue was expanded to an enormous extent without regard for the considerations which formerly decided extensions of that form of issue. It was no longer a case of investing a portion of the metallic reserves held in India against outstanding notes; notes were boldly issued against which no metallic reserves in India had ever existed. Also the proportion of the metallic reserves to the total of the outstanding notes was not allowed to have any weight. It was a case of simply watering the note issue in its worse form—issuing notes without any metallic backing. In other words, it was a forced loan from the Indian public free of interest. It was an extreme measure to apply to the Indian note issue even during the war and at a time when there were immense sums held in London belonging to the Indian currency. Indeed, it appears to have been adopted because of the difficulty of transferring the balances held in London to India. But even so, the warnings which had been given at the outbreak of the war, when there was a run on the paper currency offices for the encashment of notes, should have shown the necessity of maintaining the note issue in a strong position and the undesirability of weakening it by an overissue of notes.

23. No exception can, of course, be taken to the security held against the notes thus issued which consisted of British Treasury bills, but the better course would have been to invite the public to take up the bills or some other form of British securities. The public might not have cared to accept the same rate of interest as the India Office obtained on the investments, but even if it had been necessary to pay a higher rate of interest it would have been better to face this cost rather than imperil the safety of the note issue.

INCONVERTIBILITY.

24. Not unnaturally there was much discussion as to the note issue becoming an inconvertible issue, and, indeed, an actual state of inconvertibility was only avoided by the narrowest of margins. To my mind inconvertibility would be a disaster of the first magnitude for the note issue and for India. It would destroy all confidence in Government's own paper money. Not only so but, seeing that British Government securities are so largely held against the note issue (the amount is Rs. 835,000,000 which, at the present rate of exchange of 2s. 4d., is approximately 93,000,000l.), the

credit of Great Britain is also involved.

25. I have mentioned that an actual state of inconvertibility was avoided only by the narrowest of margins. This was aided by the exceptional measures taken restricting the movement of coin by rail and steamer, which had the effect of confining exchange ability of notes into coin to the seven lead currency offices. Even now in these offices conversion of notes into coin is directly and indirectly impeded.

26. Nothing can better show the effect on the public mind of the great expansion in the fiduciary issue and the methods adopted to avoid demands for encashment than the fact that currency notes were quoted at a heavy discount. A telegram from the Viceroy, dated the 8th November, 1919, stated that the highest rates of discount on currency notes reported during 1918 were 19 per cent. in the Central Provinces, 15 per cent. in Bengal, 13½ per cent. in Burmah, but His Excellency added that during 1919 the highest rate reported was 3 per cent. This telegram showed not only a very high rate of discount in 1918, but also that it was widely spread throughout the country, and while it is satisfactory that the rate of discount has fallen to a low figure this year the fact that such a considerable discount existed is one that must have a lasting influence on the minds of the public. The Governor of the Bank of England, in the course of his evidence before the Committee, remarked that a premium on gold was a very vicious thing. I think that, in the sense that a premium on gold is vicious, a discount on currency notes within India is equally vicious.

METAL RESERVES.

27. In view of the great disturbance to the credit of the paper currency arising from the great expansion of the fiduciary issue, I consider that the metal reserves should be strengthened as early as possible by the liquidation of the reserves invested in London, and also that, in order to re-establish confidence, a high percentage of cash reserves should be maintained for many years to come. About 60 per cent. would not be too high a figure to fix as a normal proportion of metallic reserves to the total of notes outstanding. It must be remembered that this metallic proportion on the 31st March of each year from 1910 to 1915 inclusive averaged 78.2 per cent.

28. A well-conducted note issue is not only an economical and therefore profitable form of money, but also has an important educative effect in a country like India with a backward and ignorant mass of people. Also, it should be remembered that

the internal trade of India is much larger than the external trade. Mr. E. M. Cook, C.I.E., of the Finance Department, has expressed the opinion that the internal trade is certainly fifteen times larger than the external trade, and that possibly the proportion is even higher. The ultimate possibilities of extending the note issue are therefore very great, but the first essential is to ensure that there shall be no grounds for distrust of the issue, and particularly that nothing should be done to give cause for the notes to pass at a discount.

III.—The Price of Silver.

29. The Committee were also asked to consider the bearing of possible future variations in the price of silver on the currency system and practice. The reference of this question to the Committee shows the great importance attached by the authorities to the continued use of silver in settling India's trade balances, even although the use of silver cannot be continued for the present without breaking the standard ratio. It is, in fact, the crux of the whole situation.

30. Information placed before the Committee lays great stress on the effect of the Pittman Act in the United States in its reaction on the price of silver and on the Indian currency position, and it was the high price of silver which was the reason given for raising the rate of exchange during recent months which had the effect of altering the standard ratio between rupees and sovereign.

31. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the effect on the silver market of the raising of the rate of exchange for the rupee and making the rate more or less closely dependent on the price of silver on the ground that that price made the rupee more valuable as bullion than as a coin if the rate was not altered. It excited and inflamed the silver markets with anticipations of continued buying on account of the Indian currency at rising prices and there are not wanting signs that silver interests are prepared to take full advantage of the situation created by this measure.

RISE IN SILVER.

32. I am unable to fall in with the idea that the rise in the price of silver afforded solid ground for this recent great altera-

tion in India's money standard. On the contrary, I contend that the price of silver has been artificially forced to its high level by the exclusion of stocks of Indian silver from the world's markets by means of the continuance of the prohibition of exports of silver, and the raising of the exchange rate. The position is that the American production of silver is shut out of the world's market automatically by the operation of the Pittman Act if the price of silver should fall below 1 dollar per fine ounce. The Act requires that until the silver taken from the dollar reserves is restored, the United States Treasury must buy at 1 dollar per fine ounce any silver of American origin tendered to it at that rate. This provision in the Pittman Act has been taken as establishing in effect 1 dollar per fine ounce as the minimum price of silver until the amount of silver withdrawn from the dollar balances has been restored, and since the silver dollars withdrawn under the Pittman Act for the Orient represent between twice and three times the normal American production, it is estimated that the process of restoration will extend over a period of several years. The future production of American silver being thus assured of a market at a stated price, owing principally to the demands for Indian coinage during the war, and the current of trade showing the probability of fresh demands for India, while China was a keen buyer it was only to be expected that the price of silver would rise. At the moment of writing the price in London is about 78d. This price has been made possible only by the prohibition of exports of silver from India and by the raising of the rate of exchange, which has the effect of lowering the rupee value of all silver held there and making exports unprofitable. But for the prohibitory orders and the raising of the rate of exchange it would have been profitable for Indian holders to sell silver, and Indian sales would have prevented the great rise in price which has taken place. Under these circumstances, the high world price of silver can only be regarded as wholly artificial, and consequently as a reason for such a drastic step as the alteration of the money standard ratio between rupees and the sovereign has no weight.

33. It is frequently said that India is a sink for the precious metals and never allows them to come out. Here was an opportunity of disproving such statements. Silver would have been freely exported but for the measures taken by Government to prevent exports.

INDIA AND SILVER.

34. The exclusion of India's silver from the world's market is not altogether a new thing. It was practically excluded by imposing a duty on silver imports and not refunding the full duty paid when the silver was re-exported, and granting no refund of duty whatsoever on melted silver ornaments coming from the districts even in time of famine. I add a note on this subject in the ancillary problems dealt with at the end of this report.

35. There is the objection that it was necessary to protect the silver currency against depletion by export by means of ordinances forbidding exports. This is an objection which would have very great force in a country like the United Kingdom where the subordinate silver currency forms a small percentage of the total amount of all kinds of currency in active circulation the loss of which by export would cause the greatest inconvenience. In India it has very little force because the total amount of silver currency is far in excess of the quantity in active circulation and held against the note issue. It is estimated that there are about 3,000,000,000 to 4,000,000,000 of rupees in India. Moreover the amount that India could sell for export could not have reached very important dimensions because foreign buying power is limited, while Indian silver would not be accepted by the United States Treasury to replace the dollar balances since the replacement has to be made from silver of American origin.

36. A more serious objection to permitting silver exports was the extreme vulnerability of the paper currency reserves of coin, because of the extent to which the note issue had been watered by ordinances sanctioning the issue of notes in India against British Treasury Bills held in London. But here again the position was most artificial. The expansion of the note issue on the security of British Treasury Bills was in effect a forced loan from the Indian people, a method of meeting the difficulties of the time which I venture to suggest should not have been resorted to. The proper course was to suggest to the British Treasury the desirability of floating public loans in India on the lines of those raised by the British Government in the United States, if the payments to India in London could not be completed by transmission to India in the usual manner.

SELLING CURRENCY.

37. A real practical difficulty in the way of removing the embargo on silver exports

as contrasted with the difficulty artificially created by the watering of the paper currency, was that silver exports would have increased the amount of the balance due to India, which the authorities were already unable to transmit to India, and would also have involved a change in the method of adjusting the balances. Obviously, with silver exports, it would have been absurd to continue to settle the trade balances by means of the sale of rupee bills in London. The settlement would have had to be made in gold or by some form of deferred payments. The latter form of adjustment would not have been easy in the absence of preparation of the Indian market to take outside securities. And there would, no doubt, have been the usual objections to India being paid in gold. Still, I venture to think that even if gold had been required India could reasonably have expected consideration in the special circumstances of the case, especially after the war was over, and the embargo on gold exports had been removed in the principal money centres. The point at issue was a vital one for India, namely, whether India should be compelled to give up a vital part of her established money standard because the price of silver had made her token silver currency more valuable as metal than as coin. India had the power, and it would have been profitable for her and to her interest to prevent the rise in the price of silver by sales of the metal. The mere fact of Indian sales would have broken the strength of the silver market. In such circumstances it would not have been unreasonable for India to ask that her trade balances should be paid in gold so that she should be able to export silver for the preservation of her money standard.

38. Since the above was written it has been reported that the United States Government have followed the method here suggested by offering to sell silver currency when the price of silver went above the melting value of their silver coinage. It seems to me that what is being done in America could have been done in India.

THE STANDARD RATIO.

39. But even if exports of silver were not allowed for the purpose of preventing the price of silver from rising, there was still no occasion to adopt the extreme measure of raising the rate of exchange, and so breaking the standard ratio. India did not require additional supplies of rupees. She could carry on for many years without any new silver coinage. The only alteration required would have been to stop the

coinage of rupees, and that would have occurred automatically by reason of the loss of silver. But if the coinage of silver ceased because it was unprofitable, the trade balances if they continued to be favourable would have to be settled by other means than importing silver. It appears to me that the authorities were not willing to permit of a settlement by other means. They had come to regard the practice of selling rupee bills in London without limit of amount as an all essential part of their duties in the administration of the currency which could not be given up. Yet the position proved that there was in fact a limit to the issue of rupees if the standard ratio was to be maintained, since rupees could no longer be coined without loss at that ratio. Rather than give up the sale of rupee bills the authorities raised the rate of exchange, so breaking the ratio, and continued to offer rupee bills for sale.

40. Still another method of avoiding the raising of the rate of exchange because of the high price of silver would have been to impose a duty on all exports at a rate sufficiently high to provide the means of meeting the additional cost of silver over the price at which silver could be bought and coined without loss at the fixed ratio. Such a duty would have the effect of moderating the foreign demand for Indian produce, and thereby moderating the balance of trade due to India; while on the other hand, if India is compelled to accept payment in silver, the duty would enable India to avoid paying more for it than the price at which it could be bought and coined without loss.

41. The authorities considered that there were only two alternatives open to them, either to raise the rate of exchange or to debase the silver coinage. I have endeavoured to show that there were other courses open to them without raising the exchange or debasing the rupee coins. But even if it were the case that they had only these two alternatives it is by no means certain that they took the better of the two. My own belief is that the people of India would prefer debased silver coins to an alteration of the ratio which the raising of the exchange involves. It would not be practicable or advisable to call in all the rupees in the hands of the public to be re-coined, but any new coinage that became necessary could be issued in the form of a special silver coin, such as, for example, a two-rupee coin containing a reduced quantity of silver.

EXCHANGE AND SILVER.

42. In connection with the question of debased coins I may say here, by way of parenthesis, that although the Government of India have taken power to issue a nickel half rupee or eight anna coin I trust that they will hesitate before putting it into circulation, and also that the suggestion which has been made that the eight anna nickel piece should be made legal tender for a larger amount than one rupee will not be agreed to. The appearance in the currency system of one rupee paper notes and of two anna nickel coins has sufficiently alarmed the Indian people and led to the hoarding of rupees. It is unsafe to carry the debasement of the coinage any further by the use of nickel coins. I am of opinion that the eight anna nickel piece should not be put into circulation at all, and I suggest that instead of it an eight anna silver piece of reduced fineness should be coined and made unlimited legal tender, the existing eight anna coins being withdrawn from circulation for recoinage at the reduced fineness. The practice of issuing subordinate coins of reduced fineness has been followed in the coinage of France and of the United States, and it seems to me much preferable to the use of nickel for such a high valued coin as the eight anna piece in India.

43. The authorities in raising the rate of exchange were, no doubt, influenced by the difficulties there would have been in settling the balance of trade by other means than silver, and especially gold. But I venture to question whether they have the right, by executive action, to disturb the legally established money system. The people of India are accustomed to complaints from financial quarters about India's absorption of gold, but they were fairly entitled to expect that their rights in the money standard would have been protected so far as the Government authorities were concerned.

44. Also, it is difficult to see where the advantage lies, in making the rate of exchange follow the price of silver. If silver has to be bought at present prices and coined into rupees at the present rate of exchange there is no economy of any consequence in using silver instead of gold. One of the advantages claimed in former years for issuing rupees instead of sovereigns was that it was economical. The rise in the price of silver took away that advantage.

INDIA AND GOLD.

45. I deal later with some of the objections raised to Indian demands for gold, but here I may point out that there is

some misapprehension on the subject. The foreign trade of India is normally conducted with 77 other countries. From the following statement which I had supplied to the Indian press it will be seen that in the year 1913-14 (which was the last normal year before the war) the trade with each country resulted in a balance against India in the case of only five principal countries, the total adverse balance being 47,807,900l., of which the principal one, the United Kingdom, had a balance due by India of 40,098,800l. All the other countries trading with India had to pay over 88,462,300l. to India. When, therefore, India takes gold it is because gold as the international form of money is due to her in payment of commodities supplied to those other countries.

Countries.	Exports of Merchandise from India	Imports of Merchandise into India.	Balance of Trade against India.	Balance of Trade in favour of India.
	£	£	£	£
United Kingdom ..	38,334,300	78,233,100	40,098,800	..
Java, Borneo and Sumatra ..	1,415,500	7,779,900	6,368,400	..
Malacasia and Dependencies ..	867,700	1,685,100	817,400	..
Norway and Sweden ..	458,800	497,400	497,400	..
Persia ..	15,121,400	474,700	53,900	..
Japan ..	15,121,400	8,187,700	..	11,938,700
United States of America ..	14,519,100	3,185,100	..	11,332,000
France ..	11,211,500	1,794,900	..	9,916,600
Germany ..	16,867,600	8,453,000	..	8,415,800
Ceylon ..	5,806,500	649,100	..	5,318,200
Belgium ..	5,162,300	2,320,000	..	5,162,400
Hong Kong ..	5,319,000	1,473,100	..	4,447,400
Italy ..	5,408,800	2,541,800	..	3,740,900
Austria-Hungary ..	3,181,800	800	..	3,181,000
South America ..	3,202,700	199,700	..	3,004,000
Egypt ..	3,202,700	199,700	..	3,004,000
Australasia and Oceania ..	3,321,200	631,800	..	2,689,900
China Treaty Ports ..	3,792,200	1,136,700	..	2,655,500
Straits Settlements ..	4,367,500	2,493,200	..	2,074,800
Russia ..	1,636,200	37,700	..	1,598,500
Spain ..	1,474,200	..	..	1,474,200
Turkey in Asia ..	1,732,500	879,200	..	1,403,700
Holland ..	2,632,700	1,693,400	..	1,821,800
Canada ..	552,100	..	..	552,000
West Indies ..	561,900	..	..	561,900
Natal ..	635,100	..	..	635,100
Aden Dependencies ..	816,000	295,700	..	829,000
Indo-China ..	609,400	..	..	609,400
East African Ports ..	817,000	66,600	..	475,400
Sierra ..	621,900	125,900	..	496,000
Arabia ..	798,400	38,100	..	415,800
British East Africa ..	505,000	259,900	..	247,100
Cape Colony ..	215,700	..	..	215,700
Portuguese East Africa ..	331,100	103,500	..	220,600
Turkey in Europe ..	70,800	..	..	70,800
Other Countries ..	1,421,400	1,433,900	..	17,500
Total ..	152,821,500	122,167,100	47,807,900	88,462,300

IV.—The Requirements of Trade.

The Committee were further asked to make recommendations as to the policy that should be pursued with a view to meeting the requirements of trade and to maintaining a satisfactory monetary cir-

ulation. It is very easy to exaggerate the importance of meeting the requirements of trade. Trade elsewhere is accustomed to finding its requirements met without the active intervention of Governments by means of sales of Government bills. The usual and correct attitude of Governments is to provide machinery for coinage and to leave it to its own automatic action, except for the provision of subsidiary coins. There seems to be no good reason for trade with India to be conducted on different lines from those followed by other advanced countries. The requirements of trade in this connection consist of finding the means of exchanging foreign money for Indian goods to satisfy the needs of the moment. Trade as such is not concerned with currency policy or with the economic effect produced by the method of carrying out its exchanges. Its concern is purely personal and temporary to see each transaction completed. The concern of the Government, on the other hand, should be to protect and safeguard the interests of the people as a whole in the maintenance of the legally settled standard, and I consider that Government would be performing its duty better by paying more attention to this aspect of the question than by showing anxiety for trade requirements. It is no doubt a convenience for banks and some of the public to be able to get Government rupee bills for making remittances to India, and, when required, also from India. But it is not a convenience that trade has any right to look for. So far as the Secretary of State has to sell bills to meet Government's own requirements, the practice of offering the bills for sale is unobjectionable. But that is not the case when bills are sold in excess of Government's own needs and without limit of amount on the ground that such sales meet trade requirements. The real reason for this latter practice is not so much to meet the convenience of trade as to retain the power of diverting payments of India's foreign balances from gold to silver.

V.—The Gold Exchange Standard.

47. The Committee were further asked to make recommendations as to the policy which should be pursued with a view to ensuring a stable gold exchange standard.

48. Before examining the working of the exchange standard I think it desirable to refer to some of the objections raised to the Indian money system.

49. The Governor of the Bank of England in the very important evidence he gave before the Committee, while he disclaimed any knowledge of Indian conditions, commented freely on the money methods practised in India. This criticism, coming from the highest currency authority in England, calls for careful consideration. A few of what appear to me to be his principal objections may be stated.

50. He took exception to the medium of exchange (gold) being used as a vehicle for hoarding instead of being left to play its part in the regulation of the exchanges. It was a wasteful employment of gold and detrimental to the interests of the individuals who practised it and to those of India as a whole. He thought it would be much more to the interests of India as a whole that her favourable trade balances should be invested in some productive form abroad, as Great Britain used to settle her favourable balances by investing them in foreign interest-bearing securities. He also thought the Imperial Government would have some grounds for imposing restrictions upon the unlimited demand of India for gold in satisfaction of the balance of trade, and also because India had managed with reduced supplies of gold during the war he thought she ought to be able to continue to do so. For internal circulation notes, he said, were as good as gold, as the experience during the war had proved in England, and all the gold that was required was the amount likely to be withdrawn for export by presenting notes.

51. From these opinions it is clear that the Governor of the Bank thinks that India should economise the use of gold on the same lines as those followed in England. This is not the place to discuss the merits and demerits of the English system, but since it is put forward as an example for India to follow it seems necessary to say that, so far as the economy of gold in the internal circulation is concerned, the greatest agency in securing it has been the deposit-cheque system which originated with the bankers and their customers, apart from, and it is sometimes said in spite of, the Government of legal system of currency. Also, the methods by which the internal economy of gold for circulation purposes was attained in England developed simultaneously with the growth of the method of cancelling or avoiding gold imports in settlement of favourable foreign exchanges by means of foreign investments.

HOARDING.

52. With regard to the suitability of this system for India it seems necessary also to

draw attention to the psychological difference between the people of India and the people of England. The people of India are a subject people with a history of many centuries behind them of insecurity of private property. They have been driven by the force of circumstances in the past to secret as far as possible such property as they valued. The British people, on the other hand, have a long, proud record of insular security. They are an independent race, and their enterprise has carried them all over the world, where they have formed connections and found favourable investments to the great advantage of individuals and of their mother-country. If, therefore, the British people have themselves, independently of their Government been successful in developing currency measures which have economised gold so satisfactorily to themselves this must very largely be attributed to their national characteristics and their historical sense of security. It cannot necessarily follow that the same gold economising measures are suitable to India, where the people have different traditions.

53. So far as the objectionable hoarding of gold is concerned there is not only the old tradition of insecurity of property inducing them to hoard, but there is the comparatively new form of internal token currency, not exchangeable into gold, which makes a very strong additional inducement to those who can afford it to hoard gold for security, as explained in a later paragraph.

54. In the matter of internal currency, India has nevertheless made considerable progress in the direction of following English currency methods, particularly in the form of notes and cheques, although she is a long way from economising to the same extent as in England in the metallic backing to cheques.

LARGER LOANS.

55. But while India still requires, and must require for a long time to come, a very solid metallic backing for her credit currency, that is not to say that she requires constant additions to her metallic currency merely because her trade balances are favourable. When the Governor of the Bank of England suggested that India should follow the English practice of settling favourable foreign balances by investments abroad, he touched the weakest spot in the administration of the Indian currency system, and pointed the way to the real remedy to avoid excessive demands for the precious metals and particularly gold. The

policy has been to sell rupee bills on India in London without limit of amount, which meant to any extent that might be necessary to settle the trade balances, and while the policy did not exclude Indian investments abroad, it left the matter to individual initiative, and did nothing to favour or encourage such investments. Yet, if the objections raised to the absorption of the precious metals in adjustment of trade balances are to be satisfactorily met, it can only be by means of investments abroad by India, or, which is very much the same thing, by other countries borrowing in India.

56. The war afforded a favourable opportunity for getting India into the way of absorbing favourable trade balances by lending to Great Britain, an opportunity of which advantage was not taken. It may be said that India had some difficulty in raising the loan of 100 millions which she voluntarily contributed to the cost of the war. There was not the same inducement in that case, that there would have been in the case of a loan offered by the British Government, and the rate of interest offered was not so good as the interest paid in some cases for similar public loans raised elsewhere by the Imperial Government. India is full of money, and notwithstanding the general idea that it is not available for investment, in my opinion it is a question of terms and security.

57. Since the wide break in the standard ratio between rupees and the sovereign with its attendant unsettlement and feeling of insecurity, there is now less chance of India seeking investments abroad than ever. There are in addition to the instability and insecurity of the money standard, questions connected with foreign investments which must scare Indian capital, such questions, for example, as foreign taxation, capital levies, and inflated values due to artificially inflated currencies. But the same results, so far as the settlement of exchanges are concerned, could be obtained by the raising of foreign and particularly British loans in India.

58. Under the present system it can no doubt be claimed that India does in fact lend abroad through the investments held against the paper currency issue. But in so far as such investments represent either a forced loan from the people of India free of interest, or a tax on the money of the Indian people as explained later, they are not free of objections. I hardly think the Governor of the Bank had such loans in view when he made his suggestion as to India investing abroad.

GOLD EXCHANGE STANDARD.

59. Coming now to the working of the gold exchange standard, it seems necessary to mention the fact that the Indian money standard has been the subject of constant public controversy for many years. I have already referred to the difference of opinion as to whether it was a gold standard or a gold exchange standard. But the mere fact that there is any opening for this controversy is, by itself, a most undesirable and unsettling feature in money affairs. The standard should be so fixed and defined as to leave no possibility of dispute or question as to what it really is. As already stated, I take the view that the legally established money standard is the sovereign with rupees definitely related to the sovereign at the rate of 15 to 1.

60. In contradistinction to this legally established standard, the gold exchange standard has no legal validity. It has not been clearly and explicitly defined. The authorities who conduct it exercise the widest discretion in its regulation, but hitherto have been careful to respect the legally-constituted ratio between rupees and the sovereign. Its usual working characteristics are well known. In one direction the object aimed at is to provide absolute security for the convertibility into sterling of so much of the internal currency as may be required for the settlement of India's external obligations. In the opposite direction it undertakes to sell rupee bills on India without limit of amount. In aiming at the maintenance of the sterling exchange it resembles the English system which, before the war, made a point of seeing that the exchanges remained within the gold points. In undertaking to sell rupee bills on India without limit the gold exchange standard system is unlike the English model, which, by means of the Bank rate, restricted expansion in the volume of internal credit currency and made it dependent upon the extent of the gold reserves.

61. The undertaking to provide rupees, which are token coins, without limit of amount, may in one sense be considered as authorised by the circumstance that rupees equally with sovereigns and half-sovereigns are full legal tender. Under the old silver standard rupees were, of course, legal tender, and when the standard was altered it was necessary to continue them as legal tender because of the great quantity which was then in circulation. But whether, from the point of view of the statutory standard of the sovereign, the tremendous volume of rupees which has

been added to the token currency can be justified is another matter. In reality the endless issue of token coins, much in excess of what is needed for internal exchange purposes, amounts to a form of taxation on the money of the public. It is this circumstance that is to a very large extent responsible for the extraordinary demands for gold and sovereigns in India. It virtually compels the Indian people to seek full value for the token money with which they have been over-supplied for ordinary currency purposes, and is thus largely responsible for the hoarding of gold of which so much is heard. India's hidden stores of gold can never be expected to be used profitably for the benefit of the holders or of the State so long as no reasonable assurance is provided that, when used, they will remain a gold asset, and that assurance is not provided by a currency in circulation entirely composed of or based upon token coins.

62. When I say that the issue of rupees largely in excess of what is needed for ordinary internal exchanges constitutes a form of taxation on the money of the public, it is necessary to add that the difference between the cost of gold coins and silver coins, which is the amount of the tax, does not go into the Indian Treasury balances, but goes to form gold or invested reserves in London which are intended to meet remittances from India at a fixed rate which cannot be made so advantageously through other channels. But even if the profits on coinage went to swell the revenues of the Government they would be no less open to the very serious objection that they really formed a tax on the money of the public.

63. In present circumstances, however, this form of taxation has practically ceased, since the coinage of rupees at the moment is not profitable. But as a counter-balance to the virtual disappearance of this tax, the latest development of the gold exchange standard system has, by raising the rate of exchange and breaking away from the statutory standard ratio, depreciated the commercial value in rupees of the whole of the rupee currency which has already been taxed.

DEBTORS AND CREDITORS.

64. This latest development gives ground for the gravest anxiety, not only on account of the depreciation in value of the immense volume of the rupee currency, but also because it means a revolution in the financial and economic life of India.

65. It alters as it were by a stroke of the pen, the existing relations between creditors and debtors. It cuts down the value in rupees of all existing holdings of the precious metals in India relatively to their value in the markets of the world, including the gold portion of the reserves held against the note issue, and, similarly, it cuts down the value in rupees of all existing and future stocks of Indian produce, and through this effect on the value of produce it is bound to prejudicially affect scores of millions of Indians engaged in agriculture, whose struggle for existence is already most severe. It is not too much to say that it will threaten the very existence of millions of such people. It will further handicap Indian industries in competition with similar industries abroad and will severely check the prosperity of India. No doubt there will be some compensation. The finance of the Government will be relieved so long as the rate of exchange remains high, since the home remittances will cost considerably less in rupees, and it will be an advantage to those who buy imported goods or have payments to make outside of India.

66. It has been urged that one beneficial consequence will be the lowering of the high price level in India. This may be granted, since the value in rupees of Indian produce, the price of which is ruled by outside markets, must fall. But it is nevertheless a questionable method of reducing prices. There has been no artificial inflation of the currency. Inflation of the currency has been a genuine inflation in India caused by a surplus of sales over purchases abroad. Even the forced loan in the paper currency issue is represented by debts due by the British Government. By the change in the standard ratio prices will be brought down, since prices are reckoned in rupees; but there is not the same good reason for changing the standard money to reduce prices that there is for deflating an artificially inflated currency to obtain the same result. In my opinion the inflation of currency in India is the consequence rather than the cause of high prices. The currency has been inflated because the balance of trade was favourable and because additions to the currency were the normal way of settling trade balances. The balance of trade was increased by the increased prices paid for commodities for export. In this way the additions to the currency were a consequence of high prices. On the other hand, the inflation of currency cannot in its turn be held to have raised prices, since all accounts go to show that currency of all

kinds has been hoarded on a very large scale, and hoarded money does not act on prices. The change in the standard ratio will bring down rupee prices, but it will leave undisturbed the real cause of the high prices in India, which was that world prices were high and world prices were high mainly because the currencies of many countries were artificially inflated. It is simply a case of altering the nature of the money in which prices are reckoned, and, when advanced in excuse for the change of ratio, can only be regarded as an argument to deceive the people.

BALANCE OF TRADE.

67. The effect of the change outside of India cannot be so clearly estimated. But the probabilities are that with the higher sterling cost of the rupee the demand for Indian produce will fall off, while remittances from India being cheaper in rupees imports will be stimulated. If these probabilities should materialise India's trade balances will become less favourable to her than they have been, or it may be the trade balances will turn against her. In either event the London market, where India's international trade is mostly financed and finally adjusted, will be relieved of the necessity of settling India's trade balances by means of specie remittances to the same extent as formerly, if indeed specie remittances to India will be necessary at all, while in addition to that advantage the stimulation of imports by the reduced rupee cost of sterling exchange will increase the demand for English textile manufactures.

68. These revolutionary changes in the Indian money system should not have been possible and much less necessary at a time when immense sums were due to India in exchange for her commodities. They are to be explained by the particular bent of the policy followed—a policy of making India accept payment in India of the balances due to her as far as possible in the form of rupees. A policy less rigidly bent in that direction would have been susceptible to the need for meeting the very special circumstances of the time by other methods, such, for example, as that suggested by the Governor of the Bank of England when he pointed out the desirability of investments abroad in settlement of India's foreign claims. It is a policy which has persistently ignored the essential safeguards of a gold standard, and particularly the safeguard of limiting the issue of token coins. It has by mere executive action changed the legally-established gold standard into a gold exchange standard, making the maintenance

of exchange the object to be attained in place of the provision of gold money with a limitation of token money. And while the maintenance of exchange was the main object, the policy has broken away from the normal rate of exchange on the ground that the rise in the price of silver rendered that course necessary, although, as I have endeavoured to show, there was no real necessity for doing so. The fact that the maintenance of exchange was so readily abandoned and the sale of rupee bills continued, combined with the persistent flooding of India with silver token money, gives ground for the theory that a fixity of exchange was only the ostensible object of the policy, and that the real object was to compel India to take silver in place of gold money. Further, it is a policy which is settled and managed in London, and which necessarily operates in the markets of London and India. That the interests of the London market have not been without influence in shaping the policy may be gathered from the enormous sums of money or investments belonging to the Indian currency which have been accumulated there. The profits on silver coinage were steadily collected into the gold standard reserves in London, and now that the coinage of silver has ceased to be profitable, a new departure has been made in the issue of currency notes in India on the security of investments in London, which has had the effect of rapidly accumulating an enormously increased store of Indian currency money in London. These are changes which will be viewed in India with the gravest concern and mistrust.

69. India is fairly entitled to a system of sound money. The gold exchange standard has failed to provide such a system, and I am unable to make any recommendations for its continuance which would secure the stability it has lost. I consider that the authorities had no right to take the action of raising the rate of exchange and, in my opinion, it is their duty to proceed to undo what they have done.

VI.—Policy.

70. On the subject of policy I desire to associate myself generally with the views expressed in the following extract from the able memorandum submitted to the Committee by Sir Stanley Reed, Kt., K.B.E., LL.D., of Bombay:—

"... I am strongly of opinion that the control now exercised by the Secretary of State over the Indian exchanges should

be abolished at once. Official control over the exchanges is always a bad thing, and whilst possibly justified under the immense strain of the war, should not be retained a moment longer than is absolutely necessary. It has already been abolished in every other country in the world, and it should be abolished in the case of India with the minimum of delay. Whilst this is true as a financial proposition, it is specially true of a country in the political condition of India. The Government of India, and to no less a degree the Secretary of State, is suspect in the eyes of a large section of the Indian community. All its actions are jealously regarded, often misunderstood, no less frequently misrepresented. The Secretary of State operates 6,000 miles from the great Indian financial centres. He is surrounded by, and naturally amenable to, interests which are not Indian in their ideas and aims. He acts in secret, and it is frequently impossible to obtain any information in India of the groundwork of measures which, however, wise and expedient in themselves are not understood and are liable to perversion in India itself. The political disadvantages of such complete powers being exercised in secret so far from the people who are vitally affected by them, cannot easily be exaggerated. The only remedy is for the Secretary of State to divest himself as completely as possible from the management of the Indian currency and exchanges, and to allow these to be governed by normal conditions. It is essential, therefore, that the fixing of the exchanges by the Secretary of State and the distribution of Council bills amongst a limited circle of 'approved' buyers should not be restored. Council bills should be sold by open tender to whomsoever may apply, the only limitation being the smallest amount to be tendered, which might be retained at the figure of 10,000 rupees. Whatever inconveniences may attach to this procedure will be outweighed by the practical advantage of freeing the Secretary of State from the suspicion which, however unwarranted, is widely entertained, of subordinating the interests of India to those of financial institutions in the City of London, and of giving banks with their headquarters in London a preference over banks with their headquarters in India.

"The first of these essential steps is to remove all restrictions on the free movement of gold and silver bullion to and from India, and to establish free and unfettered trade in both precious metals. It

is the inalienable right of every creditor country to determine for itself the form in which its debtors shall be paid. India is a creditor country and will remain a creditor country for as far ahead as we can see. India is a billion-using country, and the present exchange and currency difficulties have largely arisen from the arrest of the normal flow of gold to India and the substitution of credits abroad by Government for the liquidation of the large balance of trade. Deprived of the normal supply of gold bullion, India has turned to the only precious metal available, and has absorbed coined rupees in prodigious quantities. There can be no financial health in India until this traditional demand for bullion is satisfied. The Currency Commission of 1913, presided over by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, laid down that 'the extent to which India should use gold must, in our opinion, be decided solely in accordance with India's own needs and wishes, and it appears to us to be just as unjust as to force gold coins into circulation in India on the ground that such action will benefit the gold-using countries of the rest of the world, as it would be to attempt to refuse to India facilities for obtaining gold in order to prevent what adherents of the opposite school have called the drain of gold to India.' The demand for freedom of trade for India in the precious metals comes from every important financial and commercial authority in the land, and it must be boldly and unequivocally recognised.

"It is objected that India is a bottomless sink for the absorption of the precious metals, and that gold once passed into general consumption in India is permanently lost to the rest of the world. This attempt to fasten upon India an exceptional and invidious responsibility for the consumption of gold cannot be too vigorously combated. India is still an illiterate country, whose credit and banking facilities are miserably unorganised and where the practice of holding small savings in gold and silver ornaments is centuries old. Yet its normal demand for the industrial arts, and for the satisfaction of the social customs of three hundred and fifteen million people, was met before the war by about ten millions of gold annually. The United States of America was reported recently to be absorbing a million sterling in gold per month for industrial purposes. Yet no one says that the United States is a bottomless sink in the matter of her

gold absorption. It is stated that in England one of the most flourishing trades during the war was that in cheap jewellery, in which form the working classes invested a substantial proportion of their increased earnings. Every country in the world uses gold and silver for industrial and domestic purposes, and it induces a sense of angry injustice to find that the Indian demand for the precious metals, for precisely the same purposes, is perverted into senseless hoarding, especially when the history and conditions would justify a far larger gold absorption than the Western nations with their general literacy and highly organised credit systems can claim.

"The success of these and any other measures which may be adopted will largely depend on the publicity with which they are carried into effect.

"Attention has already been drawn to the particularly difficult task which the Government of India has to discharge owing to the political status of India. That political status inevitably exposes all the acts of the Government of India to distrust, misrepresentation, and prejudice. Whilst this is true of the Government of India, which is in close contact with Indian opinion, whose members are well known in all commercial and financial centres, and where successive Finance Ministers have made it a practice for a number of years to keep in personal touch with financial and commercial opinion, it is doubly true of the Secretary of State the final authority in all financial matters affecting India, who operates six thousand miles away, remote from Indian thought, feeling, and influence, but in living contact with the London market. Experience has taught us that the only remedy for misunderstanding in India is publicity; the antidote to misunderstanding and distrust is the truth. A mountain of misunderstanding of the most regrettable character, involving political dangers of great magnitude, has been reared by the secrecy with which the Secretary of State controls Indian financial policy; this mountain can be levelled only by the truth, spread with the widest publicity. It follows, then, that all financial operations carried on by the Secretary of State should be conducted in public and that the path of wisdom lies in the Secretary of State divesting himself so far as possible from the management of the Indian currency and exchanges, and substituting for this management automatic operations carried out in the gaze of the public.

"An important step in this direction will have been taken if a free, open, and automatic exchange is established, Court bills being sold to the highest tenderers. But it will be necessary to supplement this measure by others in the same direction. All purchases of silver for the Government of India should be by open tender to be delivered in Bombay. Quite apart from the fact that this will attract to the great bullion market of Bombay silver from all parts of the world, it is the only means whereby the cloud of suspicion which overhangs the purchases of silver for the Government of India can be dispersed. The returns relating to all operations—currency and exchange—undertaken by or for the Government of India, should be couched in the fullest possible form and published at frequent and regular intervals. The financial position of India is such that she has nothing to fear from publicity; publicity is the great instrument through which to strengthen her credit abroad, and the position of the Government of India at home. *Magna est veritas et pro valebit*—but truth cannot prevail if it is interred in the archives of the India Office."

Ancillary Problems.

71. In my opinion the duty charged on silver imported into India is closely connected to deter the economic advancement of the people of India. This is a question which is not of importance so long as the embargo on private imports of silver is maintained, and no duty is consequently being levied. But when the embargo is raised I suggest that the duty should be given up because it is, in effect, a levy on the petty savings of multitudes of the people. The practice which custom impels the Indian masses to place such small cash reserves as they can scrape together in unfruitful investments in silver ornaments is, of course, a matter for regret, but it is simply a continuance of long established custom on the part of poor and ignorant classes whose individual accumulation are very small, and as a form of savings, not a fit subject for taxation.

72. It has to be remembered that the Indian masses were for long accustomed to see the values of silver, and of rupees on an equality. They could at any time convert their silver ornaments into rupees with little loss. With the closing of the Mints to the free coinage of silver this traditional equality of silver with rupees was broken.

Rupees became of less value than silver. That change by itself was startling enough to the poorer and uneducated classes, but while it had the effect of depreciating the value in rupees of their holdings of silver, it gave them the opportunity of putting future savings into the customary form of silver at an advantageous rate relatively to rupees. To this great change in the position of silver relatively to rupees there came to be added another innovation in the form of an import duty on silver, which meant that everyone who followed the usual custom of purchasing silver, was called upon to pay a contribution to the State. The amount of the duty is a minor consideration. It is the fact of the duty being levied which is objectionable, for if the principle of a duty is admitted there is always the risk of the duty being expanded, and that has already happened.

73. The great alteration caused in the rupee valuation of silver by the change in the monetary standard from silver to gold followed by the duty on silver imports, cut right into the established traditions and habits of the masses in the matter of their savings; and while there was good reason for the change in the standard there seems to me to be no sufficient reason for the silver duty. It is not calculated to inspire the masses with a sense of fairness on the part of Government towards their monetary habits, and on that account, is, I consider, likely to retard their economic advancement on sounder lines."

74. The duty on silver as carried out in practice is objectionable in other ways. When imported silver is re-exported the duty paid on importation cannot be recovered in full, thus placing an unfair burden on the Indian purchaser. In consequence of this inability to recover the duty in full on re-exports, the Indian silver market is placed at a disadvantage in competition with silver markets elsewhere, leading frequently to silver being retained in India when it might be re-exported. This disadvantage to the market reacts on holders of silver when they have occasion to dispose of their holdings, because, although they have paid the duty at the time of purchase, they may find when they come to sell that purchasers will deduct the duty from the market price on the ground that the silver may have to be sold abroad in competition with other silver markets.

India's Banking Problem.

75. India has an area of 1,802,637 square miles, and it contains 2,253 towns with 29,740,228 inhabitants and 720,342 villages with a population of 285,406,168. On the 31st December, 1917, the total number of banking offices in India was only 402, and many of them overlapped in the larger towns. In fact, on that date there were in the whole of India only 165 towns which had bank offices. The United Kingdom, with a population of 48,000,000, had 9,138 banking offices. Canada, with a population of 8,460,000, has about 4,000 branches of banks. Further, there are 294,875,000 illiterate people in India, and out of the 18,539,573 literates there are only 1,670,397 literates in English.

76. The vast and scattered population of India has thus modern banking facilities at 165, stations only, and consequently the financial power of India is insufficiently mobilised. Money lies dormant in endless small hoards.

77. It will be seen that there is a vast virgin field for the development and expansion of banking and for the collection into bank reserves of the innumerable stores of money lying idle throughout the country which could be utilised for the benefit of the holders and for the good of trade and of the State. At the same time expansion must necessarily be slow. The Indian public cannot be hurried and hustled in such matters.

78. It is sometimes said that a greater development of banking would cure the currency troubles. That seems to me to be putting the cart before the horse. The first essential to a great extension of modern banking is a currency system which inspires the public with absolute confidence. A credit system cannot overcome the difficulties arising from a system of money which is liable to violent changes in the valuation of the different forms of money of which it is composed, such as the present alteration in the ratio of rupees to the sovereign. No credit system could cure that fault in the money on which it rests. On the contrary, unsound money would imperil the credit system. Hence, in my opinion, the need for making the money system in India a specially strong and sound one if the money resources of India are ever to be mobilised in a great banking system.

VEDIC INTERPRETATION AND TRADITION

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॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ नमो वेदविदे च वेदान्तकृते च ॥

॥ नमः परमहिम्यो वेदविद्याप्रवर्तकेभ्यः ॥

॥ नमः श्रोतृजनेभ्यश्च सुहृज्जनेभ्यश्च ॥

DEAR FRIENDS,

I am really thankful to you for the great honour you have done me by kindly asking me to preside over the present session of this section of our Oriental Conference. But let all honour be His who is the Knower of the Veda (*Vedavid*) and the Author of the Conclusion of the Veda (*Vedāntakṛt*). I stand before you certainly not as a teacher, but rather as a pupil and as a fellow-student ; for I do not pretend to guide you, but rather I wish to be guided by you. Nor have I come here with the intention of solving some difficult problems, or removing some of the doubts which you may have, or of putting before you any great thoughts or results of new researches that might have been made by me ; but I stand before you in all humility to place for your consideration some of what appear to me to be the fundamental problems in the interpretation of the Veda. I approach these problems with special reference to those who hold the Veda as an inspired and a sacred heritage, and find it a great source of peace and happiness in their lives.

Let me begin with a short apologue which has been handed down by the Rishis :

विद्या ऽ वै ब्राह्मणमाजगाम ।

गोपाय मा शेयधिस्तेऽमस्मि ॥

—*Samhitopaniṣad-Brahmaṇa* 3.

‘Verily Vidyā (the Vedic Lore) approach the Brahman thus : “Protect me, I am your treasure.”’

The Brahman realized it, and undertook to protect her. He was also duty-bound to do so, for he knew the old injunction : ‘When a man is

born, he is born with a debt (to pay)—a debt to the Gods, a debt to the Rishis, and to the Fathers, and to Mankind.' (SB, 1. 7. 2. 1; See TB, VI. 3. 10. 5). He must free himself of his debt to the Gods, the Rishis, as well as to the rest. So far as his other debts are concerned, the scriptures teach him how to repay them. His debt to the Rishis can only be repaid, as they declare, by becoming their 'Treasure-warden' (*nidhi-gopa*), by protecting the treasure; in plain words, by continuing the study of the Veda.

Whatever might be our attitude towards life and culture, it has got to be admitted that the Veda is really a treasure, a treasure not only for the Brahman, but also for the humanity at large, a most precious inheritance of the past. And it is specially so for us Indians, as it is 'the ultimate source, directly or indirectly, of whatever we have thought about and striven for the peace and happiness of man and the universe during the whole course of our existence as a people.

Let me, however, strike a note of warning, and I think that the ancient teachers will lend me their support when I do so. The treasure must not be confounded with its receptacle: we should know that the *ādhāra* is generally of a different material and character from the *ādheya*. The gems of truth are ensconced in the entire mass of the Veda. The Greek proverb says that the part is greater than the whole. Yet the whole has its value and its justification—as a fact of history and as an influence on life when it is an influence. Human Society is a chequered pattern, and we have wise men and foolish men, we have saints as well as sinners. What we may be tempted to regard as useless may have its use with others. And we must take note of it.

Be that as it may, I was telling you the story of Vidyā. Let me continue it. The Brahman undertook to protect her. But has he done so? If so, how far has he succeeded? Did the Vedic tradition remain unbroken? If it did not, how long then did it continue? I want to tell you another story. Fifty years ago it was first told by Max Müller in one of his Hibbert Lectures,¹ and I think it is worth repeating, even though it may be a little long.

"These men," continues the great savant referring to the Brahmans of his time, "and I know it as a fact, know the whole of Rig-Veda by heart,

¹ *Collected Works of Max Müller, Lectures on the Origin of Religion*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1898, pp. 132 ff.

just as their ancestors did, three or four thousand years ago ; and though they have MSS., and though they now have a printed text, they do not learn their sacred lore from them. They learn it, as their ancestors learnt it, thousands of years ago, from the mouth of a teacher, so that the Vedic succession should never be broken. The oral teaching and learning became in eyes of the Brahmins one of the 'Great Sacrifices'.....I have had visits from natives who knew large portions of the Veda by heart ; I have been in correspondence with others who, when they were twelve or fifteen years old, could repeat the whole of it.² They learn a few lines every day, repeat them for hours, so that the whole house resounds with the noise and they thus strengthen their memory to that degree, that when their apprenticeship is finished, you can open them like a book ; and find any passage you like, any word, any accent. One native scholar, Shankar Pandurang, is at the present moment collecting various readings for my edition of the Rig-Veda, not from MSS., but from the oral tradition of the Vedic Śrōtriyas. He writes on the 2nd March, 1877 ; 'I am collecting a few of our walking Rig-Veda MSS., taking your text as the basis. I find a good many differences which I shall soon be able to examine more closely, when I may be able to say whether they are various readings or not. As I write a Vedic scholar is going over your Rig-Veda text. He has his own MSS. on one side, but does not open it, except occasionally. He knows the whole Saṃhitā and Pada text by heart. I wish I could send you his photograph, how he is squatting in my tent with his Upavita (the Sacred Cord) round his shoulder, and only a Dhōṭī round his middle, not a bad specimen of our old Rishis'.

"And though it may have sounded to some of you like a fairy-tale, believe me, it is truer in all its details than many a chapter of contemporary history."

This story depicts the condition of the Vedic studies by the Brahmin fifty years back ; and I can tell you that even at the present time you will find, mostly in the South, such half-naked Brahmins (their race—a race of giants—is, alas, declining every day), repeating the sacred hymns handed down to them from generation to generation and saying those prayers which were first uttered thousands of years ago on the banks of the Sarasvatī or some other sacred river by Rishis like Vasiṣṭha or Viśvāmitra—

² *Indian Antiquary*, 1878, p. 40 : 'There are thousands of Brahmins' the editor remarks, 'who know the whole of the Rig-Veda by heart and can repeat it.'

the Rishis who stand at the head of Indian Culture, but who in the hands of unsympathetic though "ingenious and judicious" experts on Indian culture received, together with their gods, the sobriquet of "barbarians".

You are now to draw your own conclusion as to whether the Vedic succession or tradition was completely broken at the time of Yāska, or of Sāyaṇa, or whether it continued unimpaired down to a generation back, —since when, owing to altering conditions and ideas of life, it has suffered a check ; and it was lucky that we could save some of it through the printing press.

Here naturally arises a question. The request of Vidyā to the Brahman was for her protection. This certainly did not mean protection of only the text in which she was enshrined, but also of the interpretation in which dwells her soul. For the Brahman was enjoined not only to read, but also to understand the Veda (*adhyāso jñeyat ca*), without looking forward to any earthly reward for it (*nīṣkaraṇa*).

Now, so far as the text is concerned, it has been universally accepted as having been preserved intact. The Brahman here has performed his task to perfection. But what about the interpretation?

In order to understand the situation in the matter of the correct interpretation of the Veda-vidyā—the interpretation which was intended by the Rishi to whom the *mantra* was *revealed*—let us take note of the difficulties from the case of a living poet and his composition. We have here a living poet of world-wide fame, Rabindranath Tagore. Let us take one of his best known mystic poems, approach some of our best scholars and cultured men who have the requisite training in and feel for literature and are teachers of the subject, and ask them individually to interpret that particular poem. And what shall we see? We shall see that *nāsan munir yasya matam na bhinnam* ; there may be partial agreement here and there, there will never be entire agreement ; in fact, there will sure to be some disagreement. And yet it may be that none of the interpretations proposed by these eminent scholars is the right interpretation, that is, the interpretation which the poet himself had in his mind when he composed it. Supposing that these scholars and experts in literature went on in their own way, and each taught his own particular interpretation to his group of pupils, and these latter in their turn also taught their own pupils the interpretation received from their masters, we would have a series of traditional interpretations, each equally old. How can a man of a future generation judge these various

traditions, or one tradition, as correct? How can it be maintained that the interpretation first offered by those prominent teachers was the right interpretation, simply because these teachers were eminent men, or because they were contemporaneous with the poet himself, or were associated with him?

A poet does not necessarily interpret his own poem, for he is not bound to do so; nor is it his business. He composes a poem and there ends his work. But he may give his interpretation if he pleases. Now, let us again think over another aspect of the question. Supposing that the poet explains at a time one of his poems to a particular individual. The latter perhaps does not fully comprehend, or comprehends the explanation fully, but does not remember the whole of it, and without any consideration of the fact of his forgetfulness he starts to explain the poem to the group around him, and from the group begins a school of tradition. Here we may ask a question: Will it be right to think that one who has received this tradition is justified in claiming that *his* is the right interpretation, because the line of succession he belongs to is directly connected with the composer of the poem? Will it be reasonable to hold that the direct connection with the author of the poem is itself a sufficient ground for the genuineness of the interpretation given to it?

There can be another situation to make the whole question further complicated. It may be that the poet himself explains one of his difficult poems to a person of superior culture, intelligence, and memory. This person retains the explanation perfectly well and hands it over to a second man, and the second man to a third man, and in this way another line of tradition grows up. But facts relating to the origin of this tradition, that it goes back to the poet himself and has been transmitted unimpaired, remain unknown. This interpretation, the only *right* one, is not noted down in any book for some generations, though passed traditionally, and then a late writer offers it, without mentioning its credentials. How are we to discriminate the genuineness of the tradition in a case like this?

Situations like the above are possible with a living poet; in fact, some of these cases have actually happened with the works of Rabindranath himself. It is quite conceivable that in the case of a Vedic poet, to whom a particular *mantra* was revealed or by whom it was 'visioned' (*dṛṣṭa*) thousands of years back, similar things have happened.

The difficulty of discrimination in this matter seems to have been noticed or anticipated even by a poet in the Rig-Veda itself (X.71.4), when he says:

उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श घाच-
मुत त्वः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् ।

'Even while seeing, one does not see Speech ; even while hearing, one does not hear it.'

And it is also quite clear from Yāska's observation (I.20) to the effect that there were Rishis who had intuitive insight into *dharma* (*sākṣātkṛta-dharman*), but the teachers of a subsequent age lost that intuition. And these later teachers who, according to a commentator, may be described as *Śrutarṣis*, i.e., sages who derived their wisdom not directly as the earlier sages did, but from others, declined in the power of communicating instruction. This is quite natural on account of impermanence of human knowledge (*puruṣavidyānityatva*), as Yāska would express it.

This lowering of the high intellectual position, as time went on, brought in new view-points and new interpretations. And I may refer you, for instance, to the mystic hymn called *Aśyavāmīya* in the Rig-Veda (I.164). It is found there, as you all know, how some of its stanzas have been interpreted in different ways in the commentary of Sāyaṇa. It is well-known that Sāyaṇa is not the author of *all* these interpretations, as it can very clearly be shown that in a number of cases his variant interpretations were current in the country hundreds of years before him. Let us take, as an example, the following stanza (32) of the same hymn:

य ईं चकार न सो अस्य वेद
य ईं ददर्श हिरुगिन्नु तस्मात् ।
स मातुर्योनां परिधीतो अन्त-
र्बहुप्रजा निर्वृतिमा विवेश ॥

'He who made him knows not of him ; [he is] verily out of sight now of him who saw him ; he, enveloped within his mother's womb, with numerous progeny ; entered into *nirṛti*'.¹

It is to be noted that the word *nirṛti* in the fourth line of the stanza has two meanings, 'calamity' and 'earth'. Now, what does the *mantra*

¹ Whitney, AV. Tr., IX.10 10, slightly modified.

mean? The opinion is divided. Some say, it implies that one having a number of children falls into calamity; while others are of opinion that it refers to the phenomenon of rain (*varṣakarman*). The former are the *Parivrājakas* or wandering religious mendicants, while the later are the *Nairuktas* or scholiasts. And both the views are mentioned by Yāska in his *Nirukta*, II.8.

Here is another mystic *mantra* from the *Rig-Veda*, IV.58.3:

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा
 द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तास्तो अस्य ।
 त्रिधा बद्धो घृणभो ररवीति
 महा देवो मर्त्येषां आ चिवेश ॥

'Four are his horns, three are his feet; his heads are two, and his hands are seven. Bound with a triple bond, the strong one (or the showerer of bounties) roars loudly; the great god enters into mortals'.^a

Who is that great god? Some say, according to the *Nirukta-pariśiṣṭa*, XIII. 7, he is *yajña*. The four horns are with reference to it four Vedas; the three feet are the three *sarvanas* or pressing out of *soma*-juice at the three periods of the day; the two heads are the two libations, introductory and concluding; the seven hands are the seven metres; 'bound with a triple bond' refers to three-fold scripture, *Mantra*, *Brāhmaṇa*, and *Kalpa*.

Others say, the great god is the sun: the four horns are the four directions or cardinal points (*diś*); three feet are the three Vedas (as, according to the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, III. 12.9.1, the movement of the sun is connected with the three Vedas: *Vedair asūnyas tribhīr eṣ sūryaḥ*); the two heads are the day and night; the seven hands are the seven rays of the sun; 'bound with a triple bond' refers either to the three regions (terrestrial, atmospheric, and celestial), or to the three seasons (hot, rainy, and winter).

I want to refer you to one more explanation of the above passage which the great Patañjali, the Commentator of Pāṇini (l.i.) gives. He explains it with reference to speech (*Śabda*) from the point of view of the grammarians. He says that the great god is speech; the four horns are the four kinds of the words, *viz.*, noun (*nāman*), verb (*ākhyāta*), preposition (*upasarga*), and particle (*niṣāta*); the three feet are the three

^a Griffiths (modified).

times, present, past, and future; the two heads are the two forms of speech, eternal and artificial; the seven hands are seven case-ending (*vibhaktis*); the triple bond signifies the connection of a word when it is uttered with the three parts of the body, the chest, the throat, and the head.

And if you want to know the observation of Sāyaṇācārya, he would tell you that other explanations are also possible here.

I should like to quote here one more *mantra* from the same *Asyavāmīya Sūkta* (RV, I.164.45):

चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि
तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।
गुहा ग्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति
तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥

'Speech hath been measured out in four divisions: the Brahmans who have understanding know them. Three kept in close concealment, they do not move. Of speech men speak only the fourth division.'

Now, what are these four divisions of speech? Look into the *Supplement to the Nirukta* (XIII. 9), and into Sāyaṇa, and you will find not less than seven interpretations, according to different schools, to one of which belongs the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, Patañjali, explaining the stanza himself (I. 1. 1.).

Apart from the explanation of different Vedic passages great divergency is found also with regard to particular points; for instance, the identity of the *Aśvins*—a question which is still being discussed. Yāska himself raises it and gives his answer (XII.1): "But who are the *Aśvins*? Some say 'heaven and earth'; 'day and night' say others; while others say, they are the sun and the moon. But according to the *Āitiḥāsikas*, they are virtuous kings."

Not less than eight or nine schools of older expounders of the Veda, such as the *Yājñīkas*, the *Vaiyākaraṇas*, the *Naidānas*, the *Parivrājakas*, the *Nairuktas*, and so on, are mentioned by Yāska, besides more than one and half a dozen of teachers holding different views with regard to particular points in the Vedic texts.

There is no reason to think that the interpretations offered by them are always without authority. For instance, the identity of the *Aśvins*

¹ Griffith (modified).

'The hymns are not to be interpreted as isolated texts, but according to their context.'

न ह्येषु प्रत्यक्षमस्त्यनृपेरपतसो वा ।

'For, a person, who is not a Rishi, or who is without severe meditation, has no intuitive insight into them (*mantras*).'

पारोच्यर्चित्सु तु खलु वेदित्सु भूयोविद्यः प्रशस्यो भवतीत्युक्तं पुरस्तात् ।

'It has already been said (*Nirukta* I. 16) that among those who are versed in tradition, he who is most learned deserves special commendation.'

The author then proceeds to show the importance of reasoning in the following passage quoted from a Brāhmana.

मनुष्या वा ऋषिपूतकामत्सु देवानघ्रुघ्नन् को न ऋषिर्भविष्यतीति । तेभ्य एतं तर्कमृषिं प्रायच्छन् मन्त्रार्थचिन्ताभ्युदमभ्यूहहम् । तस्माद् यदेव किञ्चानुचानोऽभ्यूहत्यापं तद् भवति ।

'Verily when the Rishis were passing away, men inquired of the gods, "Who shall be our Rishi?" They gave them this science of reasoning as Rishi (*tarkam ṛṣim*)² for consideration of the sense of the hymns. Therefore whatever is decided by a man well-versed in the Veda becomes *ārṣa* or derived from a Rishi.'

It is then clear from the above that in order to understand the significance of the Veda our traditional method regard these three things as essential: (1) *śruti*, oral tradition from the mouth of a competent *Ācārya*, or from repositories of traditions, such as the *Brāhmanas*; (2) *tarka* or reasoning; and (3) *tapśa*; which I think ought to be translated in such cases, as Muir has already done, as 'severe meditation.'³ Of course, it is understood that the essential preparatory knowledge of the six *Vedāṅgas*

¹ Translations mostly by Muir.

² This reminds one of the following words of the Buddha in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* (VI. 1): 'Now the Exalted one addressed the venerable Ananda and said: It may be Ananda that in some of you the thought may arise "The word of the Master is ended, we have no Teacher more!... The Truths and the Rules of the Order, which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher of you".' We may also recall the story of the last Sikh Guru Govind Singh declaring that after his demise the Sikhs will have to obey the Granth Sāhib as their Guru.

³ In support of it the following may be quoted from the *Mundaka Upaniṣad* (I. 1. 9): *Yasya jñānamayaṁ tapaḥ*. Cf. the sense of *atikṣāla* in the *Chāndogya Up.* VI. 2. 3

pretation was lost before the former's time is erroneous.' Other scholars like Professor Bhagavad Datta have come to the same conclusion from a study of both available commentaries and incomplete fragments.

With regard to the tradition I should like to put before you the following fact also. According to the Vedantists there are three courses (*prasthāna-traya*) for ascertaining the meaning of Vedānta, viz., the *śruti-prasthāna* or the Course of the Vedic Texts, the *smṛti-prasthāna* or the Course of Tradition, and the *sūtra-prasthāna* or the Course of the Aphorisms (of Bādarāyaṇa). It follows from it that sometimes when the true meaning *śruti* or *sūtra* it can be done with the help of the *smṛti*. And as such the *smṛti* cannot be neglected. And, I may suggest, this *smṛti-prasthāna* may be applied in the case of some of the Vedic texts, too, with conspicuous results. For instance, we read in the *I'ājasaneyisamhitā*, IX.2 (*Īśopaniṣad* 2):

कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः ।
एवं त्वयि नान्यथेतोऽस्ति न कर्म लिप्यते नरे ॥

'It is only performing *kārmās* that one should desire to live here a hundred years. Thus it is in thee, and not otherwise than this. Karma does not affect (*lipyate*, root *lip*) a man.'

Where is the explanation of this verse? Does it not remind one of the following couplet of the *smṛti*, the *Bhagavad-gītā* (IV. 14) together with the whole philosophy of karma expounded there?

न मां कर्माणि लिम्पन्ति, न मे कर्मफले स्पृहा ।
इति मां योऽभिजानाति कर्मभिर्न स बध्यते ॥

'Karmas do not affect (*limpanti*, root *lip*) me, nor have I any desire for the consequence of a karma. He who thus knoweth me is not bound by karmas.'

Let me take another example. The following stanza occurs in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Uṇ.*, IV.4.7, as well as in the *Kaṭha Uṇ.*, VI.14:

यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि स्थिताः ।
अथ मर्तेऽमृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते ॥

'When all the desires cease which were cherished in his heart, then the mortal becomes immortal, then here he attains to Brahman.'

Where do we get the fullest interpretation of it? Is it not the same *smṛti*, the *Bhagavad-gītā*, which having thoroughly discussed the topic repeats the same truth only in different words (II.71)?

विहाय कामान् यः सर्वान् पुमांश्चरति निःस्पृहः ।
निर्ममो निरहङ्कारः स शान्तिमधिगच्छति ॥

'Whoso forsakes all desires and moves about free from yearnings and from the notion of 'I am' and 'It is mine,' he attains to peace.'

Or let us consider again. Is it not that the same truth 'there is only one without the second' which has found expression in Vedic texts,¹ has again appeared through the Upaniṣad in a much later work, the *Durgā-saptasatī* (included in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*) in the following couplet?

एकैवाहं जगत्पत्र द्वितीया का ममापरा ।
पश्येता दुष्ट मय्येव विशन्ति मद्भिभूतयः ॥

'I am only one in the universe. Who is other than me that can be regarded as second? See, O villain, my manifestations are entering into me.'

Here in the *smṛti* we have either a later development or expansion of an idea already expressed in the Veda; or it may be that the *smṛti* passages only enshrine a traditional interpretation of the Vedic passages.

This traditional relation between the Vedic and post-Vedic literatures is only too apparent to require any further discussion. The point is that the Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstras, and other *smṛtis* frequently help us in elucidating the Veda, and as such they are always deserving of respectful attention as repository of tradition,—they should much less be ignored, as is unfortunately the case in certain quarters among Vedic scholars both in India and in Europe. This is just like the later Classical Sanskrit itself, with all its non-Vedic and so-called artificial character (which has earned for it the contumely of Veda-enthusiasts in Europe), helping a great deal in understanding at least to some extent the general sense of a Vedic text. Just as we acknowledge the common basis of both Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, we should be equally alive to the common back-ground of both the Veda and the later literature. We may illustrate the point by a few instances. Even such popular works like the *Amarakośa* which are read

¹ For example, 'There is only one Rudra and no second'—TS. I. 8.6.1; 'The wise say one in various ways.'—RV. I. 164.46.

in our Sanskrit Pāṭhāśālās by tender boys in their first year of Sanskrit give the meanings of a great number of Vedic words, though at times the original senses of some of them are found to have been modified. A young Sanskrit scholar of even seven or eight (wherever the traditional method is followed), if asked, will at once reply that the Vedic words *Marutvat* 'accompanied by Maruts,' *Śakra* 'mighty,' *Śacīpati* 'lord of might,' *Śatakratu* 'having a hundred powers,' *Vṛtrahan* 'Vṛtra-slayer,' *Purandara* for the actual word *Pūrbhid* 'fort-shatterer,' and *Vajrabhṛt* 'bearing the bolt,' mean Indra. He will at once tell you that *Vaiśvānara*, *Jālavēdas*, *Tanūnapāt*, and *Āśuśukṣaṇu*, all used in the Rig-Veda, are nothing but Agni 'fire'; and *Mātanīśvān* is Vāyu. Multiplication of instances is not needed. Here we have but a partial preservation of the Vedic tradition through school lexicons.

En passant I may mention here the views of the Mīmāṃsakas who may be included among the Yājñikas already referred to in connection with Vedic interpretation. I shall quote here only two passages from the *Taittirīyā Samhita* illustrating the methods of the Mīmāṃsakas in interpreting the Veda. They certainly represent an old tradition and as such are entitled to the respect which Śāyaṇācārya and others are given. The first of them runs (TS.II.1.1.4):

प्रजापतिर्वा इदमेक आसीत् । सोऽकामयत् प्रजाः पशून् सृजेयेति । स
आत्मनो वषामुदम्बिदत् । तामग्नौ प्रागृह्णात् । ततोऽजस्तूपरः समभवत् । तं
स्वाये देवताया आलभत । ततो वै सः प्रजाः पशून्सृजत् ॥

'Verily here was Prajāpati alone. He desired: 'May I create offspring and cattle.' He took out (from his body) his omentum (*vaṭā*), and placed it in the fire. From that the hornless goat came into being. He offered it to its own deity. Then did he create offspring and cattle.'

This is explained as myth (possibly in his anxiety to establish an eternal connection between a word and its meaning) by Śaṅkarasvāmīn in his commentary on the *Mīmāṃsā-darśana*, I.1.10. He says that Prajāpati may refer here to an eternal object: (i) air, (ii) the sky, or (iii) the sun; the omentum may mean (i) rain, (ii) wind, or (iii) the rays of the sun; the fire implies (i) the fire of lightning (*vaidyuta*), or (ii) of the rays (*ārciṣa*), or (iii) of the terrestrial fire (*pārthiva*); and the word *aja* taken to mean 'a goat' signifies here (i) food (*anna*), or seed (*bija*), or plant (*virudh*).

And here is the second passage (TS.VII.1.10. 2-3):

बबरः प्रावाहणिरकामयत वाचः प्रवदिता स्यामिति ।

The plain meaning is that Babara; a descendant of Pravāhaṇa desired that he might be a speaker of speech. But Śābarasvāmīn (I.1.31.) would explain it saying that there is no man known as Pravāhaṇa. Therefore there cannot be his descendant Prāvāhaṇi. The word is derived from *pra* + $\sqrt{vāh}$ + *=i*, the suffix *=i* is used to mean both a descendant as well as an agent ; thus any eternal object that makes one carry on a work is *Prāvāhani*. And *Babara* is an onomatopoeic word.

I am speaking of the interpretations, and in this connection it seems to me that if we follow some of the remarks of Yāska, many an unexplained myth or allusion, and many a mystic or obscure, or doubtful passage will become perfectly clear. The following occurs in the Rīg-Veda (X.51.9):

तव प्रयाजाऽनुयाजाश्च केवल
उर्जस्वन्तो हविषः सन्तु भागाः ।
तवामे यज्ञोऽयमस्तु सर्व-
स्तुभ्यं नमन्तां प्रदिशश्चतस्रः ॥

'The introductory and the concluding oblations are entirely thine; let the juicy portions of the offerings be thine. Let this whole sacrifice be thine, O Agni, and let the four quarters bow before thee.'

Here it is quite clear that the introductory and concluding oblations belong to the deity, Agni. There can in no way be any doubt of it. Yet there are not less than six passages in different Brāhmaṇas referring to the above verse, of which only one says that the deity here is Agni, while according to the rest the deity concerned is *Chandas* (metre) or *ṛtu* (season) or *paśu* (cattle) or *prāna* (breath) or *ātman* (soul). But why is here such wide difference? Is it due to the ignorance of the authors of the Brāhmaṇas? Yāska finds here a solution. And this solution proposed by him involves a fundamental principle in approaching Vedic passages of a similar character. He is quite right when he observes (VII.24):

बहुभक्तिवादीनि ब्राह्मणानि भवन्ति ।

It means that the Brāhmaṇas have a great deal of *bhakti-vāda*. But what is *bhakti-vāda*? Here *bhakti* is *bhāga* 'part' or 'portion' (cf. *bhakti* in *svara-bhakti*), and *vāda* 'statement'; thus *bhakti-vāda* literally means 'a statement of a part,' i.e., 'a statement only of a part of a thing and not of the whole of it.' For instance, if it is said *simho mānavakaḥ* 'the lad is a lion,' it is to be understood that the lad is, so to say, *partly* a lion; in other words, the lad has a *bhakti* or *bhāga*, i.e., 'part' of a lion, e.g., the bravery of a lion. The later word for *bhakti-vāda* is *guṇa-vāda* 'statement of quality,' generally translated by 'statement meant figuratively.' In the same example, 'the lad is a lion,' the speaker wants to express that the lad has the quality (*guṇa*), i.e., bravery, of a lion. Here both the lad and the lion having the common quality, bravery, are identified. In explaining *bhakti-vāda*, Durgācārya observes:

भक्तिर्नाम गुणकल्पना । येन केनचिद् गुणेन ब्राह्मणं सर्वं सर्वथा वर्णयति ।
तत्र वस्तुमन्वेष्यम् ।

Bhakti means imagination (or consideration) of quality by which a Brāhmaṇa describes all things in all kinds of ways. But the truth must be investigated there.'

Yāska gives here an example from a Brāhmaṇa: 'The earth is Vaiśvānara, the year is Vaiśvānara, the Brahman is Vaiśvānara.' Here the author must have found some common quality (*sādharmya guṇa*) of the earth, etc., and Vaiśvānara,—owing to which there is this identification. But what is that *guṇa*, or common *guṇa*? It is for the reader to find it out, if he can.

Now, with regard to those introductory and concluding oblations, Yāska remarks that it is fixed decision (*sthiti*) that they belong to Agni. But what about the different statements of the Brāhmaṇas? It is mere *bhakti*, i.e., with reference to some common quality participated in both by Agni on the one hand and by *chandas*, or *ṛtu*, or *paśu*, or *prāna*, or *ātman* on the other.

In this way such identification as that of sacrifice (*yajña*) with Viṣṇu, or with Prajāpati; or that of the year with Prajāpati, or Agni; or that of Agni with Prajāpati, and so on, becomes intelligible through *bhakti*. And this common quality may be more inherent or imaginary than apparent or real,

The following stanza of the previously discussed *Aśvavāmiya sūktā* of the Rīg Veda (I.164.46) is well-known to you all:

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहु-
र्यो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।
एकं सद्भिर्वा बहुधा वदन्-
त्यग्निं यमं मातृश्वानमाहुः ॥

'They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Agni; and he is divine Garuṭmāt with beautiful wings. The sages speak of that which is one in various ways: they call it Agni, Yama, and Mātariśvan.'

And similar statements in the same Veda are not wanting. For instance, we read (X.114.5):

सुपर्णं विप्राः कथयो वचोमि-
रेकं सन्तं बहुधा कल्पयन्ति ।

'The wise poets describe by their words in various ways the bird (Suparṇa) who is one.'

Yāska taking his stand on such ideas of the Rīshis observes (VII. 4) 'on account of the supereminence of the deity (*māhābhāgyād devatāyāḥ*) a single soul' (*eka ātmā*) is praised in various ways (*bahudhā stūyate*).'

This view has been given expression in the Upaniṣads and other religious literature of the country. Thus there is no inconsistency with the Brāhmaṇa saying to the effect that Agni is all the deities (KB, XXV. I. 9; AB, V. 16), although, in fact, there is a great number of deities mentioned in the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇas.

Passages like the above are clear indications of the fundamentally monistic character of the Vedic religion. Whenever we have the temptation of laying too much stress on the 'polytheism' of the Veda, we ought to think of the above and similar passage in the Brāhmaṇas and in Yāska and other old commentators.

I want to refer you to one more remark of Yāska. In the Rīg-Veda (I. 89. 10) we have the following verse:—

अदितिर्यौरदितिरन्तरिक्ष-
मदितिर्माता स पिता स पुत्रः ।
विश्वे देवा अदितिः पञ्च जना
अदितिर्जातमदितिर्जनित्वम् ॥

'Aditi is heaven, Aditi is atmosphere, Aditi is the mother, she is the father, and she is the son. Aditi is all deities, Aditi five-classed men, Aditi all that hath been born, and Aditi all that shall be born.'

How is it that one is the heaven as well as the atmosphere? How is it that the same person is the father, the mother; and also the son? It would look very inconsistent. But let us hear what Yāska has to say in this connection. He says (I. 16) that such a statement is found also in ordinary speech (*laukikeṣy apy etat*). For example, one having drunk water says 'I have got all kinds of flavour (*sarvarasā anuprāplāh pānīyam*). And he finally concludes (IV. 23), saying that the *vibhūti* (multifarious manifestation) of Aditi is mentioned here; Yāska has rightly caught the spirit of the verse quoted above which is to extol the greatness of the deity, Aditi.

If one takes such passages as the following (Atharva-Veda, X.10.26.34) which extol the cow (*vaśa*), in that line, there will remain nothing to complain of:

यशमेवामृतमाहुर्वशां मृत्युमुपासते ।
 वशेदं सर्वमभवद् देवा मनुष्या असुराः पितर ऋषयः ॥
 वशां देवा उपजीवन्ति वशां मनुष्या उत ।
 वशेदं सर्वमभवद् यावत् सूर्यो विपश्यति ॥

AV, X. 10. 26, 34.

'It is cow alone that they call immortality; they worship cow as death; the cow becomes this all—gods, men, Ṛsuras, Fathers, and Seers.'

'On the cow the gods subsist; on the cow, men also; the cow becomes this all; so far as the sun looks around.'

Such is, then, the rôle which *bhakti-vāda* plays, not only in the Brāhmaṇas, but also in the Mantras.

In interpreting the Veda, the findings of Indo-European Linguistics should in no way be neglected or under-estimated. But sometimes the philologist's zeal carries him away a little too far, and leads him into a morass of a series of possibilities which one should always guard against. I think Comparative Philology and Tradition should be taken as mutual correctives. Unfortunately, however, the tradition, though supported by strong reason, is sacrificed at the altar of an insecure linguistic speculation. Let me give an example, and in so doing I should like to raise before you an

old question which has already been discussed by eminent scholars. I mean the question of phallus worship in the Vedas. The only argument advanced in support of it lies in the word *śiśna-deva* used twice in the Rīg-Veda (VII. 21. 5 ; X. 10.99). The traditional meaning of it is 'lustful' : both Yāska and Sāyaṇa explaining it by *abrahmacarya*. There is no ground whatsoever to reject it. The word *deva* is used here in the figurative sense, it signifying 'like a deva.' And it is supported by a number of words compounded with *deva* as the last member. The following four words are well-known : *mātṛ-deva*, *pitṛ-deva*, *ācārya-deva*, and *atithi-deva*. Will it be reasonable to hold that a father-worshipper, and a mother-worshipper, a teacher-worshipper, and a guest-worshipper are meant here respectively? The word *pitṛ-deva* simply means 'a person to whom the father is just like a deva'. Accordingly, the sentence in the Taittirīya Up. I. II. *pitṛ-deva bhava* implies that the father is to be revered just like a god. The remaining words, too, are to be explained in the same way. And this view is taken by the great Saṅkarācārya saying with regard to them : *devatāvad upāśyā eta ity artham* : 'the meaning is, that they should be revered as gods'. Let us take another word of the same class, *śraddhā-deva* found in the Taittirīya-saṁhitā and in different Brāhmaṇas. What does it mean? The authors of the Sanskrit-Wörterbuch tell us, *Gott-vertrauend* 'trusting in god.' It can hardly be accepted, for the compound cannot be made after the manner of *bharad-vāja*, as in such cases the first member is a present participle. Nor can I understand how Egge-ling takes it (SB. I. 1. 4. 5.) to mean 'god-fearing'. The commentators generally explain it by *śraddhāvat* 'believing,' or *śraddhālu* 'disposed to believe'. The actual meaning is, however, shown by Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the TS, 7. 1. 8. 2, when he says : *śraddhā devo yasyāsau śraddhādevaḥ* : 'one whose deva (god) is śraddhā (trustfulness) is śraddhā-deva.' And then he adds : *yathā devatāyām ādaraḥ tathā śraddhāyām ity arthaḥ* : 'as towards god, so is the respect towards trustfulness.'

This interpretation then decides the case of *śiśna-deva* implying a person who reveres his *śiśna* just like a god, or a man of lustful character, *abrahmacarya*, as Yāska would explain it.

The word in this sense may sound strange to a non-Indian reader, but Indians themselves are quite familiar with such expressions from the later Sanskrit literature. For instance, *śiśnodara-parāyaṇa*, which is the same as *śiśnodara-tyā*, or *śiśnodaram-bhara*, all meaning nothing but 'one

addicted to lust and gluttony.' Mark here the use of *parāyaṇa*, literally meaning 'last resort' or 'refuge,' as the second member of the first word. And compare its use in such words as *Nārāyaṇa-parāyaṇa* 'devoted to Nārāyaṇa', and *kāmakrodha-parāyaṇa* 'given over to lust and anger.'

It seems to me that sometimes too much importance is attached to modern philological interpretation utterly ignoring the traditional one. For instance, I may refer you to the well-known hymn to the so-called 'Unknown God,' RV, X. 121, with the refrain '*kāsmāi devāya haviṣā vidhema*'. It has been discussed from different points of view by a number of scholars. Some of them want to take here *kāsmāi* in the sense of 'to whom', as a form of the interrogative pronoun *ka* (or *kim*). I do not say that it can in no way be maintained. But I want to ask: What is the ground for rejecting the traditional meaning of the word here, which is Prajāpati? Why, as Sāyana has done, *kāsmāi* is not to be construed supplying *tasmai*, as is often the case in the R̥g-Veda' itself, when the relative pronoun *ya* (or *yad*) is used in the subordinate clause? That *ka* is identified with Prajāpati is found in different Saṃhitās and Brāhmanas. The main ground for this identification is, according to the Rishis of the Brāhmaṇas, that both the interrogative pronoun *ka* (or *kim*) and Prajāpati are *anirukta* 'not explained'; that is, as the interrogative pronoun means a thing or a person not known definitely, as 'this' and 'this-like' (*idam*, *idṛk*), so is Prajāpati,—he cannot be described definitely, for such is his greatness. Considering the manner in which they express certain thoughts, as we have already seen in connection with the *bhakti-vāda*, this identification of *ka* with Prajāpati who is expressly mentioned in the last verse of the hymn seems quite natural and appropriate.

Too much reliance or emphasis on the derivative sense is a pitfall, especially when in a great many derivations we are still in a speculative stage. Let me give one or two examples. The following line occurs in the *Chāndogya* 'Up., 4.17.10:

ब्रह्मैवैकं ऋत्विक् कुरुन्वामिरक्षति ।

Here the foremost scholars of the school of the philological interpretation, Böhtlingk and Roth, would not hesitate to explain *aśvā* saying *na-śvā*, *na* (or *a*) being taken in the sense of *sādrśya* 'likeness,' and thus the word meaning 'as a dog' ('wie ein Hund')! I suggest that *aśvā* here is only the instrumental singular of *aśva*.

Following the obviously literal sense, ignoring tradition which indicates the special meaning a word or expression comes to have, is equally dangerous. For instance Rahder, who knows not only Sanskrit, but also Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian, would translate (in the Introduction to his edition of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, in the *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. IV, p. 218) the well-known Buddhist word *brahma-vihāra* (which means the 'sublime state of mind' arising from meditation on *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *mudīlā*, and *upekṣā*), as the *Brahmā-hall* (!), taking the expression literally.

But we must not be blind to the purely philological method, for the real meaning of an expression, it is quite possible, is lost and another one takes its place. Without accepting as final, I may in this connection refer to the very plausible explanation by Dr. L. D. Barnett in his translation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* of the two well-known words *hrīṣīkeśa* and *guḍākeśa* as respectively 'having upstanding hair,' and 'having knotted hair.' The word *hrīṣika* in the sense of *indriya* occurs in Sanskrit, but it is a rare word, and I have not found *guḍākā* to mean *nidrā* anywhere excepting in lexicons. Dr. Barnett's suggestions are deserving of full consideration.

The conventional or accepted sense is more important than what the original root or composition would imply, when the word has been long in use (*rūḍhir yogād baliyāsī*). While derivation gives us the original idea behind a word, the conventional sense is the one which has grown up, and is the sense in which it is employed. The word *nadī* or *dhumī* (from *dhrvati*), when first applied to a river, indicated the idea of its being 'noisy' (*nadī nadanāt*). But it does not follow from this that while we employ the above words we must be necessarily thinking of the root-sense, "the 'noisy' one". To insist upon the root-sense when the word has been accepted in a general way would be improper. Whether originally it was *agra+ni*, or *agri*, or *aj* (*ag*)+*ni*, or whether it has any connection with Latin *ignis*, Lithuanian *ugnis*, Slav *Ognj*, it does not matter; for we all know that the word *agni* in Sanskrit means 'fire'. More than ninety per cent. of the students in our Colleges and Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās, if asked, would answer that *paśyati* is from the root *ḍṛś*, though this derivation is not the fact (philologically, the form *paś* is only an abridged form of *śpaś*). Yet they perfectly know what the word really means. In every language and literature writers employ a large number of words in their current senses, without any reference to the original ideas behind their roots. Under these circumstances, is it not that the interpreter should proceed

with much caution in every step he takes with regard to the derivative meaning of a word he discusses or interprets?

The present condition of Vedic studies in our country is a most regrettable one, specially when it is compared with that in Europe. Vedic Sanskrit is taught to some extent in our Universities, but real interest in it among the students is rare, just as in Prakrit. It appears to me that in most cases it is due to the fact that the teachers themselves are not serious, or have no love for the subject. As such they can hardly rouse any enthusiasm or create any interest in the minds of their pupils. In regard to the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās, the condition is not better, most of the students taking no care for Vedic studies. And the result is that even a really profound Pandit is often unable to construe or understand a passage in Vedic Sanskrit. Nor does he possess the least information about Vedic literature. Though in some of the Pāṭhaśālās there are arrangements for the study of the Veda, they are mainly for chanting purposes, the interpretation being not properly made. This of course has its value, for it is helping to preserve the tradition with respect to *svādhyāya*; but the students who chant without understanding stultify themselves. We should remember what Yāska quotes (I.18) in this connection from the *Saṃhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, 3:

स्थाणुर्यं भारद्वाजः किलाभू-

दधीत्य धेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् ।

But even this situation is altering owing to our changing social ideals. Simple *svādhyāyins* also are getting rarer and rarer, as the bestowing of *dakṣiṇās* to maintain them is getting rarer and rarer. I do not impute any mercenary motives to our *Śrotriya*s, who are still great in the midst of their poverty: but what I suggest is that our Society at large is becoming distracted by other things, and is forgetting its duty to maintain the *Śrotriya*s as necessary to Hindu Society. Vedic studies in the traditional way must languish under such circumstances.

We should nevertheless try to keep up the Vidyā and pay our debt to our Rishis. A reorganisation of Vedic studies should come in. It may be suggested that every student of our Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās should read Vedic Sanskrit to a certain standard—and this must be a high one—as a compulsory subject for his passing a Title Examination. The course should

comprise in addition to the texts a good account of Vedic literature, the Nirukta, a grammar written scientifically, and a book on Sanskrit philology. Besides, some acquaintance with the sister literature of the Avesta may be introduced.

Avesta is not a difficult language to one who knows Sanskrit, specially Vedic Sanskrit. The agreement between Sanskrit and Avesta may be compared with that between Sanskrit and Prakrit. As regards meanings, they help each other. In this connection with your permission I may mention an experience of mine. I was thinking that the names for year are the names for the seasons. For instance, *abda* literally 'one that gives water', i.e., 'rainy season'; *varṣa* (which is the same as *varṣā*) = 'rain', 'rainy season'; *śarad* = 'autumn' (*saradaḥ śalam*); *hima* 'winter season' (*śalam himāḥ*); —all these are the names for the year. But what is the word that originally meant 'hot or summer season', and was employed to denote a year? There must be such a word, for the summer season is very acutely felt in this country. I was then turning over a page of an Avestic work, and came across a word *hama* which means 'summer.' Now *hama* of Avesta, according to phonology, is nothing but *sama* (feminine *samā*) in Sanskrit. And it at once struck me reminding that the word I was seeking after is *sama* (*jīṣṭhāḥ śalam samāḥ*). It is from the root *sam* 'to heat', as Bhānuji Dikṣita explains in his *ṣikā* on *Amara-koṣa*. Cf. English *summer*, German *Sommer*, etc.

I am, however, glad to tell you that our scholars are not remaining idle. Since last we met at Lahore, three important Vedic publications have come out. It was in the first session of our Oriental Conference held in Poona that three MSS. of as many unpublished commentaries on the Rig-Veda, lent by the Government MSS. Library, Madras, were exhibited, one of them being that of Skanda-svāmin, and another of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava. It is now gratifying to see that the first part of these two as edited by Pandit Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī has been placed in our hands by the authorities of the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*. The second work has been given to us by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma Vidyabhushana. It is an important commentary on the *Taittirīya Prātiśakhyā*. It forms the first volume of the recently started *Madras University Sanskrit Series*. The last work comes from the North, the Panjab, the old home of Vedic culture, the people of which have once more become alive to our great ancestral heritage, specially through the inspiration of the Ārya-samāja. We all know the Word-Indices of all the

four Saṁhitās of the Veda prepared by the late Svāmī Viśveśvarānanda and Svāmī Nityānanda, both of the Ārya-samāja. Then Pandit Hansraj of the D. A.-V. College has given us his *Vaidika-Koṣa* which helps one much in Vedic studies with special reference to Brāhmaṇas. And now Principal Visvabandhu Śāstrī of the Dayānanda Brahma Mahāvidyālaya, Lahore, working in the same line, has been engaged in bringing out a complete Etymological Dictionary of the Vedic Language in Sanskrit, Hindi, and English; of which the first (specimen) fasciculus has already reached our hands. It prompts one to say that there is not the least doubt that this work, when completed, will take a unique place in the field of Vedic studies, and as such it is bound to be appreciated by all Vedic scholars. In this Conference we express our sincere thanks to all these workers.

Now, Friends, I must close. I thank you very much for your kindness in patiently hearing my discourse. Let me conclude by reciting the following hymn aiming at the Universal Peace (AV. XIX. 9. 14).

पृथिवी शान्तिरन्तरिक्षं शान्तिर्यौः शान्तिरापः शान्तिरोऽपधयः शान्तिर्वनस्पतयः
 शान्तिर्विश्वे मे देवाः शान्तिः सर्वे मे देवाः शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिमिः ।
 तामिः शान्तिमिः सर्वशान्तिमिः शमयामोहं यदिह घोरं यदिह क्रूरं यदिह पापं
 तच्छान्तं तच्छिष्यं सर्वमेव शमस्तु नः ॥

THE KṚṢṆA PROBLEM

BY

S. N. TADAPATRIKAR, M. A.

I-INTRODUCTORY

1. Vāsudeva has been, ever since the 3rd or 4th century B. C. or even before the advent of Buddhism, worshipped by a great number of Indians, who called themselves Bhāgavatas, devotees of Bhagavat, the supreme Godhead. They took Vāsudeva to be the creator of the worlds and beings, the disposer of destinies, and had identified him with Kṛṣṇa,—in fact, believed that Kṛṣṇa of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, Kṛṣṇa, the preacher of the message of Bhagavadgītā, was this same Vāsudeva, the Yādava hero, who had come down as an incarnation of the Great God Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa, and it was with this complete identification at heart, that a great literature of the Bhāgavatas was composed in the mediæval period. The sentiment of devotion, once rooted, spread in all its branches over the whole of India, and Rāmānuja and Madhva in the South, Rāmānanda, Mirābāi, Kabir, Vallabha, and the saints in Mathurā in the North, and Caitanya in the East; all contributed to bhagavatise the whole of India till the 16th century, when the Maratha saints took up the flag, and calling Viṭṭhala, the Kṛṣṇa of the Kali age, took the message of devotion to the most illiterate masses. Curiously enough, the Bhāgavata religion had among its followers, some foreign converts too, and the eagle pillar erected by Holiodorus¹ at Besnagar in the 2nd century B. C., and Mahomedans² becoming Bhāgavata saints in the 16th century and onwards, are instances to quote.

As was natural, the original tenets of the Bhāgavata religion were, during the course of time, mixed up with other principles, and ultimately the principles of utmost devotion only remained

1 R. G. B. Works, vol. IV, p. 14.

2 Mahārāja Sārasvata, pp. 198-200 Shaikh Mahamad ; p. 519 Shaikh Sulian p. 522, Shaha Muni.

common to all the followers. The philosophies of Rāmānuja, and Madhva, the different forms of worship among the different sub-sects of the Bhāgavatas, all go to prove this ; so that even among the followers of Śaṅkara, the great Advaita preacher, there are many who call themselves Bhāgavatas, professing that, devotion to the God, is not discordant with extreme monism, and it is of interest to note that regular efforts have been made to prove that it is so. It is not within the province of the present thesis to go into any details thereof, the foregoing being meant only to serve as a general trace of the spread of the Bhāgavata religion.

2. Although there were among these millions, scholars of great intellect, who wrote many learned works on this religion, none ever had the slightest doubt about the identification of Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa, and Viṣṇu, and it was only during the last century, when the critical analysis of the Western scholars put the whole material to test, that doubts were raised as to whether all these were from the first identical, or any stages could be traced out to show the development of the Bhāgavata ideas about their Supreme God ; and though many have collected and classified material to draw conclusions from, still no satisfactory solution has been arrived at, and the Kṛṣṇa problem stands at the present day, as uncertain, as it did at the beginning of the investigation.

To give an idea of the work done in this line, the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar,¹ in his Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, gave an outline² of his theory which placed two alternatives before the world : (i) that the Sātvata prince Kṛṣṇa himself founded the system, or (ii) that he was deified after his death, and a system developed round him. Prof. Jacobi in his learned article³ on ' Incarnation (Indian), ' rejects the first alternative as a " scarcely tenable " one, and endorses the second with certain modifications. His arguments and conclusion can be summarised as follows :—

1 Quoted by Jacobi, E. R. E. vol. 7 p. 196, and now published in R. G. B. Works, vol. II, pp. 58-291.

2 Op.cit. p.193.

3 E. R. E, vol. 7 pp. 193-197.

"When Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu became the supreme deity, the Creator and Lord of the world, he stepped into the place of Prajāpati, the Creator of the period of the Brāhmanas, who ascribe to Prajāpati, the Kūrma and Varāha incarnations, and represent him as taking one form or other for some special purpose, and the deeds of Prajāpati were transferred to Nārāyaṇa.

"The wide-spread worship of Kṛṣṇa, as a tribal hero and demi-god and his subsequent identification with Nārāyaṇa, the supreme Lord of creation in that period, gave birth to the theory of incarnation, not as a philosophical speculation of learned mythologists and theologians, but as the great principle pervading and upholding a popular religion. Kṛṣṇaism, in this sense, prevailed in India probably centuries before the beginning of our era. Compare: Chāndogya Upaniṣad, III. XVII. 6, where Ghora Āṅgīrasa imparted a particular piece of secret knowledge to Kṛṣṇa, *the son of Devakī*. Here Kṛṣṇa is still regarded as a man and not a god.

"When the Vedic period drew towards the end, Vāsudeva was considered an equal of Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu, - compare, Tait. Āraṇ. X. 1. 6, where Vāsudeva is mentioned as a god, together with Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu, apparently as mystically identical. Pāṇini regards, (IV. iii. 98) Vāsudeva as a person of the highest rank, probably a god; but Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī was still regarded, in the Vedic period, as a wise man inquiring into the highest truth, and only at some *later time* was he put on an equality with Viṣṇu. Vāsudeva, the god, and Kṛṣṇa, the sage, were *originally* different from one another and only afterwards became, by a syncretism of beliefs, one deity, thus giving rise to, or bringing to perfection, a theory of incarnation.

"Vāsudeva is called Vāsubhadra (Bhāṣa, Dūtavākya V. 6): compare this with Māṇibhadra, who is spelt Māṇi in Jainaparakṛita; compare also Balabhadra, his brother's name: so Vāsudeva derived from 'Vāsu*' seems to be the original name. If this etymology is right, we must assume that the story of his being the son of a Knight Vasudeva is not true, and the name of his father seems to have been developed from his very name Vāsudeva. In support of this, oldest tradition does not mention Kṛṣṇa's father, but mother, calling him son of Devakī.

"The Mahābhārata and Purāṇas reveal Kṛṣṇa to us as a *man*, certainly not eminently good, but a crafty chief who is not over-scrupulous in his choice of means for accomplishing his ends. Visṇu P. IV. 13 undertakes vindication of the character of Kṛṣṇa; Jains assuming nine Vasu°, Vāsu°, Bala°, and Prativāsu°, presuppose the worship of Kṛṣṇa as a very popular religion of India, and hence the *Christian influence* assumed by Weber is excluded by *chronological considerations*."

R. G. Bhandarkar has dealt with this problem with details in his "Vaiṣṇavism and Śāivism etc.":

P. 3-Vāsudeva worship mentioned with others in the Buddhist cannon Niddesa of the 4th century B. C. P. 4.—Inscription at Ghosundi, 200 years B. C. mentions the construction of a wall round the hall of worship of Saṃkarsana and Vāsudeva. P. 5-Patañjali, on the Pāṇini sūtra, saying that Vāsudeva is not a Kṣatriya of the name, but the worshipful one. Pp. 6-11-The Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata XII, summarised with the concluding remark:—"It thus appears that a religion of devotion arose in earlier times, but it received a definite shape, when Vāsudeva related the Gītā to Arjuna and led to the formation of an independent sect, where his brother, son, and grandson, were associated with him, as his forms,.....the sect became conterminus with the Sātvatās" P. 13—The conception of Vasudeva as father must have arisen afterwards, as appears from the example Vāsudeva in the Mahābhāṣya, in the sense of Vāsu°, not Vasu°...Vāsudeva was identified with the Vedic sage Kṛṣṇa, and a geneology given to him in the Vṛṣṇi race, through Śūra and Vasudeva. P. 49—In the Mahābhārata times, the gradual extension of the religion of Sātvatas, is shadowed forth, in some passages questioning the divinity of Kṛṣṇa, while, in Purāṇic times, the three streams of religious thought: (1) from Visṇu, the Vedic God, (2) from Nārāyaṇa, the cosmic and philosophic God, and (3) from Vāsudeva, the historical lord, mingled together to form the later Vaiṣṇavism. P. 50—When HV, VyP, and BhP., were written, the legend about the cowherd Kṛṣṇa, must have already been current, and his identification with Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, been effected.....story of Vṛṣṇi prince Vāsudeva being brought up in a cow-settlement, is *incongruous* with his

later career, as depicted in the Mahābhārata ; nor does any part of Mahābhārata require the presupposition of such a boyhood. PP. 52-54—The Ābhīras of about the 1st century A. D., a nomadic tribe of cowherds, probably brought with them the worship of the boygod, his humble birth, etc. ; they possibly brought the name of Christ also, which led to the identification of the boy-god with Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa. The story of Buddhist Ghaṭajāṭaka contains reference to Nanda etc., but this Jātaka seems to be of post-christian times. ”

Prof. Winternitz in his “History of Indian literature” (vol. I) has, at p. 456 :—

“ As regards Kṛṣṇa, described in several places in the Mahābhārata, he is repeatedly scorned by hostile heroes as ‘cowherd’ and ‘slave.’ Even behind the legends of Harivaṁśa, there seems to be a foundation of older legends in which Kṛṣṇa was not yet a god, but the hero of a rough tribe of cowherds. It is difficult to believe that Kṛṣṇa, the friend and counsellor of Pāṇḍavas, the herald of the doctrines of the Bhagavadgītā, the youthful hero and demon-slayer, the favourite and lover of cowherdesses, and finally Kṛṣṇa, the incarnation of god Viṣṇu was *one and the same person*. It is far more likely that there were two or several traditional Kṛṣṇas, who were merged into one deity at a later time. It is possible that Kṛṣṇa was the founder of the Bhāgavata religion, and was ultimately made into an incarnation. It is possible that Kṛṣṇa did not figure at all in the original epic, and was introduced only later, perhaps to justify the actions of Pāṇḍavas : much as has been written on the problem of Kṛṣṇa, we must admit, no satisfactory solution has been found. In any case, it is a far cry, from Kṛṣṇa, friend of Pāṇḍavas, to the Kṛṣṇa of Harivaṁśa, and the exalted God Viṣṇu. ”

3. These scholars and others following these, have laid great stress on the fact of one person having many names, and starting with the idea that one person should have one name only, have analysed the Kṛṣṇa story under so many names attached to so many incidents, taking that each originally concerned one person only, and all were subsequently mixed up to form the great mass

of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas. The three striking features of this Kṛṣṇa, as at present found mixed up, and separated by the scholars are : (1) Kṛṣṇa as the preacher of the religion of the Bhagavadgītā, (2) Prince Kṛṣṇa, the friend and counsellor of the Pāṇḍavas " not over-scrupulous in his choice of means for accomplishing his ends " (Jacobi, above), and (3) Kṛṣṇa, who grew among cowherds, killed Kāṁsa, and established himself and his kin in Dvārakā, a place which belongs to prince Kṛṣṇa in (2), also.

As the Mahābhārata and the Pūrāṇas are mainly responsible for these accounts of Kṛṣṇa, other literature only incidentally and that too comparatively very rarely, it is proposed, here, to collect and compare the material bearing thereon, as presented in the Mahābhārata and the Pūrāṇas. That some convincing conclusion will be the fruit of these efforts, would, it is feared, be too much to expect, but even if this is sufficient to give a clear view of the whole material, it will have served its purpose. The material itself is vast, and following is, in brief, a statement of the Kṛṣṇa story, with its extent and context, as found in the different Pūrāṇas and the Mahābhārata.

THE PURĀṆAS.

3. Padma Purāṇa (PP)-Uttarakhaṇḍa, adhs. 272-379: Rudra, having told the Rāmacarita to his consort Pārvatī, now goes on to relate the life of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. (Ānandāśrama edition, 1894).

Hari Vamśa (HV)-Adhs. 51-190: God Viṣṇu is awakened by the gods, from his long sleep, and according to the talk afterwards, when Pāṇḍavas, Kauravas etc., are born, Nārada went to the courts of gods, and there, relating the misdeeds of Kāṁsa and others, requested Viṣṇu to come down, to the earth, to remove her burden. Viṣṇu consults Brahmā as to where he should be born, when Brahmā tell about Vasudeva etc., etc., (Calcutta edition).

5. Brhma Vaivarta Purāṇa (BVP)-The whole of the part called 'Śrī Kṛṣṇajanma-Khaṇḍa: Nārada asking Nārāyaṇa regarding Kṛṣṇa' incarnation. Rādhā, being cursed by Śrī Dāmā, friend of Kṛṣṇa, had to become a cowherdess, and for her sake apparently, Kṛṣṇa had to come down. The usual story of the Earth going to heaven for relief, begins from the adh. 4 (an old edition the title page of which is missing).

6. Bhāgavata Purāṇa (BhP)-Skandhas. X, XI: giving a connected life of Kṛṣṇa, as an incarnation of supreme Godhead, related by Śuka to king Parīkṣit, who, after hearing the genealogy of the Lunar and Solar kings, asks to be told the deeds of Viṣṇu's part incarnation, in the Yadu's family (Kumbhakonam edition).

7. Vāyu Purāṇa (VyP)-adh. 96: In course of giving the genealogy of Yadu, from adh. 94, mentions, in this adh. at st. 30ff. the story of diamond Syamantaka, and brings in Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, and gives their birth and deeds (Ānandāśram edition).

8. Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa (DBh)-Skandha IV, adhs. 18-25: Vyāsa and Janamejaya speaking-latter's question at adh. 17, introduces Kṛṣṇa after Rāma story, beginning with the birth of Vasudeva, who being Kaśyapa himself, cursed by Varuṇa comes to the earth (Lele's edition with Marathi translation).

9. Agni Purāṇa (AP)-adh. 12: Agni describing to Vaśiṣṭha the incarnation of Viṣṇu, from Matsya onwards, comes, after Rāma, to Kṛṣṇa, saying "Harivamśam pravakṣyāmi" I2. 1. (Ānandāśram edition).

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THE PURĀṆAS.

1. Brahma Purāṇa (BP)-Adhs. 179-212: Vyāsa, having related the importance of Bhāratavarṣa, and Purusakṣetra, is asked by the Ṛsis to relate about the birth of Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa on this earth. The introductory stanzas at adhy. 180, are in the fashion of those of Mahābhārata at 1. 1. Real story begins from adhyāya 181. (Ānandāśrama edition).

2. Viṣṇu Purāṇa (VP)-Amśa 5, adhs. 1-38: Maitreya, having heard the genealogy of other kings, asks Parāśara, to tell him about the Amśavatāra of Viṣṇu, of the Yadu family. The text of BP and VP agrees, according to Wilson, "exactly" but a comparison of the two, shows some additional matter in the VP, which is shown under the respective headings below (edition printed at the Vṛttadīpa Press, by Viṣvanātha Bhaskara Bhagavata; text with commentary Vaiṣṇavākūṭa candrikā by Śrī Ratnagarbha Bhaṭṭācārya).

3. Padma Purāṇa (PP)-Uttarakhaṇḍa, adhs. 272-379: Rudra, having told the Rāmacarita to his consort Pārvatī, now goes on to relate the life of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. (Ānandāśrama edition, 1894).

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9. Agni Purāṇa (AP)-adh. 12: Agni describing to Vasiṣṭha the incarnation of Viṣṇu, from Matsya onwards, comes, after Rāma, to Kṛṣṇa, saying "Harivamśam pravakṣyāmi" 12. 1. (Ānandāśram edition).

10. *Liṅga Purāṇa* (LP)-adh. 60 : in the course of giving the *Sātvata* genealogy, comes upon *Kaṁsa* (St. 42) ; then *Vasudeva* and *Devaki* giving birth to *Kṛṣṇa* (Calcutta edition by *Jivananda Vidyasagara*).

THE MAHABHĀRATA (Mbh.) : *Kṛṣṇa* story is mixed with that of the *Pāṇḍavas*, all over the Epic ; he is introduced here as already grown up, his first appearance being at the *Svayamvara* of *Draupadī*. Reference to his birth from *Vasudeva* in the *Aṁśavataraṇa* portion of the *Ādiparvan* (I. 64. 141-146) is likely to be, an after-addition, and forms no part of the original ; *Kṛṣṇa*'s previous life, is given, only incidentally in the dialogues of other persons (*Kumbhakonam* edition).

JAINA HARIVAMŚA PURĀṆA (JHP) :—The Jainas also have adopted the Indian epic and Purāṇic tales, and there is a *Harivamśa Purāṇa*, composed by *Jinasena* in Śaka 705. This work though mainly intended to describe the deeds of *Neminātha*, one of the *Jaina Tirthamkaras*, also gives the story of *Kṛṣṇa* and the *Pāṇḍavas*, and although there are many points of difference in the details, the general run of the whole is in agreement with the Indian tradition. (*Sholapur* edition of Hindi translation).

Of the *Purāṇas*, BP seems to have an account older than VP, the latter having many additions to the text of the former. These two and PP, AP, BhP, and BVP devote a special portion to the *Kṛṣṇa* story, while VyP and LP give it, in course of describing the *Yādava* genealogy. AP is only a short summary concluding with *Kṛṣṇa*'s fight with *Bāṇāsura*, and peacefully settling with his wives, and this is the general extent of *Purāṇic* accounts. BVP, meant solely to glorify *Rādhā*, gives greatest prominence to *Kṛṣṇa*'s life as connected with her. HV, although meant to serve as a supplement to Mbh., faithfully goes over the extent of the *Purāṇic* story, and guards against any mixture of the Mbh. account, while BhP is the only *Purāṇa*, which puts in the two accounts, setting them in proper context. DBh finishes the *Kṛṣṇa* story with his penance, in which he gratifies *Śiva*, and obtains boon to have sons, and *Śiva* then gives a prophecy of *Kṛṣṇa*'s life, bringing it to his death.

Except BP and VP which have a common text, all the other accounts have no textual agreement. The influence of Mbh. on the BhP is very great: in addition to its bringing in the Kṛṣṇa story in Mbh. side by side with that in Purāṇas, the story which introduces the Purāṇa itself, refers to the characters in the Mbh., and starts from Aśvathāman's killing Parīkṣit, while yet unborn, and the child's revival by Kṛṣṇa, an incident mentioned at Mbh. XIV. 69. 24-26.

II—KṚṢṆA-STORY IN THE PURĀṆAS.

1. That so many different compositions bearing on the same subject, and ranging from short ones of a few stanzas, to those extending over thousands of stanzas, are found included in the majority of Purāṇas, is, in addition to its proving the vast popularity of Kṛṣṇa, a point that leads us to some other field, —different texts bearing on almost the same details of the story, would suggest that these texts were composed by more than one author, and not by Vyāsa alone, in different provinces of India, at, perhaps, different times --but rather than dealing here with such matters of a general nature, it is better, just to study the details of the story itself; it is proposed to divide the whole Purāṇic story into *incident-units*, each being arranged as follows :—(1) number and name of the incident, (2) place where it is found in the different Purāṇas, and the Mahābhārata, (3) general description of the incident, (4) a comparison of the details, and (5) other important matter.

Regarding these different sources, it has to be noted that AP in its summary, only mentions the incidents, and in these too, the order of some is not in keeping with the general tradition; while LP and VyP as also the DBh., bring in the Kṛṣṇa story only incidentally, first two in giving the Sātvata genealogy, and the last, to prove that even God Viṣṇu has to submit to the decrees of fate¹. In Mbh. too, the Purāṇic incidents are mentioned only to glorify Kṛṣṇa, while his actual life described in the Epic, mainly as it should, connects itself with the Pāṇḍavas, and forms, as it were, a

1 "Evam nānāvataḥkretra Viṣṇuḥ ... daivādhiṇaḥ sadaiva hi" DBh IV, 20,

separate episode. As stated above, BhP is the only source which puts the two accounts together, so that, the incidents given below, have been given according to the general Purāṇic tradition, and other additional matter, in the different sources, is given under the last item (e).

A general statement made above, about JHP, it is believed, will be sufficient for our present purpose, and it will not be taken into any account in the study of the incidents below. Its title denotes, that it was fashioned after the HV, Mbh. life of the Pāṇḍavas being added to, to make the account complete. As regards its story disagreeing with our Indian tradition, we have to take that the changes were somehow purposely made. The present form of the text of Mbh. was decidedly established some centuries *before* the time of Jināsena, the author of JHP, and although the dates of the Purāṇas are still uncertain, Pargiter¹ places some in the 8th and 9th centuries, while Kolhatkar,² who has dealt with the question at some length, and Kale³ too, take the Purāṇas, at least some, to the beginning of the Christian era—it can safely be taken, that Kṛṣṇa legend, whatever its developments be, was fully established before the 8th century. So that unless some Indian source which would serve as a right basis for the JHP, is found out—and no such has yet been traced, it cannot be argued that the Kṛṣṇa story was adopted from mere oral tradition at the end of the 8th century. Of course, nothing that would lower the dignity of Kṛṣṇa, has been stated, except that Jaina sages are, off and on, brought in to initiate the different characters into the tenets of the sect, to show the greatness of the sect, and only in one case, do we find, Kṛṣṇa stated to be inferior in prowess to Nemi, the hero of the poem; it is where⁴ Kṛṣṇa is shown unable to remove, by force, the foot of Nemi from the throne. There are some statements that are clearly meant to give a moral view to the incident: e.g. Karna is stated⁵ to be a son of Kuntī, from Pāṇḍu, after their gāṇḍharva, but before the

1 Ancient Indian Hist. Tradition.

2 Bhāgavatāchṛī Upasamhāra, Ch. 8.

3 Purāṇanirākṣaṇa, Ch. 1.

4 JHP Sarga 53, St. 11. 12.

5 Op. cit. 45, 36-33.

celebration of their marriage in public; Draupadī is stated¹ to be the wife of Arjuna alone, and not of the five brothers, mentioning that the garland broke loose from the hands of Draupadī, and the flowers thereof were scattered over all the five brothers; and this incident gave some mischievous people cause to say that she married five. The war with Jarāsaṁdha, forms the most important incident in JHP. Kauravas are said to have sided with him, and they retire to forest after the death of Jarāsaṁdha. The whole story is, in this work, profusely mixed with hundreds of other characters, and it would suffice our purpose, here, to conclude, without going into any more details, that the work is adopted from the HV and Mbh. together, and the story is given a greatly divergent tone by many additions and changes.

Incidents in the life of Kṛṣṇa, as given in the Purāṇas.²--

(a) I. THE EARTH'S APPROACH TO THE GODS.

(b) BP 181.5-20; VP 1.12-33; PP 272.12-18; HV 52; BVP 4.2-56; BhP 1.17-19; VyP-no reference; DBh. 18.2-25; AP, LP-no reference; MBH I.65-37-53.

(c) The Earth was burdened by the sins of the Asuras, and, seeking relief from the Supreme God, approached Brahmā, who along with other gods, repaired to the milky ocean, where God Nārāyaṇa was enjoying rest.

(d) BP and VP, state that the earth went to mount Meru, where gods were sitting in a conference and addressed herself to them, when Brahmā, of his own accord, proposed going to Nārāyaṇa; PP, BhP and Mbh omit the conference of gods on mount Meru, stating that the Earth went direct to Brahmā, PP saying that the Earth disappeared after her appeal, while according to Mbh, Brahmā gave her leave to go, and then called the conference. BhP and DBh paint the Earth as going in the form of a cow. BVP and DBh add more stages; according to BVP, the Earth

1 Op. cit. 45. 135ff.

2 First number denotes the adhyāya, and the second, the stanzas describing the incident; where this is co-extensive with the adhyāyas, only the first numbers are given. Roman figures inserted before the adhyāyas numbers, show the parvas in the Mahābhārata and Skandhas in BhP.

went to Brahmā, who took her to Śiva, then the three going to Dharma, and after consulting him, all went to Hari, who advised them to repair to Goloka and request Kṛṣṇa who would do the needful. According to DBh, the Earth went to Indra, who admitted his inability to help her, and took her to Brahmā, who then took them both to God Hari, who, in his turn, explains the superiority of the goddess Devī, and all offer prayers to her. HV describes the death of Kālanemi, with full details, at adh. 48, 49; VP, too, at St. 22, puts in the words of the Earth, that the same demon was born as Kāṁsa, but makes no direct mention of this incident. Viṣṇu, who was sleeping for ages, is, in HV, awakened by Brahmā and sages, at the end of adh. 51, when Brhamā shows the distressed Earth, and asks Hari to come to mount Meru for consultation. As context to this incident, VP-BP *differing* here—and PP, mention the marriage of Vasudeva, and Devakī, and their subsequent captivity by Kāṁsa, who had learnt of his future death from Devakī's issue, (st. 12 VP, and PP).

In Viśvopākhyāna, at Mbh. VI 65-68, the gods' conference on the mount Meru, is mentioned, where the supreme God comes and is requested by Brahmā, to be born in the family of the Yādavas.

(e) Compared with BP, VP inserts 6 stanzas, in the speech of the Earth, stating that all creation was the different forms of God Viṣṇu.

(a) II. GOD'S PROMISE.

(b) BP 181.29-32; VP 1.33-65; PP 272.18-25; HV 52-56; BVP 4.56-6.278; BhP 1.20-26; VyP—no mention; DBh 18.25-19.47; AP LP—no mention; Mbh 1.65.54-66.1 and VI.66.2.

(c) Going to the abode of the supreme God Viṣṇu, the gods, Brahmā prominent among them, offered prayers, when the God learnt of the trouble, and promised to relieve the Earth of her burden after being born as Kṛṣṇa, son of Vasudeva. He also asked the other gods to go down in various characters. and help his cause.

(d) BP and VP give a text for the prayer by Brahmā, PP only stating that prayer was offered, while BhP says that Brahmā

recited the Puruṣa Sūkta, and had the inspired response from the Sky—without the God appearing personally—and then the word was carried to other gods. In HV, it is Brahmā who gives his advice to Hari in the conference; according to BVP, the matter is finally settled in Goloka, the abode of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, latter allotting to each god his particular character, and lastly consoling his love Rādhā, for the coming separation of 100 years, which was an outcome of a former love intrigue in Goloka, and during this period, Kṛṣṇa was to perform all his life's work in Mathurā, Dvārakā, etc. In DBh, the gods, under advice of Nārāyaṇa, all offer prayers to the supreme Śakti, and she disposes of the matter, herself promising to appear as a child of Yaśodā, and transfer Viṣṇu to Gokula from his place of captivity as also effect the removal of Śeṣa, from the womb of Devakī to that of Rohiṇī. This Śakti is in other Purāṇas, referred to as Yogamāyā, whom Hari asks to do these things. BP, VP, DBh. also, and Mbh. I. 214. 32, 33, state that the God rooted out two hairs from himself—one black and the other white,—and these entering the wombs of Devakī, and Rohiṇī appeared as Kṛṣṇa and Rāma respectively. According to Mbh, in the reference in Ādiparvan the God settles the matter with Indra, and, in that in the Bhīṣmaparvan, the God only promised that it will be all right, and disappeared. These three different versions of the same incident show an effort to record all oral traditions, in some connection or another, in the body of the Epic.

(e) VP inserts an additional prayer for Brahmā at 34-50, whereupon Hari asks him to speak his mind, and then VP takes the text common to BP.

(a) III. KṚṢṆA'S BIRTH.

(b) BP 181.32-182.11; VP 1.65-3.7; PP 272.25-38; HV 57-60; BVP 7.1-74; BhP 1.27-3.8; VyP 96.192-202; DBh 20. (1-52, other matter) 53-23-21; AP 12.4-6; LP 69.46 48; Mbh I.64 141.145.

(c) Vasudeva married Devakī; while the ceremony was being performed, Kamsa, the cousin of the bride, was apprised of his future death at the hands of the eighth son of Devakī; he rushed upon her with a drawn sword, but was pacified by Vasudeva, who

promised to hand over his children to Kāṁsa, as soon as they were born. Kāṁsa killed six sons, but the seventh time, the child, while still in the womb, was transferred, by divine power, from Devakī to Rohiṇī, another wife of Vasudeva, living elsewhere. This was the boy Saṁkarṣaṇa, so called from his being drawn away from Devakī's womb. Kāṁsa was more watchful at the eighth time, and kept the couple under close custody, and it was thus, in the prison house, that our hero was born.

(d) VP and PP give the marriage and the subsequent compromise between Kāṁsa and the couple, to have occurred before the Earth's approach to gods (cf. I, above); VyP gives it at stanzas 219-228, as a previous incident to account for Kāṁsa's cruelty. Kāṁsa's death is foretold by a word from heaven according to PP 272.7; BVP 7.15; VyP 96.220; by Nārada as shown in BP 181.33; HV 57; VP mentions the first at 1.7 and the second at 1.66, saying that the couple was kept in captivity, upon Kāṁsa's death being confirmed by Nārada's statement, while BhP and DBh give the heavenly prophecy first, and introduce Nārada, when Kāṁsa returns to Vasudeva his first child, and there Nārada urges Kāṁsa to kill all children, as which particular child was the eighth, could not be certain, as the numbers could be counted from any child as the first; this last argument, according to DBh, which also mentions Vasudeva's armed opposition to Kāṁsa, when the elders intervened and the compromise was settled.

The first six children killed by Kāṁsa - VyP says that he also killed Vasudeva's ten more sons born of his other wives - are the former sons of Hiranyakaśipu, according to BP, VP, HV and DBh, of Hiranyākṣa, according to PP; BhP, along with BVP and LP mentions only the death of the six children at 2.4, but, later on, at 85.47 it gives the Hiranyakaśipu story, when Kṛṣṇa shows his mother her dead sons: the story, that these six 'garbhās' were favoured by Brahmā, and consequently cursed by Hiranya, occurs in DBh and with more details in HV, where Viṣṇu personally goes to Pātāla to give a dream vision to the six. BhP account in the second context, says that they were six sons of Marīci, and having laughed at god Brahmā, ready for a sexual union with his daughter, were born of Hiranya, and afterwards taken to Devakī's womb, by Yogamāya, and killed by Kāṁsa. It is the

same illusion called Māyā or Nidrā, that, being advised by Viṣṇu, brings about also, the transfer of Balarāma to Rohiṇī's womb, and finally herself taking birth from Yaśodā, to be exchanged for Kṛṣṇa; and as a reward for these acts, she is promised high praise in heaven, Viṣṇu himself repeating the stotra.¹

The killing of the first six, and the disappearance of the seventh² from Devakī's womb, brings us to the birth of the eighth. BP and VP have a praise offered by the gods to the pregnant Devakī, while in BVP and BhP, the prayer is addressed to the God in the womb; BVP states that Devakī's womb was full of air- 'Vāta' only, and at the last moment, she fell senseless, when the air escaped, and the God appeared before her; BhP also mentions the mysterious appearance of the divine form, other Purāṇas state his birth³, DBh giving a curious incident on the occasion: Devakī feeling ashamed asks Vasudeva to turn his face away, while she was delivering; BVP states that he fetched a learned Brāhmaṇa for consultation, and some female relatives to attend upon his wife.

Kṛṣṇa is described⁴ as, at first, having four hands and all the divine appearance of Viṣṇu; BVP describes his divine form, but gives him two hands only, and DBh makes him only a "bright child." All Purāṇas state that the elements were extremely pleasant at the birth of Kṛṣṇa: winds blowing auspiciously, the stars shining with lustre etc; and HV and VyP agree in saying that the time was the "Vijaya Muhūrta." Mbh gives no details about this birth.

1 So BP and VP; HV allots a separate adh. 59, calling it 'Ārya stava'

BhP mentions Viṣṇu requesting the Māyā to transfer the seventh child.

2 LP seems to consider Rāma, as the first born: "Jāte Rāme tha nihate śaṣṭh-garbhe cātidakṣiṇe" 69. 46.

3 cf. BVP: "Niṣsasāra ca vāyus ca ... 173, tatraiva bhagavān Kṛṣṇo ... babirāvirbabhūva ha 174. BhP: "Devakīṁnavirasit." BP, VP "jāyamāne" PP: "Tasyām jātaḥ." HV: jātam." and DBh "Sugrhe."

4 cf. BP, VP, VyP 'caturbāhuḥ,' PP, BhP, AP, LP: caturbāhuḥ' BVP, 'dvibhujam muralīhastam.' HV 'Yutam divyāḥ lakṣaṇāḥ' (doubtful).

(e) VP inserts 12 st. (2. 7-18) in the prayer offered by the gods to Devaki. AP and LP in mentioning this birth, give the removal of the Earth's burden, as a motive¹ :

(a) IV KṚṢṆA'S REMOVAL TO GOKULA.

(b) BP 182. 12-32; VP 3. 8-29; PP 272. 39-58; HV 60; BVP 7. 75-132; BhP 3. 9-4. 13; VyP 96. 203-210; DBh 23. 22-48; AP 12. 7-13; LP 69. 49-61, Mbh-no reference to these incidents, is found in the Epic, only indirect mention of Kṛṣṇa's deeds is made collectively, in some connection, and these will be considered later on.

(c) Seeing the God in his divine glory, before him, Vasudeva requested him, after prayers, to become an ordinary child, telling him of the fear from Kamsa, whereupon, the superhuman turned into a child, and Vasudeva, according to the advice given him, took the child to Gokula, and exchanging it for the daughter of Yaśodā, returned, and placed her with his wife Devaki, when Kamsa was informed of the birth of the eighth child. He struck her against a stone, but she escaped his hands, and showing her divine form in the sky, told Kamsa that his death, the real eighth child, was in safety elsewhere.

(d) BP and VP give two stanzas for Vasudeva, and two for Devaki, praying the divine form as supreme God; and being afraid of Kamsa, they ask Him to withdraw his divine form with four hands; the Bhagavat tells Devaki that he had been born² of her, as she had prayed for, formerly. It is further stated that while Vasudeva was taking the child to Gokula, at night, the guards were sleeping, influenced by Yoganidrā; the child was protected from the rain by Śeṣa, covering it with his hoods, that the deep river Yamunā became passable with knee-deep water, that on returning after the exchange of children, while Yaśodā was unconscious, the guards heard the crying of the child and informed Kamsa. PP omits the words of Devaki and Bhagavat, and adds that Vraja was situated on the bank of the river. HV, BVP, and VyP do not give any details of the incidents on the way :

1 Cf. AP: "bhuvobhārāvātārtham" 12. 4, LP "Bhūbhāranigrabhārthāya" 69. 55, implying a reference (?) to incidents in I, II.

2 "jñāham yat savodarāt," BP 182. 18, VP 3. 14.

BhP in the reply of the Bhagavat, gives an account of the former lives of his parents and their hard penance for having him as their child. BP, VP, PP, AP, and LP do not state as to who advised the transfer. HV, BVP, VyP, and BhP do it under advice of Bhagavat; DBh mentioning a message from the sky, this last stating that the exchange of children was made between Vasudeva and a maid servant-Sairandhri-who stood at the door of Nanda's house, and according to VyP, and LP, Vasudeva did it with the knowledge of Yaśodā, and in addition requested Nanda to protect the child carefully. According to HV and VyP, Vasudeva personally gives the information to Kāṁsa, HV, BVP, and BhP adding a prayer from Devakī to spare the child; HV and VyP states that the girl Ekānamśā (so BVP, also; °daśā in VyP). was worshipped by the Yādavas, as she protected Kṛṣṇa, and BVP states that Kāṁsa returned the daughter to the weeping parents, and she was, during the marriage ceremony of Rukmiṇī, married to sage Durvāsas. DBh refers to a former agreement between Yaśodā and Devakī, regarding the exchange of children.

(a) V. KĀMSA'S SUBSEQUENT MOVE.

(b) BP 182.1-11; VP 4.1-17; PP. 272,59-63; HV 60; BVP-no reference; BhP 4.14-46; VyP-no reference; DBh 23.49-53 AP, LP-no reference.

(c) This incident consists of two sub-units: (1) Kāṁsa consults his counsellors, and orders the slaughter of new-born children thereabouts, and (2) confused at the escape of the girl, and the warning of his death, offers apologies to Vasudeva and Devakī, and asks them free.

(d) BP and VP and PP¹ mention death being ordered only in case of children having 'extra-ordinary' strength. BhP interchanges the two incidents, and says that Kāṁsa, after consultation, decides to harass the good people, as that would disturb the peace of God Hari, who was at the bottom of all his trouble! HV mentions only the second incident, and DBh the first, omitting any consulting, and stating that Kāṁsa ordered the wholesale slaughter of children as soon as born².

1 "yatrodriktam balam bala " BP 182. 7, VP 4, 13; "Samudriktabalān balaṁ " PP 272.62.

2 "jātamātrāś ca hantavyā " DBh 23. 50,

(e) VP inserts 6 stanzas in Kāṁsa's speech, saying that all gods were powerless before him; BhP puts the same' ideas, only in an enlarged form, in the mouth of Kāṁsa's counsellors; BVP inserts another matter after IV: adh. 8-janmāstamivrata, adh. 9-former lives of Nanda and Yaśodā, Vasudeva and his two wives.

(a) VI. VASUDEVA AND NANDA.

(b) BP 183.1-6; VP 5.1-6; PP 272.64-98; HV 61; BhP 5.19-32; no reference in other sources.

(c) In an interview between Vasudeva and Nanda, the former requested the latter to take care of his children.

(d) According to BP, VP and BhP, Nanda, who was full of joy at the birth of a son from Yaśodā, had gone to Mathurā, to pay taxes and there Vasudeva saw him and congratulating him upon the birth of a son, requested Nanda to protect his own son with Rohini, and return to Vraja, as there were some bad omens portending forthcoming trouble. HV follows the same course of details, but states that Nanda had come with Yaśodā and the child, and that Vasudeva advised for a shift of Nanda's place of residence, and Nanda, accordingly, following the course of river Yamunā, established his camp at the foot of the hill Govardhana. PP states, instead, that Vasudeva visited the Vraja, and keeping Rohini's son, under Yaśodā's care, returned to Mathurā.

(a) VII. KṚṢṆA'S BIRTH FESTIVALS.

(b) BP 184. 39, 20; VP 6, 8, 9; PP 272. 69-74; BV no mention: BVP 9. 42ff. and again at adh. 13; BhP 5. 1-18; DBh. 25. 1-5.

(c) The birth of the child was celebrated with great festivities by Nanda; the Gopis paid a visit to Yaśodā, and offered her many presents, and blessed the child with great joy.

(d) BP, VP, PP and BhP, further on at adh. 8. 1-20, mention that Garga, the family priest of the Yādavas, visited Nanda, at the instance of Vasudeva, and there performed the religious 'Jātaka' rites of the two children 'in secret,' giving them their respective names. BVP adds a prophecy, of

1 " Kim Indreṇālpaviryēṇa VP. 4a = BhP 36c.

Kṛṣṇa's life, by the sage Garga, in which the Pāṇḍavas are referred to. DBh states that these festivities were informed to Kāṁsa, by men of his secret service, and Nārada had told him about Nanda, which led to the incidents in VIII, below.

(e) BhP transposes incidents VI and VII.

(a) VIII. KṚṢṆA IN THE COW-SETTLEMENT.

These occupy the life of Kṛṣṇa till his arrival in Mathurā; some of the incidents are mere ordinary accidents, but the Purāṇas make much of these, as would naturally be the case in the life of a great hero. So, with these general remarks, we proceed here to compare and study the details of each incident as it is presented in the Purāṇas. VyP, which gives some stray information about Kṛṣṇa, in the course of giving the genealogy, does not refer to any of these details. LP makes only a general statement¹ that "all the efforts of Kāṁsa, were rendered fruitless by her—meaning the Devī—who had warned Kāṁsa of his death." DBh and AP mention² some incidents, without giving any details thereof. These minor sources, are, therefore, generally ignored, below.

(a) i—PŪTANĀ.

(b) BP 184.7-21; VP 5.7-23; PP 272.74-82; HV 63; BVP 10; BhP 6.

(c) missioned by Kāṁsa, Pūtanā, the death of children, proceeded to Gokula, in an attractive form, and offered the child Kṛṣṇa her breasts for a suck; the child sucked away the life out of her, and she fell dead in her giant form, which put all to fright, when Nanda and others, fearing some evil to the child, performed some magic rites, for its protection.

(d) HV states that she was the nurse—"Dhātrī"—of Kāṁsa and appeared like a bird—'Śakuntī'; while BVP calls her his dear sister, stating that she arrived as a Brāhmanī from Mathurā, and that she was, originally 'Ratnamālā' the daughter of Bali, and had a motherly feeling towards Vāmana, which led to this incident.

1 Yastatpratīkṛtau yatnaḥ, tasya caiva jaḍīkṛtaḥ, LP 69. 62.

2 DBh 24, 6, 7; AP 12. 14-22.

BhP treats this as an independent incident and has a concluding "Phalaśruti" stanza at the end. BP and VP do not mention the agency of Kaiṁsa, in this affair. All sources except BVP state that Pūtānā approached the place without the knowledge of others. HV adding that she hid herself under a cart, and PP saying that she had besmeared her breasts with poison. PP and BVP add her cremation by Nanda.

HV does not mention any Rakṣā magic here, and BVP states¹ only that some auspicious act was performed. This Rakṣā consisted, according to the remaining sources, of placing the cowdung on the head, moving the tail of a cow over the body and chanting some spells; these last are given in BP, VP, and BhP, this third one having quite a different text, but the general principle seems to be, in both the cases, to refer to some name of Godhead, for protection of some certain part of the body. Many of these names like 'Hṛṣīkeṣa, Govinda', are seen applied to Kṛṣṇa himself, while others like 'Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa' refer to the supreme God.

(e) VP transposes a stanza and inserts two, in this passage.

(a) ii- ŚAKATA.

(b) BP 184.22-28; VP 6.1-7; PP 272.82-85; HV 62; BVP 12.1-13; BhP 7.1-17.

(c) while Yaśodā was engaged elsewhere, the child was weeping for a suck, and, throwing up its feet, upset the cart, under which it was lying. The noise brought the elders to the scene, where other boys told of the incident. Yaśodā rearranged the upset cart, and did some worshipping.

(d) HV transposes (i) and (ii), while BVP inserts the Rakṣā Kavaca, in its own text, after this cart incident, stating that it was recited by a Dvija placing his hand on the child.

(e) PP inserts one more incident after this, at 272.86-89 ab: the child killed a Rākṣasa² in the form of a cock which had struck him with its palm. PP has some agreement in text here, with that of BP and VP. BP 23=PP 83 cd, 84 ab.

¹ "Maṅgalaṁ kṛayāṁsa" BVP 10. 38.

² "Rākṣasaḥ ... kukkuṭaveśadhik" PP 272. 87.

Between this (ii) and the following incident (iii), BhP has some additional matter, giving some more incidents; BVP mentioning, only one of them:—BhP 7.18-33; BVP 11 (i.e. *before Śakata*): the child taken away by a whirlwind, was saved. The wind is called Trṇāvarta, evidently a demon, and was killed by the child striking him against a stone. BhP 7.34-37; Yaśodā sees the whole creation in the yawning child: 8.1-20; Garga performing the Nāmakarana, referred to above under VII: 21-31; Kṛṣṇa growing up; and playing; 32-45: Kṛṣṇa, charged with eating dust, 'mṛd' opened his mouth before Yaśodā, who saw the whole creation there, and was bewildered. BP and VP, and BhP also, mention Garga's performing the Nāmakarana (cf. VII above) as coming off after this incident [i.e. (ii)].

(a) iii- KṚṢṆA and the MORTAR.

(b) BP 184.31-42; VP 6.10-20; PP 272.89-97; HV 64; BVP 14. BbP 9.10.

(c) Kṛṣṇa and Rāma had now begun to creep on their knees and hands, and wandering here and there, did many small mischiefs. Yaśodā, to prevent Kṛṣṇa from this, bound him to a mortar with a rope, and went to her work. Kṛṣṇa, moving along with the mortar, reached two large trees, Yamala, and Arjuna, and in an effort to move on, felled both to the ground.

(d) PP mentions that¹ Kṛṣṇa stole butter from the neighbours, and that Yaśodā, after binding him, went to sell milk. HV states that Gopīs saw the accident and called back Yaśodā, scolding her for her harshness. BVP differing, says that Kṛṣṇa ate butter, milk etc. while Yaśodā was away to bathe herself, and began to fly, when she knew the fact from other boys. She then bound him to a tree, and beating him, left him there, when Kṛṣṇa, sportively felled the tree, and Nanda and others got angry with Yaśodā for this harshness. BhP has again different details: Kṛṣṇa approached Yaśodā for a suck, while she was churning for butter; she gave him a little, but he was not satisfied, and angrily broke the pot, and fled out. She pursued the child, and bound him to a mortar; the length of all the ropes in the house was

¹ "Navanītam jahūrāṣu" PP 272.90, and "...vikretum gorasūdikam" PP 272.91.

not sufficient to bind him, but finally Kṛṣṇa granting the binding, and then moving on, brought on the accident. The two trees, according to this source, were the sons of Kubera, Nalakūbara Manigriva, followers of Rudra, and were cursed by sage Nārada, for their indecent acts. They were promised relief at the hands of Kṛṣṇa, and the God acted accordingly. BVP which refers to only one tree, brings in the first named son only, who was seen naked with Rambhā, by the sage Devala, and subsequently cursed. PP in some MSS. only, states that the trees were, after relief, turned into *kiṁnaras*. This incident brings to Kṛṣṇa, the synonym Dāmodara.

(e) BP 38ab = PP 92ab ; v. 1. 'Kamaleksanah' for 'Dharapl-dharah.' BVP in adh. 15, following this incident, mentions the marriage of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa performed by Brahmā. The situation described here, reminds one of the opening stanza: "Meghair meduram ambaram ..." in Jayadeva's famous poem, 'Gitagovinda.'

(a) iv- THE NEW SETTLEMENT.

(b) BP 184. 42-60 ; VP 6. 21-51 ; PP 272. 97-99 ; HV 65, 66 ; BVP 16. 147-179 ; BhP 11. 21-40.

(c) these accidents frightened all, and so, Nanda, in consultation with his elder neighbours, removed the whole camp to Vṛndāvana, on the bank of the Yamunā, where they began to pass days in peace, the boys sporting among the cattle and playing with their mates.

(d) BP and VP state that although the place, where they had removed, was dry owing to hot-season, it was, as-if by magic, turned¹ fresh with new grass, as if in Autumn, also that the children, in course of time, became *seven* years old, when rainy season set in. VP inserts 12 stanzas to describe the sports of the boys in the season. HV mentions the shift to have come out, when the boys had become seven years old² ; when Kṛṣṇa spoke to Rāma about shifting to Vṛndāvana, as the present Vraja was full of bustle ;

1 " tatas tatrāti rūkṣeṇi gharmakāle dvijottama (VP ' tadā dvija) ' Prāvṛt-kāla ivābhūt ca (VP. ivodbhūtam) navaśaṣṭam samantataḥ ' BP 184. 50cd, 51ab ; VP 6. 29.

2 " Tasmīnneva vrajasthāne saptaavarṣau babbhūvatuḥ." HV. 65. 1.

the place was, soon after, attacked by wolves, and this was the immediate cause of the shift. BVP at adh. 17.1-28 states that Vṛndāvana was built by Viśvakarmā, in a night, and gives a royal description of the place. BhP, previous to describing the shift, devotes some stanzas to the mothers after their sportive children, where we can mark the difference between the ages of the two brothers, Yaśodā calls Kṛṣṇa for a suck of her breast and asks Rāma to take food with Nanda, who was waiting for him.

(e) After this incident, BhP inserts some more, which are not found in some of the other sources: BhP 11.41-45; a daitya in the form of a calf-'vatsa'-killed by Kṛṣṇa: BhP 46-53; PP 272. 100. 101; BVP 16.1-13 (i.e. before XIB, vii, and the shift) a huge crane, the demon Baka, caught hold of Kṛṣṇa in a pond, and was subsequently killed by him. BhP 12, Aghāsura, a young brother of Baka, lying in the form of a huge cobra, on the way, was entered by the mouth, and killed by suffocation, by Kṛṣṇa. BhP 13,14; PP 272,102-128; BVP 20; God Brhmā carried away the cattle and boys; Kṛṣṇa himself took all these forms, and stayed on for a year, without incurring anybody's doubt, when Brahmā returned, and praising Kṛṣṇa for his great power, restored all to him. BhP does not mention rainy season here, but transposes it elsewhere at adh. 20.

With regard to BhP, it has to be noted that this Purāṇa, the most popular one of all, on account of its being given a very high place of authority among all Vaiṣṇava sects, exists in two distinct Recensions, named, the Śrīdhara and Vijayadhvaṇa (vij), after the respective commentators; a striking difference can be noted here: stanzas 10, 11 depicting Kṛṣṇa, acting as a fruit-seller, are omitted in Vij; st. 12-20 Yaśodā calling Kṛṣṇa and Rāma back from the riverside, and st. 21-29, Nanda consulting others about the shift, are transposed, inserting a st. after 20, to give Nanda's order of the shift; the next day:—... "śvoto vṛndāvanam yāmo..." and having the same run as Śrīdhara to the end of adh. 11; vij. omits adh. 12, 13, 14 (see contents above) altogether.

(a) v- KĀLIYA, THE SERPENT.

(b) BP 185. 1-56; VP 7. 1-82; PP 272. 128-134; HV 68, 69 BVP 19. 1-169; BhP 15. 47-17. 19.

(c) this great poisonous serpent lived with his numerous mates, in a deep pool of the river Yamunā; Kṛṣṇa unaccompanied by his brother Rāma, entered the pool, one day, and putting down all the serpent's attacks, totally humbled him down, when the mates, as also the serpent himself, offered prayers to Kṛṣṇa, as the powerful God, when Kālīya was asked to leave the pool and proceed with his family to the sea, where, thenceforth he, his hood marked with foot-prints of Kṛṣṇa, had no cause for fear from Garuḍa, the Eagle. While Kṛṣṇa was fighting with this huge serpent, Nanda and all others had come to the bank, greatly frightened about the boy's safety, and were full of joy to receive him back, safe.

(d) BhP states that the cows, and the boys drank of the water and died; Kṛṣṇa revived them all, by his sight, and then proceeded to put down the serpent. As the fight proceeded for a long time, the men on the bank grew hopeless about the life of Kṛṣṇa, and began to wail more piteously, when Rāma, according to BP, VP and HV, asked Kṛṣṇa to take compassion on his relations, and ceasing to act an ordinary human being, bring the struggle to an end. BhP states that Rāma kept silent, all along, and when the affection of all was put to test, Kṛṣṇa himself made an end of the fight; while in BVP, Rāma told Nanda and others to take courage, and impressed upon their minds, the divine powers of Kṛṣṇa. This last and BhP give an account of Kālīya, in which, he, according to the agreement, did not give his share to Garuḍa, and fled, to this pool in the Yamunā, to save himself from the Eagle's wrath; Garuḍa was prevented from visiting this pool, by a sage, Saubhari, who was practising penance, and was frequently troubled by the Eagle.

(e) VP inserts in this passage, 9 lines, 'Gopīs crying', 12 lines 'Nāgapatnīs offering prayers,' 20 lines, 'serpent offering prayers;' BhP 17. 20-25, BVP 19. 170 to end, state another incident after this; while the whole camp was resting at night, a forest-fire broke out, and frightened with death to all. Kṛṣṇa swallowed up the fire, and restored ease among all. BhP transposes the Kālīya and the Dhenuka, incident. BP disagreeing with VP and other sources, reads the name as "Kālīya."

(a) vi- DHENUKA, THE ASS.

(b) BP 186. 1-13; TP 8. 1-13; PP. 272. 135-139; HV. 70; BVP 22; BhP 15.

(c) A palm-grove, was infested by asses, Dhenuka, being their leader. Kṛṣṇa one day attacked the palm-grove, and killed the ass Dhenuka, putting others to flight or death, and thereby giving the cow-boys free access to the grove, and the fruits thereof.

(d) BP, VP, and BVP state that Kṛṣṇa with Rāma and others went to the palm-grove, when the boys requested him to let them have the sweet palm-fruit. In BhP, Kṛṣṇa is first requested by his play-mates, Śrīdāma, Subala, etc., and asked to kill the asses; while HV states that Kṛṣṇa went of his own accord.

According to HV and BhP it is Rāma who is attacked by, and kills in fight, the ass Dhenuka, and then Kṛṣṇa helped to strike other asses; in BVP the ass Dhenuka, seeing Kṛṣṇa, prays for death and subsequent relief from that birth. Kṛṣṇa could not kill one who was thus his devotee, but soon after, the ass forgot all and attacked Kṛṣṇa and was ultimately killed. Dhenuka is, here stated to be 'Sāhasika', the son of Bali, cursed by Sage Durvāsas for having disturbed his Yogic peace, by having sexual intercourse with Tilottamā, in the same cave, where the sage was resting.

(e) as stated above, BhP transposes incidents (v) and (vi) while BVP gives this, as coming after Indra festival (see viii below). PP, in one Ms, states this, after the cobra incident, mentioned under iv. BVP continues in the next adh. 23 and 24, the Durvāsas story, saying how he himself was tempted to marry, by the sight of the naked coition, and getting a troublesome wife, cursed her to death, and this sin brought about his defeat in the case of Ambarīṣa (BVP 25).

(a) vii- PRALAMBAŚURA.

(b) BP 187. 1-30; VP 9. 1-30; PP 272. 140-143; HV71; BVP 16. 14-19; BhP 18. 17-32.

(c) disguised as a Gopa, this demon, took part in the play of the boys, and taking Rāma on his shoulders, bore him far away, where he was killed by Rāma.

(d) the play was to be played in pairs, and the winner was to be borne by the defeated, as far as the Bhāṇḍīra tree. According to BhP, Kṛṣṇa being defeated, bore his friend Sudāmā, while other sources state the reverse. BP, VP, and HV state that Balarāma, while being taken away, began to cry to Kṛṣṇa, who reminded him of his powers, and encouraged him with words, when he killed the demon with a stroke of his fist. While BhP states¹ that this was done without the encouragement from Kṛṣṇa. BVP mentions the name Pralamba, but brings him as a bull, while, according to other sources, the bull is the asura Ariṣṭa (vide x below), and gives this bull incident, after Baka (see iv above).

(e) VP inserts 7 stanzas, in the speech of Kṛṣṇa addressed to Rāma, one, at the beginning to give the context of the Dhenuka incident, and transposes a line, elsewhere. BhP inserts, a description of the Grīṣma season in 16 stanzas, before giving this incident, and states that the season was enjoyed like Vasanta, by all, BP 11 = HV 3745.

BhP has additional matter after this incident:—adh. 19; Gopas saved from fire by Kṛṣṇa, in Muñja forest, adh. 20 a description of the seasons Varsā and Śarad; a description of 'Prāvṛṣa,' the rainy season, occurs in BP and VP, as subsequent to the shift (vide iv above), and these sources, state here, that the rains were over, and Śarad had set in—adh. 21—Gopas attracted by Kṛṣṇa's flute, sing his praise. BhP adh. 22; BVP 27—the 'Katyāyanī vrata,' in which young girls, wishing Kṛṣṇa for their spouse, went to the river, and leaving their garments on the banks, bathed naked. Kṛṣṇa, following, took the garments away, and after teasing them a little, favoured them; BVP adding² that he promised them full play in the 'Rāsa' dance,

1 Cf. "...Haladbara iṣad atraṣat," 27, Athāgatasmtīḥ...BhP 18.28.

2 "Triṣu māsasvateṣu yūyam kṛdām mayā saba...vṛndāraṇye kariṣyatha" BVP 27.234.

that was to come shortly, after 3 months. BhP adh. 23 ; BVP 18. 1-74 (i. e. before (V) Kālīya)-Gopas were hungry, so Kṛṣṇa advised them to go to a sacrificial place nearby, and beg for food. The boys were refused any, by the Brāhmaṇas, but were offered the same by the wives of the priests. In BhP, the Gopas returned to Kṛṣṇa, after the first refusal, and afterwards the ladies coming to see Kṛṣṇa, with food, are asked by him to return to their husbands, who too, repent, after learning from their wives, but could not personally go to see Kṛṣṇa, 'for fear of Kaṁsa'; BVP states that the boys, of their own accord, approached the ladies, who on hearing that Kṛṣṇa and Rāma were nearby, went to see them, where the god Kṛṣṇa, on being prayed, sent them all to his Goloka, and by his power of illusion, let their shades—"ohāyās"—go back to their husbands, who repented for their negligence. Then, at st. 75 to end, is given an account of how "Agni," in former times, was tempted, by their beauty, to touch the wives of the seven sages, when the sage, Aṅgirā, cursed the Fire to be all devourer, and the ladies, to be born on the Earth, and to return after seeing Kṛṣṇa.

(a) viii- INDRA FESTIVAL.

(b) BP 187.31-188.49 ; VP- 10.1-12 56 ; PP 272.181-217 ; HV 72-76 ; BVP 21 (i. e. before Dhenuka vi) ; BhP 24-27.

(c) Nanda, with his people, used to celebrate, every year, at the beginning of winter, festivals in honour of Indra, who showered rains, and gave them and their cattle means of living. Kṛṣṇa objected to this custom, and advised, instead, the worship of hill Govardhana, which actually offered fooding to their cattle. Nanda consented, and the festivities were done in honour of the hill. Indra got angry, at this, and showered heavy rains on the place, when Kṛṣṇa lifted the hill itself, and provided shelter for his men and cattle. Indra thus defeated, came, and prayed Kṛṣṇa for forgiveness.

(d) BP, VP and HV call this festival ' Śakramaha ' while BhP calls it " Indrayāga. " PP mentions,² and HV implies³, that

1 "...Kaṁsād bhūtā na cācalan" BhP 23.52.

2 "...Saptarātraṁ nīrantaram" PP 272.183.

3 "...Saptarātre tu nirvṛtte....." HV 75.3956.

it rained continuously for seven nights. According to BVP, Nanda began to pray to Indra, when it began to rain heavily, when Kṛṣṇa got angry and told Nanda that he was all powerful, and able to burn even Indra ; all the powers of the latter were rendered futile, when he had to surrender himself to Kṛṣṇa. The adh. ends with a prayer from Nanda, where he prays Kṛṣṇa as the supreme God. The same idea occurs in BhP adh. 26, where the Gopas wondering at the superhuman powers of the child Kṛṣṇa, are told by Nanda that he knew from Garga, that led him to think, that Kṛṣṇa was an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa.¹ After peace was restored, Indra, according to BP, VP, HV, came down on his elephant Airāvata, and saw Kṛṣṇa on the Govardhana hill. PP does not mention any place, while BhP states that the interview was secret, and Indra was accompanied by the heavenly cow Surabhi. BVP says that, as soon as Indra was made powerless, he fainted² and then had a vision of the all pervading Kṛṣṇa, whom he subsequently prayed to. In BP, VP, supported by HV, in an enlarged form, Indra requests Kṛṣṇa to help Arjuna, and Kṛṣṇa readily promises to help him. Indra's prayer in PP, is framed after the fashion of the famous creation hymn in Rgveda. "Hiranyagarbhah...etc." The refrain of the hymn, "Kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema" is put in this prayer as "Tasmai devāya bhavate vidhema haviṣā vayam."

(e) VP inserts 19 stanzas, in all, in the course of this passage; the largest insertion being one of 14 stanzas, adding a description of the Śarad season, others being, one of 3 st. stating the power of the mountains, and another of 2 st. describing the heavy showers BP 187.34 ab=HV 72.3789. BP 188.1=HV 75.3893. HV states that two months had passed since the Pralamba incident, when the festival set in. PP transposes incidents (viii) and (ix), while BhP has additional matter between these two incidents: adh. 28. 1-9 Nanda, bathing in the river, was taken away by Varuna's servants, and afterwards released by Kṛṣṇa; st. 10-17: Gopas, on hearing this incident, wished to see, and were shown by Kṛṣṇa, his own world, the Vaikuṇṭha.

1 "Manye Nārāyaṇasyātmāsam..." 1 BhP 26.23.

2 "Ekaṇḍa jṛmbhitaḥ śakraḥ sadyas tandrām avāpa ca" BVP 21.170,

(a) 1c- RĀSAKRIDĀ (the dance with Gopīs).

(b) BP 189, 1-45; VP 13; PP 272. 158-180 (i. e. after x) and (xi b below); HV 77; BVP 28-53; BhP 29-33.

(c) On a clear moonlit-night, Kṛṣṇa went to the grove of trees, where his sweet music drew all the young girls towards him; they were enraptured to see him alone, there, and many kissed him, with great passion in their heart. Kṛṣṇa then had a beautiful Rāsa-a dance-in which all his friends partook; the girls thus used to visit him at night time, though they were prevented from doing so, by the men of their houses.

(d) BP, VP, and HV, insert before this, a talk between Kṛṣṇa and his friends, where the latter are wondering whether he is a God or some supernatural being, Kṛṣṇa asking them to take him as he was. After the Gopīs had crowded round him, Kṛṣṇa abruptly disappeared, when they sought after him; and after his return, the dance came off, where Kṛṣṇa alone danced with all. HV omits the dance, and states that the Gopīs were mad after Kṛṣṇa, trying to touch his limbs with theirs, and do all such acts of passion. PP mentions actual sexual intercourse, and questioned by Pārvatī, Rudra justifies Kṛṣṇa's amours by stating that the whole world was the God's body and there was thus no fault, with Kṛṣṇa. It also gives a story of old that the sages of the forest Daṇḍaka wishing for a "sexual union with Rāma, were born as Gopīs and satisfied by Kṛṣṇa; BhP follows the details of BP, omitting only the talk between Kṛṣṇa and his friends, while BVP which is mainly meant to glorify Rādhā, is now in its real element, and devote a great portion to describing the amorous sports of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā and with other girls. Having, at adh. 28, enjoyed all the girls, he leaves them in adh. 29, and goes with Rādhā alone. Adh. 30 is devoted to the story of Astāvakra; adh. 31-51 to talk between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, after which the two return at adh. 52 where it is stated that the sports went on for one month, and this brings the boyhood of Kṛṣṇa to an end: "uktam kiśoracaritam..." BVP 53. 53.

(e) BP 199. 6, 42=HV 77. 4071,4087 respectively. (v. 1. in HV) "Mṛgayānta" for 'ramayanti'; while VP inserts 17 stanzas: One

passage of 11 stanzas, giving the different marks of Kṛṣṇa, which the girls are tracing, to find him out; this piece being substituted for one st. of BP. Other insertions are: one of 2 st. 'Gopis thinking of Kṛṣṇa and second of 4 St. 'Gopis acting Kṛṣṇa'. The nature of additional matter in VP will thus be clear. A comparison of the total of adhs. and stanzas in VP and BP, for this story as a whole shows an excess of 6 adhs. and 153 stanzas in VP.

(a) x—ARISTA, THE BULL.

(b) BP 189. 46-58; VP 14; PP 272. 144-149 ab; HV 78; BVP 16. 14-19; BhP 36. 1-15.

(c) One evening, a Bull—an Asura named Arista—came and attacked the cow-shed, the boys and girls being frightened, ran to Kṛṣṇa, who fought with it, and killed it.

(d) BP and VP states that Kṛṣṇa, was, at this time, engaged in dancing (Rāsāsaktē), HV saying that he was amorously sporting, (Ratiparāyane) while according to PP, he was playing with the girls, some childish games. HV, which has whole stanzas agreeing with BP text, seems to have a different reading, here. BhP does not give any clue to say how Kṛṣṇa was engaged. While all other sources agree, in saying that the bull was killed with a horn, rooted out from its head, PP states that it was killed with a palm tree, struck between its horns. For BVP, see above, under (vii), where the bull is named Pralamba.

(e) BP. 189. 46=HV 78. 4099; BPT 56cd, 57=HV 4118, 4119ab. (with some v. I.).

BhP inserts between the incidents (ix) and (x) adhs 34: Nanda relieved from the grasp of a serpent by Kṛṣṇa; Śaṅkha-cūḍa, a follower of Kubera, tried to take away some of the girls, when they cried for help and Kṛṣṇa killed him. 35: Gopis singing in praise of Kṛṣṇa, while he was away.

(a) xi—KAMSA ON THE ALERT.

Except in the case of Pūtānā, where she is shown to be an emissary of Kamsa, all other attacks against Kṛṣṇa, come as accidents; at least, Kamsa's agency in bringing these about, is not mentioned. But we now come to a point where Kamsa is

directly concerned. Owing to the peculiar arrangement of the text, this incident has to be divided into three sub-units ;—(A) Akrūra on the mission, (B) Keśi, the horse, and (C) with Akrūra to Mathurā. Last is, in fact, a continuation of the first, and the horse incident, has practically no bearing on Akrūra's mission: but the majority of sources, insert the incident (B), as shown here, and only some, as will be shown below, point it in proper context ; so we follow the course generally accepted.

(A) AKRŪRA ON THE MISSION.

(b) BP 190. 1-21 : VP 15. 1-24 ; PP. 272. 217^{cd}-230 ; HV 79, 80 ; BVP 63-65, BhP 36. 16-34 ; DBh 24. 1-9.

(c) when Kṛṣṇa had performed the feats, as described above, Nārada came to Kāṁsa and told him of the birth of Kṛṣṇa, and his life among the cowherds. Kāṁsa, thereupon, thinking of his own safety, asked Akrūra, Dānapati, Master of charities, to go to Gokula, and fetch the boys Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, for the festivities of Dhanuryāga, that were going to be celebrated shortly.

(d) According to HV, the interview between Kāṁsa and Nārada comes off in the Khaṭvāṅga grove, and then he called off a full court, where he upbraids Vasudeva for having deceived him, and then sends Akrūra on the mission. In BP and VP, Kāṁsa says to Akrūra, that he would kill all Yādavas, except Akrūra, who was his friend. In BVP, Kāṁsa consults purohita Satyaka, a disciple of Śukra, telling, him of the bad dreams that haunted him. Satyaka advises Akrūra, Uddhava or Vasudeva to be sent to Nandavraja. Last person refused, when Kāṁsa went to kill him with a sword, but was kept away by others, and Akrūra was sent away. While according to BhP, Kāṁsa first orders arrangements for the festival and then sends away Akrūra who replies to the boasts of Kāṁsa, that Fate was final in all matters, DBh says that Kāṁsa was informed of the festivities in Gokula, and his doubts were confirmed by Nārada, so he sent for the boys to be killed under pretext of the Dhanuryāga.

(e) Vij. after Kāṁsa's orders for the festival, inserts a passage of 32 stanzas, where he tells his Mahāmātra of his illicit birth, and consequent hatred for all Yādavas. BVP devotes

adhs. 66-69 to Kṛṣṇa's amors with Rādhā when he is called back by Brahmā.

(B) KEŚI, THE HORSE.

(b) BP 190. 22-48 ; VP 16. 1-28 ; PP. 149-157 ; HV 81 ; BVP 16. 20-74 ; BhP 37. 1-25.

(c) Keśi, a demon in the form of a horse, frightened the people of Gokula, when Kṛṣṇa attacked him, and putting his hand in the horse's mouth, drew away the teeth, and tore him in two, which felled him to the ground, dead. At this time, Nārada came to see Kṛṣṇa and told him that the horse was very powerful, and his death gave him the name Keśava ; Nārada then left Kṛṣṇa, promising to see him again the next day at the festive occasion in Mathurā.

(d) HV states that Kamsa sent for Keśi, and gave him the mission of killing Kṛṣṇa, while, further on, the Gopas tell Kṛṣṇa¹ that he was a brother (?) of Kamsa, and dear to him as life ; BP, VP, and BhP state only that he was sent by Kamsa : 'Kamsa-dūtaḥ prācoditaḥ' BP, VP ; 'Kamsaprahitaḥ' BhP ; PP states that Kṛṣṇa killed the horse with a stroke of his fist, on its head. The interview between Kṛṣṇa and Nārada is not found in PP and BVP, while HV states² that the sage was speaking from the sky, unseen. DBh mentions³ the death of Keśi, without any details, as having saddened Kamsa.

(e) The order of incidents here, is different in PP, and BVP as compared with other sources : PP has, Arista, Keśi, Rāsa dance, Indra festival, and Akrūra's despatch ; while BVP places 'Baka, the crane, Pralamba, the bull, and Keśi,' before the shift of Gokula settlement, adding that these three and one other, Vasudeva, were gandharvas, devotees of Kṛṣṇa, who took lotuses from the reserved pond of Pārvatī for worship, and were, according to the punishment laid down, turned into demons, but restored to their former life by the sight of Kṛṣṇa. BhP inserts, after this,

1 "Eṣa Kamsasya sahaajāḥ prāṇaḥ tasya bahiḥcarāḥ." HV 81. 4294.

2 "Athāhāntarhito vipro Nāradaḥ khagamo munīḥ." HV 81. 4331.

3 "Tathā vinihataḥ Keśi jñātvā Kamsotīdurmanāḥ." DBh 24. 8.

one-other incident : 37. 26-33, where Vyoma a son of Maya, disguised as a cow-boy takes away the Gopas, who are then relieved by Kṛṣṇa.

(C) WITH AKRŪRA TO MATHURĀ.

(b) BP 191. 191. 1-192. 67 ; VP 17. 1-19. 9 ; PP 272. 231-330 ; HV 82-34 ; BVP 70. 1-72. 14 ; BhP 31. 1-41. 6.

(c) Akrūra reached Gokula in the evening, where he saw Kṛṣṇa with other boys and cattle. He was greatly pleased to see the God incarnate and approaching humbled himself before Kṛṣṇa, who received him with great respect, and took him home to Nanda, where Akrūra, after refreshing himself, delivered his message, asking the cowherds to attend with milk and other presents for the festival, and accordingly, having rested at night, he left in the morning with the boys in his chariot. They reached Yamunā, where, while bathing in the waters, Akrūra had a divine vision of the god whom he prayed devotedly ; on reaching Mathurā, the boys, as they wished, were left alone, and Akrūra returned home.

(d) According to PP, Akrūra here tells Nanda, the secret of Kṛṣṇa's birth, how the girl flying from Kāṁsa's hands, told him of his approaching death, and how this led Kāṁsa to send his agents, who were killed by Kṛṣṇa, and how even the present occasion was intended to do away with Kṛṣṇa. This news frightened Nanda and others, who were then addressed by Kṛṣṇa, who told them that he would kill Kāṁsa. In HV, Akrūra exhorts Kṛṣṇa on behalf of Devakī and Vasudeva, whom he should see, as was his duty to relieve them from the pain of separation. All the above sources, except HV, state that the girls of the place were sorry at the approaching separation and afraid that Kṛṣṇa would not return, wanted to oppose Akrūra, while according to BVP, they do it actually, and break down the chariot of Akrūra, who is soon relieved by Kṛṣṇa. PP says that Akrūra rubbed the feet of Kṛṣṇa, while he was sleeping at night. HV states that Akrūra took the boys to his house in Mathurā and asked them not to see their parents, as it would displease Kāṁsa ; Kṛṣṇa replied that they would go seeing the city and do it without anyone's know-

ing it. DBh makes a brief story of the life of Kṛṣṇa, without entering into any details. HV contains a very beautiful description of the evening and morning, in this passage.

This brings the main unit VIII : 'Kṛṣṇa in the cow-settlement,' with its (xi) subunits, to an end. All these eleven incidents cannot be attributed to Kamsa's agency, and 'Indra festival ' and the moonlight dance ' as also the 'Kāliya' have nothing to do with Kamsa, so we have to take the unit VIII as denoting a period, instead of a single incident.

IX. KṚṢṆA, THE DEATH OF KĀMSA.

(b) BP 192. 194. 17 ; VP 19. 10-21 17 ; PP 272. 331-293 ; HV 84-89 ; BVP 12. 15-115 ; BhP 41. 7-45. 23.

(o) Kṛṣṇa's arrival in Mathurā, and the subsequent death of Kamsa, is here treated as one whole incident, which can be arranged in the following order of minor ones :—

(1) Kamsa's washerman killed by Kṛṣṇa, because he would not give his clothes to the brothers.

(2) The flower-merchant, impressed by the boys, offered them flowers, and got their blessings in return.

(3) Haunch-back maid—'Kubjā'—offered sandalpaste to Kṛṣṇa, and was made straight right by him, who also promised to visit her house.

(4) The two brothers visited the armoury, where Kṛṣṇa broke a great bow, put down the watchmen that came to oppose him, and left the place.

These are the incidents of the evening that saw the boys in Mathurā. No complete agreement exists as to their place of sojourn at night. Kamsa learnt of these mischiefs, and determined to bring about the end of the boys, somehow or other, ordered his wrestlers Cānūra and Mustika to kill the boys, in course of the dual, also arranged that his mad elephant 'Kūvalayāpida' should be kept, at the entrance, ready to attack the boys, and then awaited sunrise, keeping awake the whole night anxiously.

Next morning, when the whole of the place was full of spectators, Kṛṣṇa and Rāma entered the arena, after killing the

elephant, and while the spectators were looking on in wonder, Kṛṣṇa fought Cānura and Rāma with Mustika ; after the death of the two wrestlers, Kṛṣṇa fought another Toṣalaka, and when this too met his death, others fled away in fright, whereupon Kāṁsa, mad at seeing all his plans failed, ordered all the Yādavas, and the boys to be made captives ; Kṛṣṇa ran to Kāṁsa and pulling him down from his seat, killed him ; while Kāṁsa was being dragged to death, his guard Sunāma, ran to defend him, but was despatched by Rāma.

The brothers, then saw their parents and bowed to them in reverence, Vasudeva and Devaki glad at their reunion with the boys, fondly welcomed Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma.

Kṛṣṇa then reestablished Ugrasena on the throne, and restored peace to all the people of Mathurā.

(d) HV give, 'Gunaka,' and BhP 'Sudāma,' as the name of the flower-merchant. BVP, which devotes some stanzas to describe the city, saying that it was done by Viśvakarmā, charges the order of incidents, and starts with Kubjā, who is described¹ as 'extremely old,' and made young and beautiful by the mere sight of Kṛṣṇa²; after her comes the Mālākāra, and then the Rājaka, who refers to his amorous sport in Vrandāvana. HV gives here, the talk between Kāṁsa and his Mahāmātra, giving a story of the former's birth, which BhP transposes, and places before the mission was entrusted to Akrūra. PP states that Kṛṣṇa stayed for the night in the sacrificial hall, with his followers; according to BVP, Nanda, Kṛṣṇa and others stayed with Kuvinda, a Vaisnava of the city, whence, when all others were asleep, Kṛṣṇa visited Kubjā, in secret, and telling her that she was the former Śūrpanakhā, gave her sexual satisfaction. BhP states³ that the brothers returned to their camp, a place probably outside the city, where Nanda and other cowherds, had kept the carts for the night.

HV states that Kāṁsa was dressed in white, for the occasion of the festival. BVP gives the breaking of the bow as an inci-

1. "...Vṛddhām ati Jarāturām ..." BVP 72.16.

2. "Śrī Kṛṣṇapṛeṣṭimātreṇa...Yathā dvādaśavarṣīyā..." opp. cit 72.22.

3. "...Purāt Śakāṣamīyatuh," BHP 42.23.

dent of the morning. The description of the wrestling match in HV 87 4716-21, compares well with that in Mbh IV.13.27-31 abcd describing the fight between Bhīma and Jīmūta; in fact, the *text* of these times is the *same* in both the places. BhP adds Kūta and Śala to the list of wrestlers, saying that the first was disposed of by Rāma, and the second by Kṛṣṇa. It also states¹ that Kamsa had eight brothers, 'Kanka, Nyagrodhaka' etc. who were despatched by Rāma with his weapon parigha, after Kamsa was killed. According to PP², Kamsa was sitting on the top of his palace, whence he was thrown down by Kṛṣṇa, while others state that Kamsa was dragged by his hair, from his seat, and killed by Kṛṣṇa; while BVP states that Kṛṣṇa did this 'as in sport'. BP and VP give the prayer by Vasudeva addressed to Kṛṣṇa as God. BhP mentions that Kṛṣṇa used his Māyā to make his parents forget his real form, others stating that the boys saw their parents and were embraced by them with great affection.

(e) In the aftermath PP states that Nanda and other cowherds were sent back with presents, while BVP gives a long discourse at adh.73-90, wherein Nanda is consoled by Kṛṣṇa with various stories, discussion on Dharma, and Adharma, dreams etc. and after this. Uddhava is sent to Gokula to solace Yaśodā, Rādhā and others, Nanda staying on with Kṛṣṇa⁴. Adhs. 92-97 are allotted to Uddhava's mission to Gokula, where he promises Rādhā to send back Kṛṣṇa, which on his return to Mathurā, he reports duly, at adh. 98, when Kṛṣṇa says that he could not fulfil the promise, still he would pay the visit, in a dream, as he did.⁵ HV gives the wailing of Kamsa's wives at adh.88, and in the next, Ugrasena offers the throne to Kṛṣṇa, which he humbly refuses, and crowns Ugrasena. BhP gives some stanzas in which Kṛṣṇa consoles Nanda and sends him to Gokula, promising,⁶ to pay them a visit, which promise, however, curiously enough, is not fulfilled.

1. "Tasyānujā bhrātaroṣṭau...1...40; tāṣṭu samyattān Rohiṇisutaḥ; Ahan parigham udyamya..." BhP 44.

2. Apātayat dharāprṣṭhe prāsādaśikharād Hariḥ PP 272,380.

3. Ākṛṣya māñcakāt Kamsam jaghāna līlayā mune" BVP 72.93.

4. Op. cit adh. 91.

5. Harir jagāma svapne ca Gokulam virahākulam. Op. cit 98.42.

6. Jānān vo draṣṭum eṣyāmo vidhāya suhṛdām sukham BhP 45,33,

(a) X. SĀMDĪPANĪ, THE TUTOR.

(b) BP 194.18-22; VP 81.18-31; PP 273.1-5; HV 90; BVP 99-102; BhP 45.26-50.

(c) Rāma and Kṛṣṇa then approached Kāśya Sāmdīpanī of the city of Avantī, and learnt from him the science of archery. As fees, Kṛṣṇa brought back to life the tutor's son, long dead at sea, and gave him great pleasure. The child was taken by Pāñcajanya, a demon living in a conch at sea; Kṛṣṇa killed the demon, getting for himself the conch known afterwards as Pāñcajanya, and bringing back the son, the brothers then returned to Mathurā.

(d) Upanayana of the boys, essential for one to make 'twice-born' is mentioned in PP, BVP and BhP, where Garga initiated them into the sacred Gāyatrī. HV states that Kṛṣṇa was, by now, become young : 'Prāptayauvanadehaḥ.' BP, VP, HV and BhP mention the period of study as 64 days, while BVP gives it as one month, and omits any reference to the revival of the tutor's son, stating¹ that it was Sāmdīpanī, who initiated the boys in the sacred Gāyatrī, and that among the persons who attended the ceremony, were, besides, heavenly gods, Nanda and Yaśodā, and the widow Kuntī with her sons.

(e) DBh 24.15 states that after their return from their tutor the boys were 12 years' old. After this incident BhP at adh. 46,47, inserts Uddhava's mission in Gokula, which BVP places before (vide IX c. above), and at the next two adhs. (48,49), Kṛṣṇa, after visiting the haunchback maid, sends Akrūra to get news of the Pāṇḍavās, which news discloses the ill-will of Dhṛtarāṣṭra towards his nephews. This is, of course, an effort to set the life of Kṛṣṇa, in the MBh context, a feature found only in this Purāṇa.

(a) XI. JARĀSĀNDHA, THE LORD OF MAGADHA.

This incident, giving (i) the repeated attacks of this powerful king, on Mathurā, includes, also, (ii) the struggle with and the death of Kālayavana; notes are accordingly divided into two parts, below.

1. "Gāyatrīm ca dadau tṣbhyaṃ munih Sāmdīpanistathā" BVP 101-14.

(b)-(i) BP 195; VP 22; PP 273.6.33; HV 91-99; BVP mere reference in one line;—"Vijitya ca jarāsamdham nihatya yavanam tathā" 103.13; BhP 50.1-43, 52.6-14.

(ji)-BP 196.1-197.7; VP 23.1-24.7; PP 273.33-70; HV (100-109, re. other incidents, see below) 110-116; BVP mere reference ; BhP 50.44-52.5.

(c)-(i)-Jarāsamdha, the father-in-law of Kamsa, laid siege to the city of Mathurā, with a large army, 23 Āksauhiniś strong, but Kṛṣṇa and Rāma, armed with their divine weapons, completely defeated Jarāsamdha, and put him to flight, this attack and defeat was repeated 18 times.

(ii) Kālayavana, another powerful king, then attacked Mathurā, Kṛṣṇa tired of these frequent troubles, secretly removed all the people of the city to Dvārakā, and then singlehanded, began to fly, pursued by the Yavana king; Kṛṣṇa entered a cave where Mucakunda, of the solar race of kings, was sleeping soundly. Having had a boon from the gods above, that whoever disturbed the warrior in his sleep, would be burnt down the moment his eyes were cast open the victim; Kṛṣṇa hid himself behind this sleeping warrior, and Yavana following, thought the sleeping person to be no other than Kṛṣṇa himself and kicked Mucakunda, who awaking, looked at the offender, who was immediately turned to ashes. Kṛṣṇa then reconciled himself with Mucakunda and left for Dvārakā.

(d)-(i) PP gives the army of Jarāsamdha, as '100 Āksauhiniś strong, HV giving this number as 20, which was destroyed by Kṛṣṇa alone. HV 91 and BhP, in the Vij. Recn. gives a list of kings in the army of Jarāsamdha, HV mentioning Duryodhana and other sons of Dhṛtarāstra among them. These two sources describe the siege laid at the four gates of Mathurā, as also the details of the fight at these gates. BhP, Vij. Recn., in the inserted adhs. here, states that Jarāsamdha returned after three months, having had help from the Asura Bāna, and was defeated, thus, for 17 times and last time, the instigation to Kālayavana, by Jarāsamdha, is mentioned in HV, PP ; and BhP states that Kāla. was instigated by Nārada, and seeing the attack on one side by this Kāla, and on the other, by Jarāsamdha, Kṛṣṇa removed his

people to Dvārakā. According to HV and BhP vij. Kṛṣṇa betakes himself with Rāma, to the hill Gomanta, where he is pursued by Jarāsaṁdha, who set fire to the hill and returned satisfied that Kṛṣṇa was dead in the fire. This last, as in BhP Vij. while HV states that Kṛṣṇa suppressed the hill, in the seawaters by forcing his feet, and then both the brothers sprang in the army of Jarāsaṁdha, and defeated it. Those two sources HV and BhP also mention the defeat and death of Śṛgāla Vāsudeva of Karavīrapura, by the brothers, on their way to the hill. BVP gives this last incident of Śṛgāla, at its adh. 121, where he challenged Kṛṣṇa, and was killed, adding that he was Subhadra, a door-keeper of the God, cursed by Lakṣmī.

BP, VP and HV give a story of the birth of Kālayavana from the sage Garga, who was once insulted by some one calling him, an eunuch, which sent the sage to penance in the forests, and his subsequent entertainment by a childless Yavana king; the latter's wife, being united with Garga, brought out this Kāla. HV, at adhs. 111, 112 gives the mission sent by Jarāsaṁdha, through Śālva, asking the Yavana king to attack Mathurā, which he agrees to, and adh. 113 being allotted to the reception of Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā, the shifting to Dvārakā comes off in the next adhyāya, so that, at adh. 116, HV reverts to the birthstory of Kāla, where Nārada points to him the Yādavas as fit to be fought with, and, in answer to Kṛṣṇa's challenge of a serpent sent in a jar, the Yavana kills it by ants. According to BP, VP and PP, Kṛṣṇa asked 12 yojanas (30 in PP) of land, from the sea, and there built the city. HV (adh. 113) states that Garuḍa found out the place : DBh agreeing with HV, adds that Kṛṣṇa afterwards reformed the old city : " Śīlpiḥhīh kārayāmāsa jñnoddhāram. " 24. 31. While BVP, at adh. 103 asks for 100 yojanas of land from the sea and gives instructions to Viśvakarman to build the city in the most gorgeous style, without using any wood material—Kuru kāsthām vinā Purlm 103. 68 "; next adh. 104 describes the unwillingness of Ugrasena to leave Mathurā, the place of his forefathers, his being persuaded by Kṛṣṇa to shift. The incident about the solar king Mucakunda burning Kālayavana, being thus altogether omitted from this source. HV too, gives at

adh. 116, the building of Dvārakā by Viśvakarman, mentioning the hall Sudharmā for holding the court, which hall, by the bye, was, according to BP and VP, ordered for, by Kṛṣṇa, from Indra through Vāyu, the incident being mentioned as coming off immediately after Ugrasena's establishment to the throne of Mathurā,- PP 274. 8, and BhP 50. 55, refer to Indra's voluntarily giving the hall, latter source having stated, at 50, that Dvārakā was a fort 'Durga,' built in the midst of seawaters; 'Antah samudra.'

(e) The usual MBh refrain 'na prājñāyata kimcana' used in describing fights, is found at PP 272. 19d; Daśa cāstau ca samgrāman' BP 195. 11a = HV 93. 5126a. This incident, of Jarāsaṁdha's invasions, is referred to at MBh II. 19, where Kṛṣṇa persuades the Pāṇḍavas to take up his cause, and, as if to reserve this Magadha king for a death from Bhīma, PP and HV, which in the course of describing the battle, give a duel between Jarāsaṁdha and Rāma, where the latter overpowers the former, and while about to dispose him off for good, is prevented from doing so, by a word of the sky, according to HV, and by Kṛṣṇa himself according to PP.

(a) XII. BALARĀMA IN GOKULA.

(b) BP 197.8—198.19; VP 24.8-25.19; PP 374. 10-12; HV 103 : BVP 106. 1-9; BhP 65.

(c) Balarāma paid a visit to Gokula, where he passed some days happily in the company of Gop's; while rambling in forests, he took to the habit of drinking. In his sojourn here, he drew the river Yamunā with his plough towards him. After two months, he returned to Mathurā, and there married the princess Revatī, and from her he had two sons, Nisātha and Utsuka.

(d) BP and VP mention that God Varuna had sent Vārūṇī for the pleasure of Rāma and then she appeared in Kadamba tree, while HV states that the cowherds offered him wine, as befitting the occasion, and Rāma drank of it in company with the Gopas and Gop's. PP and BVP omit this incident mentioning only the marriage with Revatī. BhP takes this incident of Rāma's trip to Gokula after the Bāṇāsura episode, and there combines

the two accounts about wine,¹ mentioning the marriage incident long long back, at adh. 52. 15, after Jarāsaṁdha's burning the hill; where Vij. inserts an account of king Revata, the father of the bride, having gone to heaven to consult God Brahmā, who points to Balarāma as the fitting bridegroom. The bride was born in Ādi-yuga, and very tall, but Rāma made her short by means of his plough. Vij. also inserts before 52. 15, a MBh reference where Kṛṣṇa, hearing of the defeat of Drupada by the Pāṇḍavas, sends Kṛtavarmā, to get news from Hastināpura. BVP states² that she was 27 ages old, but does not refer to her tallness. HV mentions the marriage at the end of adh. 116, after the Yādavas were established in Dvārakā.

HV clearly states that the Yamunā, which was flowing at a distance, was drawn and made to flow through the fields of Vṛndāvana, a feat of which Rāma is rightly proud. The names of the sons of Rāma are given in PP and VP.

(a) XIII KṚṢṆA'S MARRIAGE WITH RUKMIṆĪ.

(b) BP 199. 1-11; VP 26. 1-11; PP 274. 13-275. 19; HV 104-109; 117, 118; BVP 105-109; BhP 52. 16-54. 60 (other sources, also mention this incident with a few details).

(c) Bhīsmaka, king of Kuṇḍinapura, in Vidarbha, wished to marry his daughter Rukmiṇī to Kṛṣṇa, but Rukmi, the brother of the bride, influenced by Jarāsaṁdha, offered her to Śiśupāla of the Cedis; Kṛṣṇa with his retinue, came to attend the marriage ceremony as a spectator, and took away the bride, defeating Rukmi and his partisans, who pursued to fight with him.

(d) PP inserts here a son of the Purohita, BVP a Brāhmaṇa Sudharmā, and BhP some Brāhmaṇa 'Āptam dvijam kamcit,' as being sent by Rukmiṇī-by Bhīsmaka, according to BVP, -with a message to Kṛṣṇa in Dvārakā. HV, by giving the incident in two places, has created some inconsistency in the thread of the narrative, at adh. 104, Kṛṣṇa hears of the proposed Svayamvara of Rukmiṇī, and proceeds, properly attended to the place of selection. In the adhs. following, 105-109, Rukmi and his friends are

1 "Varuṇapreṣitā devī vāruṇī vṛkṣakoṣarāt, patantī BhP 65. 19.

2 "vayo yasya gatam satyam yugānām sapta vidhātīḥ," BVP 104. 3.

disconcerted at Kṛṣṇa's appearance, but he is well received by Kaiśika, and is ultimately crowned on the throne of Vidarbha by the same prince, and Jarāsaṁdha and Sunitha, who objected to Kṛṣṇa's presence, were formally reconciled with Kṛṣṇa, who returns to Mathurā, without the Svayaṁvara coming off, apparently. Adhs. 110-115, are devoted to Kālayavana story, and Dvārakā is built at adh 116, and then at 117, we see the story of Rukmiṇī taken up again, where apparently, the question of choice is put aside, and Jarāsaṁdha, with the influence of other kings resolves upon the marriage of Rukmiṇī with the Cedi prince Śiśupāla. The usual questioning of Janamejaya, as to who Rukmi was etc. which should rightly have come at the beginning at adh. 104, is seen here quite out of place. Then comes her abduction by Kṛṣṇa, the defeat of Rukmi etc. as is told in BP accounts. In BVP Kṛṣṇa is accompanied by Bhīma, Drona, Pāṇavas etc. and has a fight with Rukmi, Śālva etc., at the gates of Kuṇḍinapura, and after their defeat, is received by Bhīsmaka in the palace court and subsequently married to Rukmiṇī, whose mother Subhadrā, weeps at the departure of the couple to Dvārakā. PP mentions the worship of Durgā by the bride previous to the marriage, HV, of Indrāṇī, and BhP of Bhavānī, in a temple outside the city, from where she was taken away by Kṛṣṇa leaving Rāma and other Yādavas to fight with the pursuers. Vij Recn. inserting some stanzas, states that Rukmi overtook Kṛṣṇa while he was crossing the river Narmadā. In describing the marriage, PP and BVP state that Nanda, with his men, had come to attend the ceremony. BVP adding, at adh. 110, 111 that Yaśodā asked for Tattvajñāna, and Kṛṣṇa tells her to have it from Nanda; Yaśodā going to see Rādhā, who tells her that Kṛṣṇa was the Lord God, and engages herself in meditation.

(a) XIV. PRADYUMNA AND ŚAMBARA.

(b) BP 199.12-200, 30; VP 26.12-27.31; PP 277.2 (mere reference, while introducing the Usā story); HV 163-167, after the Pārijāta incident; BVP 112.1-33; BhP 55. 1-40; DBh 24. 43-25. 24.

(c) Rukmiṇī gave birth to a son who was taken away, by the demon Śambara, on the sixth day of the child's birth; the child was reared up by Māyāvati, the wife of the Asura, and when came

of age, she had a passion for the young boy, the reason being that she was Ratī, wife of Cupid, who was now born as Pradyumna, who, of course, upon knowing the facts, killed the Asura in fight and returned to Dvārakā with his wife, where he was joyfully received by his parents, who were told of the facts by Nārada.

(d) BP, VP and BhP state that the child was thrown into the sea, where it was swallowed by a fish, which was caught, and brought to Māyāvati, who, upon cutting the fish, saw the child, when Nārada told her of the incidents of her former life, saying that the child was her husband, and should be reared up. HV and BVP state that it was taken on the seventh day, and Śambara, of his own accord, gave it to his wife Māyā, who was awakened to the former things, by inspiration according to HV, by Sarasvatī according to BVP; HV gives a long description of the fight where Pradyumna, first kills the warriors of Śambara, and finally the Asura himself. Pradyumna is, here, helped by Indra, who sends Nārada with the Vaisnavāstra, and armour, when the Asura, having failed in his Māyās-illusive powers, -was about to hurl his powerful Mudgara given him by goddess Umā. Pradyumna, under the advice of the sage, prays to Durgā, and by her favour, the large mace is turned into a garland of flowers, on the neck of the young hero. According to BVP, which, substitutes wind for Nārada, as messenger, asking to pray Durgā, which turns the *śūla* into flowers, the Asura was killed by Brahmāstra; while in BhP, Pradyumna cuts off the head of Śambara, by a sword. In BVP alone the fight comes off as a consequence of the young hero being detected in the course of amour with the Asura's wife. Other sources state that Pradyumna, on knowing of his birth calls on the Asura for a fight, while HV, dealing with details, states that the challenge was given by bringing down the flag-staff of the Asura with an arrow from the hero.

(e) Vij. Recn. inserts 3 stanzas, at the beginning of BhP 55, to state that Kṛṣṇa, got this son, as a favour from the God Śiva, who was pleased by Kṛṣṇa's penance. In DBh, Kṛṣṇa grieves at the loss of the child, and upon praying to the Devī, the Goddess shows him the traces, which lead to the recovery of the boy.

(a) XV KṚṢṆA'S OTHER WIVES AND CHILDREN.

(A) Besides Rukmini, Kṛṣṇa married seven other wives; of these, Kṛṣṇa won (1) Satyabhāmā, and (2) Jāmbavatī, in the affair of the Syamantaka diamond, mentioned at PP.276.1-37; BVP 122; BhP 56, 57; VyP 96.20-98: other sources give only the names of all these, and their progeny: BP 201.15; VP 28.1-5; HV 118.6696 ff., BhP giving details about others, too, at adh. 58: (3) Kālindī daughter of the Sun, seen by Kṛṣṇa while he was walking in company with Arjuna, on the banks of the river Yamunā; she had decided to marry no other, and was accepted by Kṛṣṇa. (4) Mitravindā, a cousin—a daughter of the Pitravasā—of Kṛṣṇa, was, knowing her love for him, carried away against the will of her brothers Vindānuvinda, friends of Duryodhana. (5) Satyā, daughter of king Nagnajita, was won by defeating seven powerful bulls. (6) Bhadrā, daughter of Śrutakīrti, and a cousin of Kṛṣṇa, was offered him by her brothers, and accepted in marriage; (7) Laksmanā, princess of Madra, was in 'Svayamvara', carried away by Kṛṣṇa. There is some difference in the names of these wives, as found in other sources. BP, VP and agreeing with these HV, give: Kālindī, Mitravindā, Satyā of Nagnajit, Jāmbavatī, Rohinī, Suśīlā, daughter of Madrarāja, Satyabhāmā, and Laksmanā. HV adding with regard to the last that she was the daughter of Śaibya; while PP, after concluding the Syamanta story with a line of Phalaśruti, states that three of these wives were daughters of Madrarāja, and in the list that follows at adh. 276.40-41, substitutes Suśīlā for Bhadrā and prefixes 'Su' to Laksmanā. DBh list at adh. 24. 40-41 agrees with BhP.

(B) Kṛṣṇa's killing Narakāśura, in a fight, at the request of Indra, gained him 16000 maidens, whom he married. This incident brought about another, in which Kṛṣṇa going to heaven brought the tree Pārijāta, for his wife Satyabhāmā. Both these are given in the different sources as follows:—

BP 202-204; VP 29-31; PP 276. 42-110; HV 121-155; BVP 112. 37-41, and 113. 41; BhP 59. DBh. 25. 25-27 (om. Naraka); BP 69. 81, 82 (om. Pārijāta). It is interesting to note here, that while BP, VP, and PP give comparatively equal space to both these incidents, HV attaches greater length to the second; BVP makes very

small business of both, giving them only in different references; BhP disposes of Pārijāta in 3 st. (59. 38-40) only, and the minor sources DBh and LP barely mention one, omitting the other altogether. This shows a tendency in each, to dilate upon, or shorten the incident according to the will of the author. Vij. to make up for the shortcoming of the original, inserts, after BhP 59, three adhs. giving a detailed description of Kṛṣṇa's fight with the gods, in the Pārijāta affair, where a stanza 65. 10, is seen to be framed after the text of BP 203. 24. PP inserts a talk between Naraka and Kṛṣṇa, where the former puts as his last prayer that people performing auspicious bath on the day of his death, - now popularly known as 'Narakacaturdaśī,' - should be exempt from hell. As regards, the tree itself, PP states that Satyabhāmā was insulted by Śaci, not offering her the flowers of the tree, and asked her Lord Kṛṣṇa to take the tree away, who agreed¹ that it should be on the earth till his life-time, while HV shows Nārada as root of the quarrel, as he brought a flower of the tree, and gave it to Rukmiṇī, when Satyabhāmā was enraged, and Kṛṣṇa, to satisfy her, sent word to Indra, through Nārada, and upon being rejected, - Indra here refers to the Khāṇḍava incident of the MBh, as one having occurred long back (cf. " Khāṇḍave cārjunaratham purā vāhayatā ... " HV 129. 7300) - went on to fight, and that the tree was to remain on the earth for² a year only, when it was offered along with Kṛṣṇa, by Satyabhāmā, to Nārada, in fulfillment of a 'vrata,' while BhP states,³ that it was planted in the court yard of Satyabhāmā, without giving the period.

(C) Kṛṣṇa had a number of children from all these wives and had thus a very large family. Rakmini is said to have 10 sons, and a daughter, Pradyumna being the first of all : the extent of all is given at BP 205. 1-5 ; VP 33, 1-5 ; HV at the end of the adh. 118 and with more details at adh. 162 ; BhP 61. 1-19 ; BVP 112. 36-41 ; of these BhP gives the largest number of names, BP, VP and HV giving only the names of the sons of Rukmini, and BVP taking her as the model,⁴ putting ten sons and a daughter

1 Mayi svargam gate śakra grahāna tvam yathecchayā, PP 276. 106.

2 Saṁtatsare tato yāte... pārijātam punaḥ svargam anayat. HV 135. 7711.

3 Sthāpitāḥ Satyabhāmāyā grhoṣṭyānopaśobhanāḥ, BhP 59. 40.

4 " Ekasyām daśa putrāś ca kanyakāikū krameṇa ca " BVP 112. 40.

for each of these wives, all concluding that the total number was very large.

BP 201. 6-26 ; VP 28. 6-28 ; HV 119 ; and BhP 61. 20-40—first two after (A), and last two after (C),—give an incident, as connected with the family account, where Kṛṣṇa, with all his family and relations, had gone to attend the marriage of Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna, with the grand-daughter of Rukmī. After the ceremony was over, Rukmī, at the instigation of Kālīṅga, and others, proposed to play at dice with Balarāma, knowing that he was not an expert, and won all the bets on two days, when the Kālīṅga prince laughed, showing his teeth, and Rukmī too, joined in the ridicule. On the third day the bet proceeded, and in the discussion as to who won it, a word from the heaven decided in favour of Rāma, who to revenge the insult, drew away the teeth of Kālīṅga and killed Rukmī with Astapāda, putting others to flight. Kṛṣṇa afraid of a clash between Rāma and Rukmī, kept silent over the incident and returned to Dvārakā.

HV states,¹ that Rāma himself told Kṛṣṇa of the incident ; BhP states,² that Rāma killed Rukmī with an uplifted *pariḡha*.

HV has here, in its text, BP 201. 21cd, and 23c.

After the end of Pārijāta affair, at adh. 135, HV has a number of adh. 136-174, containing, besides the two references given above: extent of Kṛṣṇa's family at adh. 162, (vide C), and Śambara incident (XIV), at adh. 163-167, other subjects not found in any of the remaining sources in the present connection, and need not, therefore, be given here with any details.

(a) XVI LOVE AFFAIR BETWEEN ANIRUDDHA AND UśĀ

(b) BP 205, 206 ; VP 32, 33 ; PP 277 ; HV 175-190 ; BVP 114-120 ; BhP 62, 63.

(c) Uśā, daughter of Bali's son Bāna, saw Śiva and Pārvatī, indulging in amorous sports, and asked for the same pleasure for herself ; when subsequently, according to Pārvatī's promise, the young girl saw herself enjoyed by a youth, in a dream, she was helped by her friend Citralekhā, who identifying the youth as

1 " ...Rāmaḥ...vyavedayata Kṛṣṇasya tat ca sarvaṃ... " HV II.0.

2 " Kṛuddhaḥ pariḡham udyamya... " BhP 61. 36,

Aniruddha, got him into the harem by her magic power, and here, the lovers stayed on. By this time, Bāṇa, who had a thousand arms, was eager for a strong fight and prayed to Śiva for an opponent in arms. Śiva told that the opportunity was coming; when the Asura was informed of the presence of the youthful lover, he fought with him, and bound him fast with serpents-*'Pannagāstra.'* Nārada took this news to Dvārakā and Kṛṣṇa, with his forces invaded Śoṇitapura, Bāṇa's city. In the strong fight that ensued, even Śiva sided with the Asura, but Kṛṣṇa defeated all, cutting the host of arms of Bāṇa, and ultimately, after reconciling matters, returned to his place, with the young lovers married.

(d) BVP differing, states that Pārvatī made Aniruddha eager by sending him a dream-vision of Usā, and in response Kṛṣṇa made Usā to crave for the youth, by sending his vision to her; that Citralekhā told of Usā's craving to Bāṇa, when he was with Śiva and others, Gaṇeśa told the facts, but was asked by Śiva, not to let Bāṇa hear him, so that after the lover had stayed with Usā, the guards of the harem told Bāṇa that his daughter was pregnant, which enraged him greatly, and in spite of Śiva and others objecting, he began to fight, where Aniruddha defeated him, and Kārttikeya as well. Bali then intervened, and prayed to Kṛṣṇa who promised not to kill Bāṇa. BP and VP state¹ that Bāṇa fought in a chariot driven by Nāndīśa. PP has the first 25 numbers of this adhyāya in prose, and brings in Pārvatī to pray to Kṛṣṇa to spare her husband, who was lying senseless on the field of battle, by Kṛṣṇa's Mohanāstra. BP, VP and BhP state that when Kṛṣṇa was about to hurl his discus against Bāṇa, the Māyā of the Daityas stood naked before him and consequently Kṛṣṇa closed his eyes and sent his Sudarśana to cut off the Asura's arms alone. PP stating² that Kṛṣṇa's Cakra cut off all the weapons hurled against him by Bāṇa and then the Asura's arms. HV at adh. 189, adds an incident after the marriage of the lovers, where Kṛṣṇa, advised by Bāṇa's minister Kubhāṇḍa, tries to take away Bāṇa's cows protected by Varuna, but finally give up the matter, at Varuna's request. Adh. 190, the last of

1 " Nandīśasambhūtiśāvam...! adhirūḍho mahāratham || " BP 206. 28.

2 " Tāni sarvāṇi ciccheda cakreṇaiva Janārdanaḥ " PP 277. 18.

the Visnuparvan in HV, gives the celebrations in Dvārakā, where the bride Uṣā was sent in a peacock—chariot by the goddess Rudrānī.¹

(e) HV finishes its account of Kṛṣṇa with this incident. AP which gives the whole life summary, mentions only the Yamunā-Karsana a feat of Rāma, after this, and concludes with the statement that Kṛṣṇa, after this, lived happily with his numerous wives and their children. In fact, this marks the height of Kṛṣṇa's prosperity according to Purāṇic tradition, as even in BhP adh. 63 ff. to the end of skandha X, except Mbh references, there is nothing to equal this incident.

There is one incident in which Kṛṣṇa has to fight with Paundraka Vāsudeva, king of Kāśī, referred to, at BP 207; VP 54; PP 278; BhP 66; but this is not common to all the sources; some mention, at HV 100; BhP Vij 52. 78 ff: BVP 121, a Śṛgāla Vāsudeva, who was ruling in Karavīrapura, and was killed by Kṛṣṇa in course of the Southern fight with Jarasandha (see above under XI). VyP, in giving the sons of Vasudeva from his different wives, mentions, at 96.183. 'Pundra' and 'Kapila' as sons of Sugandhī Vanarājī; of these the first becomes king, Kapila retiring to forests: both these Vāsudevas-Śṛgāla, according to BVP alone—are said to have imitated Kṛṣṇa, in appearance, and paraphernalia, and posed themselves as the original, challenging Kṛṣṇa for fight or surrender; the latter cut the head of Paundraka with his cakṛa, when his son, under favour of Śiva, created a 'Kṛtyā' and sent her against Dvārakā, which began to take fire: so Kṛṣṇa, who was then playing at dice, sent his Sudarśana after her, which pursuing her to the end, burnt down the city of Vārāṇasī. PP gives the name of the son, as Dandapāni, while BhP calls him Sudakṣiṇa, BP and VP not giving any. This incident, perhaps, records history of Kṛṣṇa's fight with the followers of Śaiva faith, who wore Pundra mark, and imitated the Bhāgavatas. BhP inserts between the Uṣā incident and Paundraka affair, two adhs. 64—giving Nṛgopākhyāna and 65 the incident no. XII, while BVP places Śṛgāla and Sya-

¹ "Māyuram ratham āruhya ... Uṣā sampreṣitā devyā rudrānyā... HV 190, 11032.

mantaka, bringing in¹ Mbh reference in the former case, (adh. 121 and 122) after Uṣā incident, and reverts² to its main theme about Rādhā³, and finishes the story with her reunion: (123-129) after 100 years of separation, Rādhā worships Gaṇeśa and is reunited to Kṛṣṇa, who, after fully sporting himself, finally returns to Goloka with her, and with other residents of Gokula. 130; Nārada's marriage with Śrījaya's daughter and his return to penance after a short worldly life. 131; about Fire being called 'Hiranyaretas'. 132 a brief resumé of the RVP.

(a) XVII-EXPLOITS OF BALARĀMA.

As mentioned above, the Purāṇic story of Kṛṣṇa seems to refer to the Uṣā incident, as the last one of importance, and then, after some time, comes the 'last of the Yādavas', which HV, forming a part of the Mbh, omits. But before this, it was natural to give something about Balarāma, the elder brother, and here we find the Rsis asking about the same: "Śrotum iochāmahe bhūyo Balbhadrasya dhimatah; Mune parākramaṁ śauryam..." BP 208.

(b) In reply to this, we have two incidents recorded at BP 208, 209, VP 36,37; HV (only the first, coming after Rukmī's death; see under XV), and BhP 67,68 (transposing the two), the last source adding a few more still before coming to the end.

(c) These two incidents are: (1) placing his plough against the city-walls, Balarāma, forcing the capital Hastināpura, into the river Ganges, as he was enraged by the Kauravas laughing at his orders to release Sāmba, Kṛṣṇa's son, who was taken captive, while he was trying to run away with the daughter of Duryodhana from Svayamvara, and (2) killing Dvivida, the monkey friend of Narakāśura, as he attacked Rāma, while he was enjoying himself in his wife's company, in the gardens of the hill Raivata.

(e) After this BhP adds a number of adhs. mainly dealing with the Mbh. incidents. This is the only Purāṇa which has stated the Purāṇic story in Mbh. context; the details in the BhP portion under consideration, are:—69 Kṛṣṇa's family life; 70-77 Mbh. Sabhā portion from Jarāsaṁdha to Śiśupāla incidents, and

1. Śrīgāla upbraiding Kṛṣṇa.—"Dronaṁ Bhīṣmaṁ ca Karṇaṁ ca..... ghātayā-māsa Mā: "yā" showing that Mbh. war was over already. BVP 121.9. —

Vana portion regarding Kṛṣṇa's fight with Śālva ; 78 1-16 Death of Dantavakra and Vidūratha by Kṛṣṇa, in fight (PP 279.18-23 gives the death of the first, who fought 'day and night' with Kṛṣṇa at the gates of Mathurā, and after this, at st. 24-28, Kṛṣṇa went to Gokula, sported with the women of the place for two months, and sending all the beings of the place to happy Vaikunṭha, returned to Dvārakā). 17-40 Rāma's pilgrimage, during the Mahābhārata war. 79-Rāma's return to Dvārakā after the war. 80,81 (Coronation of Yudhisthira, inserted in Vij. Recn.) also in PP 279 29-36 ; BVP 113.37-40. Kṛṣṇa's friend-'Kucela' 'Sudhāman' in BVP; 'Bālasakhā satirthya', in PP, -struck with poverty, made rich by Kṛṣṇa ; 82 Meeting of Yādavas and Pāṇḍavas on the Kuruksetra, where Nanda, Yaśodā too, were present. 83. Talk between Draupadī and Kṛṣṇa's wives. 84. Sacrifice performed by Vāsudeva ; and then all returning to Dvārakā for the rainy season. 85.1-26. Vasudeva praising Kṛṣṇa and Rāma, 27 ff. Devakī shown her dead sons by Kṛṣṇa ; 86 Arjuna taking away Subhadra, an incident, as if forgotten so long. 87 Śrutigītā recited by Rṣi Nārāyaṇa to Nārada. 88 Vṛkāsura story, similar to Bhaṣmāsura, here Nārāyaṇa taking the form of a boy-'baṭu'-puts the Asura down. 89.1-21, discussion among Bhṛgu and other Rsis, about the greatness of Viṣṇu, 22-66, also at HV 170-73 PP 279.41-55; BVP 113.35; Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna engaged in restoring the dead sons of a Brāhmana, where Arjuna was proved powerless. PP states¹ that the Brāhmana had thus lost 6 sons, the last aged 5 years, and BhP, differing,² gives three sons, each dying as soon as born. 90, Kṛṣṇa's sports with his wives.

(a) XVIII—LAST OF THE YĀDAVAS.

(b) BP 210-212, VP 37, 38; PP 279.56-96; BhP XI, 1, 6, 30, 31, LP 69-83-94; Mbh. XVI.1-8.

(c) Yādava boys, out of joke, took Sāmba dressed as a woman to the Rsis, Viśvāmitra, Kanva and Nārada, at the holy place Piṇḍāraka, and asked them, what the pregnant lady would bear.

1. "Mṛtam Pañcavarṣikam bālam" and "...mama pañca putrā pūrvam hatā ayam tu saṣṭhaḥ..." PP 279.41.43.
2. "Jātamātro bhuvanṁ sprāṣṭvā mamāra kila bhārata" and "Evam dvitīyaṁ vipraṇḍis tṛtīyaṁ tṛtīyaṁ eva ca," BhP 89.22,26.

The insulted Brāhmaṇas told the boys that Sāmba would give birth to a 'Musala', a rod, and it would prove ruin to all the Yādavas. The rod was accordingly born, and the boys, afraid of the consequences, told the whole to king Ugrasena, who pounded it, and threw it into the sea, where it grew into Eraka grass, and the iron ring of the rod was swallowed by a fish, secured by the hunter Jarā, who set it to his arrow. Kṛṣṇa, on his side, received the hint, and seeing bad omens, ordered all the Yādavas to proceed to the holy place Prabhāsa, where the Yādavas, drunk to excess, fell to quarrelling, and Kṛṣṇa, seeing them gone out of control, took a handful of grass and struck all to death with it. Dārūka, the charioteer, alone was left and was sent by Kṛṣṇa to carry the news to Arjuna, asking him to come for relief of those left behind; Rāma, in the form of a serpent, expired, and Kṛṣṇa was struck in his foot by an arrow from the hunter Jarā.

Ugrasena, Vasudeva and his wives, as also the principal wives of Kṛṣṇa, entered fire, while Arjuna with the remaining ladies and men proceeded towards his own place, when the camp was attacked, on the way, by robbers, who took away some of the ladies too. Arjuna, who could not successfully revert the attack, and was disappointed, reached Indraprastha, with the remaining people, and crowned Vajra, a great-grandson of Kṛṣṇa, on the throne, and with his brothers, himself proceeded to his Mahāprasthāna.

(d) PP mentions only the great Ṛṣi Kaṇva, practising penance on the river Narmadā, while LP adds 'Durvāsāḥ' to the three, BhP adding a number of others. BP, VP, and BhP state that Uddhava, an intimate friend of Kṛṣṇa, was sent to Badarī after the curse was known; Mbh.¹ seems to state that he expired, as 'left, none knew where,' while PP and LP omit this altogether; PP stating that the Musala was disposed of by Kṛṣṇa, Mbh.² refers to an acclamation prohibiting drink in the city. BhP inserts, previous to the final departure of Uddhava, a series of adhyāyas 7-29 dealing with philosophy told him by Kṛṣṇa after

1. Apsāyan nuddhvam yāntam sojasāṅgītya rodasī, Mbh. XVI, 4.14.

2. "...Surksavo no kartavyaḥ...18, Yaśca no viditam kuryēt payam...Jīvan sa śulam ārohet..." Mbh. XVI, 2.19.

the fashion of the Mbh. A portion of the great Mbh. episode beginning with the aftermath of the war, is also given at the beginning of the BhP 1.7-15, as also the context of this Purāṇa, is set in the meeting between Vidura and Uddhava after the expiry of all the Yādavas and Pāṇḍavas. Regarding the robbing away of some of Kṛṣṇa's widows, Mbh. XVI.8.60, BP (agreeing with VP) 212.26, has the same statement, that some were taken by force, while others followed through their desire "Kāmāt cānyāḥ pravavrajuh." BhP wisely omits this reference, saying that Arjuna took the remaining people to Indraprastha, while PP only refers to the ladies being taken; 'jagṛhuh'. In explanation of this, BP, VP, and PP refer to an old incident where the sage Aṣṭāvakra was laughed at, for his deformity, by the celestial nymphs, and were, cursed by him that they would go with robbers, and by his favour, were granted that they would have lord Vāsudeva as their husband. PP is not clear regarding the sequences of the curse and favour, but BP and VP state that the sage was prayed to by the ladies, while he was neck-deep in water, and laughed at when he came out.

III-KṚṢṆA STORY IN THE MAHĀBHARATA.

1. We have done so far with the incidents in the life of Kṛṣṇa, as given in the different Purāṇas, and although there is difference as regards details, we can say that the general story, *in gross*, is the same in *all* these sources; we have also reason to suppose that except for BP and VP, each source has a separate composition for itself, although BP seems to have influenced a few other sources, to some extent; and now we turn to

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another source of importance, where a part of the life of Kṛṣṇa, as connected with that of the Pāṇḍavas, is found. We can very well see that whatever the present state of the Epic text be, it was mainly meant to describe the Pāṇḍavas and their cousins, and Kṛṣṇa, though a very important ally of the former, comes

1-*Tuṣṭurus tam mahātmānam...74, Ākaṇṭhamagnasṛ salile.. BP 272.75, and, "tam uttiraṇaṃ ca dadṛśur virūpaṃ vakraṃ aṣṭadhā ... bhāṣaḥ sphuṭe bhavat tāḥ śaśāpa munīḥ...op. cit, 212,81,82.*

in only where he is wanted. The following is, in brief, a list of incidents, mentioned in MBh, where Kṛṣṇa figures directly some way or other :—

- 1-I. 201-227 Kṛṣṇa, present at the Svayamvara of Draupadī, sees the Pāṇḍavas, returns with them to Hastināpura, gets Indraprastha built, and, with Rāma, returns to Dvārakā.
- 2-I. 247-II. 2 goes to attend the marriage ceremony of his sister Subhadrā, stays on with the Pāṇḍavas, when too, comes off the Khāṇḍava fire ; and returns to Dvārakā with his sister Subhadrā.
- 3-II. 13-25 sent for by Yudhisthira, for advice in the matter of Rājasūya ; death of Jarāsaṁdha, and Kṛṣṇa's subsequent return to his place.
- 4-II. 38-72 washed the feet of the Brāhmanas, during the sacrifice ; offered Arghya by Sahadeva, and insulted by Śiśu-pāla, kills the latter ; returns to Dvārakā after the sacrifice.
- 5-III. 12-22 goes with his followers, to offer condolences to Yudhisthira in forest ; relates his encounter with Śālva, as the cause of his absence from the Dyūta ; returns with Subhadrā and Abhimanyu to Dvārakā.
- 6-III. 119-121 Meeting of the Yādavas and Pāṇḍavas at Prabhāsa.
- 7-III. 185-236. comes with Satyabhāmā, and stays with the Pāṇḍavas in the Kām̐yaka forest and returns after some time.
264 Feast to sage Durvāsas. Kṛṣṇa helping Draupadī—Northern Interpolation.
- 8-IV. 78—V. 5, goes to Upaplavya and after the marriage of Abhimanyu, brings about a meeting of the kings and settles upon the Pāṇḍava's demand for their share, and then leaves for Dvārakā, asking to be sent for if Duryodhana refuses to admit their claim.
- 9-V. 17, Duryodhana and Arjuna, seeking help from Kṛṣṇa, in the coming war, go to Dvārakā, where Duryodhana gets the army and Kṛṣṇa, who had vowed not to take any active part in actual fight, joins Arjuna and returns with him.

10-V. 71-150, Kṛṣṇa's futile embassy to the Kauravas; reports his failure to the Pāṇḍavas.

11-V. 152. 5-9. Kṛṣṇa with Dhṛṣṭadyumna and Sātyaki, arranged the camp for the army of the Pāṇḍavas.

12-VI-X-THE WAR.

- (i) VI. 25-42 preaching the Bhagavadgītā.
- (ii) a-VI. 59. 91 marching with his discus against Bhīṣma; b-VI. 106. 55 marching against Bhīṣma, restrained by Arjuna, in both cases.
- (iii) VII.29.18 protected Arjuna by taking upon himself the charge of Vaisnava missile sent by Bhagadatta, VII 32-43 explained to Arjuna his four-fold form.
- (iv) VII.77.22 consoling Subhadrā after the death of Abhimanyu.
- (v) VII.100.19 groomed the horses and caused them to drink water, in the din of battle.
- (vi) VII. 142. 60, promised dying Bhūriśravas, his own world, form etc. in heaven.
- (vii) VII. 147. 61 ff, created darkness, told Arjuna to cut off the head of Jayadratha, making it fall in the lap of his father.
- (viii) VII. 174. 45ff, encouraged and sent off Ghaṭotkaca against Karna.
- (ix) VII. 191, advised Pāṇḍavas to practise fraud on Drona; urged Yudhiṣṭhira to tell a lie.
- (x) VIII. 72, told Arjuna, the story of Kauśika, and Balāka, and pacified him, when he (Arjuna) had drawn sword against Yudhiṣṭhira, for the insult offered to his (bravery) bow Gāṇḍīva.
- (xi) VIII. 97. 30, saved Arjuna from the serpent-arrow of Karna, by pressing the chariot five fingers deep in the ground.
- (xii) IX. 6. 26-40, advises Yudhiṣṭhira to kill Śalya.
- (xiii) IX. 33. 2-16. censures Yudhiṣṭhira for having given Duryodhana, the last decisive chance of fighting with one of them.

- (xiv) IX. 59. 3-19, afraid of Duryodhana's success, advises Arjuna to give Bhīma a hint to strike Duryodhana on his thigh, even against the rules.
- (xv) IX. 61 tried to pacify his brother Rāma, who was angry at the duel against the rules, but Rāma, still unsatisfied, returns to Dvārakā.
- (xvi) IX. 62. 27 ff, Vāsudeva and Duryodhana upbraiding each other.
IX. 62. 71ff, consoles the despondent Pāṇḍavas.
- (xvii) IX. 63. 50-54, advised by Yudhiṣṭhira, leaves for Hastināpura, to comfort Gāndhārī and Dhṛtarāṣṭra.
- (xviii) X. 16. 12, cursing Aśvatthāman, declares that he would revive Parikṣit.
- 13-XI. 11-15, substituted the iron statue of Bhīma, for Dhṛtarāṣṭra to embrace, and afterwards pacifies him (23 ff.)
- 14-XI. 25. 39-46. Gāndhārī curses Kṛṣṇa.
XI. 26. 1-5, Kṛṣṇa upbraids her, telling the faults of her sons, which brought about the calamity.
- 15-XII, XIII, telling stories to calm the mind of Yudhiṣṭhira and taking him to Bhīṣma for the same.
 - (a) XII, 28, tells the history of the sixteen kings.
 - (b) XII, 29, tells Nārada and Parvata story.
 - (c) „ 38, tells Cārvaka's story at the time of the coronation.
 - (d) „ 45.21 asks Yudhiṣṭhira to approach Bhīṣma for knowledge.
 - (e) „ 48, tells the story of Rāma-Jāmadagnya.
 - (f) „ 81, Vasudeva-Nārada samvāda, regarding the quarrels among the Yādavas, related by Bhīṣma.
 - (g) “ 237, discourse between Ugrasena and Kṛṣṇa on the merits of Nārada.
 - (h) XIII. 45-49, describes the greatness of Rudra, when Kṛṣṇa himself practised penance for a son from Jāmbavatī and pleased Rudra, who granted him boons.

" 139-146 (N. Recn)
202-250 (S. Recn) propitiated Śiva by penance, who
foretold Kṛṣṇa's feats and granted boons.

" 252, returns to Dvārakā, when Rukmiṇī gave birth
to Pradyumna.

" 265-66, describes the greatness of Rudra to Yudhi-
sthira.

(i) XIII.264, tells Pradyumna how Durvāsas was pleased
after severe tests.

16-XIV.17-51 recited Anugītā to Arjuna.

17- „ 58, on his way to Dvārakā, sees the sage Uttanka, and
pacifies him by showing his Viśvarūpa etc.

18- „ 60-62, related the incidents of the war to his father, who
performed obsequies for the dead relatives.

19- „ 69.24-36, restored to life the dead child of Uttarā.

20- „ 87-89, attended the horse-sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira, and
returned to Dvārakā.

21-XVI—The Mausalaparvan, describing the end of all the Yāda-
vas, including Kṛṣṇa's death at the hands of a hunter,
Jarā; and lastly,

22-XVIII.4.2, seen in his divine form in heaven, by Yudhiṣṭhira.

2. A comparison of these incidents with those of the Purā-
nic tradition, will show that, excepting the Mausala, giving the
end of the Yādava family, no incident is common, and that the
two are quite separate traditions. Of course, some Purāṇas, and
BhP, most of them, do bring in the Mbh. story, to a certain extent,
as we find the reverse in the Mbh. also. The following is a brief
statement of these references:—

MBH. REFERENCES IN THE PURĀṆAS

1. Indra requesting Kṛṣṇa to befriend Arjuna, and Kṛṣṇa
promising accordingly to protect him all through his life. BP
188.40-47, VP 12.17-24.

2. Garga, giving a prophecy of Kṛṣṇa's life, mentions his
help towards the Pāṇḍavas—BVP 13.131.

3. Rājasūya incident, and Śiśupāla's death, mentioned, as also the Mbh. war Op. cit. 113.23-34.

4. Bāna, speaking to Aniruddha, referring to the Mbh. war op. cit. 115.65.

5. Śṛagāla Vāsudeva, upbraiding Kṛṣṇa, referring to the death of Bhīṣma, Drona etc. through Kṛṣṇa, op. cit. 121.8,9.

6. Indra referring to the Khāṇḍava fire, while speaking to Nārada, in the Pārijāta incident HV 129.7300.

7. BhP, at the very beginning, makes¹ Śuka say that he would give a combined account of Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas, and starts with the Sauptika incidents of the Mbh. Further at skandha X, which is mainly devoted to the life of Kṛṣṇa, it inserts, off and on, various references to incidents in the Mbh. This tendency has been carried further still, by Vij Recn, which mentions some more in its text. Here are some instances to support this statement :—

(a) Akrūra being sent to Hastināpura to get news about the Pāṇḍavas, BhP X.48.32 ff, after Kamsa's death, and his subsequent return after seeing Dhṛtarāṣṭra's attitude, towards the Pāṇḍavas, op. cit. 49.

(b) Vij. giving a list of kings in Jarāsaṁdha's army; mentioning Drupada, Śakuni and others of Mbh. fame. op. cit. after 50 12ab. HV, in addition, mentions² the Kauravas also.

(c) Vij. mentioning Kṛtavarma being sent by Kṛṣṇa to see the Pāṇḍavas, he having learnt that Drupada was defeated by the young sons of Kunti. op. cit. ins. after 52.14.

(d) Kṛṣṇa going to pay a visit to the Pāṇḍavas at Indraprastha very soon after their marriage with Draupadī. op. cit. 58, and during his stay of some months, married Kālindī, daughter of the Sun. 58.13ff.

(e) Kṛṣṇa going to see the Pāṇḍavas in forest, hearing of their loss of kingdom etc. in the play at dice; ins. by Vij at the beginning of adh. 64, and returning to Dvārakā with Subhadrā and Abhimanyu.

1. " Parikṣito tha rājarser janmakarma vilīyanam, samsthām ca Pāṇḍu-putrāṇām vakye Kṛṣṇakathodayam," BhP. I.7.12.

2. "Duryodhanādayaś caiva dhṛtarāṣṭraś mahābhaṣṭh" HV 91.4971.

(f) Kings, kept in custody by Jarāsamdha, sending word to Kṛṣṇa for their relief, when Nārada, coming, advises him about the Rājasūya of the Pāṇḍavas. The story of the sacrifice with the deaths of Jarāsamdha and Śiśupala, Śālva's attack on Dvārakā during Kṛṣṇa's absence at the Rājasūya; Kṛṣṇa's return and death of Śālva. *op. cit.* 70-77.

(g) After 78.16, *Vij. ins.* the story of the Mbh. war, beginning with the meeting of kings at Upaplavya, referred to at the beginning of Mbh. V. BhP, proper, mentions only Rāma's pilgrimage at the time of the war. "Śrutvā yuddhodyamam Rāmah Kurūnām saha Pāṇḍavaiḥ | tirthābhisekavyājena madhyasthaḥ prayayau kila..." BhP 78.17; refers also to his presence at the duel between Bhīma and Duryodhana, and his return to Dvārakā after futile efforts to prevent it. 79.22 ff.

(h) *Vij. inserts* at the beginning of adh. 80, Yudhiṣṭhira's coronation, after the close of the war. and Kṛṣṇa's subsequent return to Dvārakā.

(k) Arjuna taking away Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadra, an incident mentioned at Mbh. I. 239-244, appearing here as a supplement at the near end of the story, at adh. 86.1-12. This portion does not appear in the *Vij. Recn.*

3. The Mbh. too, on the other hand, contains references to the Purāṇic story of Kṛṣṇa; here, too, we find a tendency in the Southern Recn. of the Epic, to insert more Purāṇic matter, as will be seen from the following :—

PURĀṆIC REFERENCES IN THE MAHĀBHARATA.

I-65. 3954, Earth approaching Brahmā and praying for relief, referred to in all Purāṇas, *vide* above.

I-214. 32, 33, Kṛṣṇa and Rāma born of the black and white hair of Nārāyaṇa, entering the wombs of Devakī and Rohiṇī (mentioned in the Pañcendropākhyāna). referred to in BP, VP and DBh. *vide* II (d) above.

II. 19. Kṛṣṇa referring to Kaiśa's death as the cause of his enmity towards Jarāsamdha.

II. 23, giving the Purāṇic account of Kṛṣṇa's life- a *southern interpolation.*

- II. 40. 23 Śiśupāla depreciating Kṛṣṇa: "Rājānam hatavān purā Jarāsamādhānam...", "where Nīlakanṭha takes 'Rājānam' to mean "Kāmsam."
- II. 42-61, Bhīṣma about the different incarnations; Kṛṣṇa's life at 52-60-*South-interpolation*.
- II. 64. 7-12, Śiśupāla referring to Purāṇic incidents:—
Pūtānā (Śakunī), Āśvavṛṣabham, cetanārahitaṁ kāstham pātitaṁ, pādena Śakatam, valmīkamātraḥ (hill) saptāham ...dhṛtaḥ, bahvannam bhuktaḥ; hataḥ Kāmsaḥ; "this passage is laid down by R. G. Bhandarkar as an interpolation (Vaiṣṇavism p. 50).
- II. 68. 15-22, Kṛṣṇa enumerating the evil deeds of Śiśupāla, referring to his burning Dvārakā during Kṛṣṇa's absence on the trip to Prāgiyotiṣapura (of Narakāśura), and his desire for Rukminī, along with other actions.
- II. 83. 8, Vidura to Dhṛtarāṣṭra refers to Kāmsa's death by Kṛṣṇa.
- II. 90. 43-49, Draupadī praying to Kṛṣṇa, when she was being stripped off her garments. S. and N. Recn. having different texts, the epithets used here, and prominently 'Goptjanapriya' the *only* reference in Mbh. implying Kṛṣṇa's friendship with the Gopīs, are not found in old MSS. of Mbh.
- III. 12. 30. 32, Arjuna pacifying the angry Kṛṣṇa in the forest residence of Pāṇḍavas, mentions: his having made the way to Prāgiyotiṣa safe by breaking the nets of Mura, and killing Niśumbha and Naraka, also refers to his taking away Rukminī.
15-22, Kṛṣṇa relating his encounter with Śālva.
- V. 48. 74 ff. Saṁjaya reporting Arjuna's speech to the Kauṛavas, referring to Kṛṣṇa's prowess, mentioning with other deeds, Rukminīharana, killing of Dantavakra, and burning of Vārānaśī (in the affair of Paundraka Vāsudeva); Kṛṣṇa killed Kāmsa, and restored the diamond 'Kundalas' to the gods, who granted him boons.
- V. 67. 4, Saṁjaya to Dhṛtarāṣṭra "Narakam Śambaram caiva Kāmsacaidyaṁ ca mādharmaḥ jītaḥ...krīḍan niva..."

- V. 130. 55-67. Vidura enumerating the deeds of Kṛṣṇa refers to Dvivīda, Naraka, Pūtānā, Govardhana, Arista, Dhenuka, Cānūra, Aśvarāja (Keśi), Kamsa, Jarāsamdha, Bakā, Śiśupāla, Bāṇa, Pārijāta etc. etc. st. 68: "his marriage with the captive maidens" is omitted in old MSS.
- VII. 11. 1-26, Dhṛtarāṣṭra describing Kṛṣṇa's feats since his childhood, beginning with his being reared up among the cowherds; "Saṁvardhatā gopakule balenaiva .. Vikhyāpitam balam": and ending with his bringing the tree Pārijāta from heaven.
- IX. 62. 26. Duryodhana upbraiding Kṛṣṇa calls him: "Kain-sadāsasya dāyāda "
- XII. 348. God Hari, in Śvetadvīpa, telling Nārada of his ten incarnations:—life of Kṛṣṇa appears as a prophecy at st. 21-41, where restoration of Nṛga, the lizard, and fight with Bāṇa (25, 26), death of Kamsa, Keśi and others, Kālīyā, Paundraka, as also the holding of Govardhana (30-33), and few other lines giving more details, are given as *southern interpolation*.
- XIII. 45-49, Requested by his wife Jāmbavatī for a son, Kṛṣṇa, 12 years after the death of Śambara by Pradyumna, left for Himālayas and practising hard penance propitiated the God Śiva, who granted him boons.
- XIII. God Śiva describing the greatness of the great Hari Kṛṣṇa, foretells his birth from Vasudeva, of the Śūra family: ' sa śūrah...janayisyati...Vasudeva iti khyātam putram...13. tasya putraś caturbāhur Vāsudevo bhavi-syati' 32. refers to his victory' over Jarāsamdha (34), his birth in Śūrasenas, and residence in Dvārakā, (36), and mentions his elder brother (54).
- XVI. 1-8, Mausala incident referred to above.

IV-CONCLUDING REMARKS.

1. That the Mbh. in its present form, seems influenced by the Purāṇas, can be seen from the Mārkaṇḍeya-saṁasyā, of the Vanaparvan, also a description of Rāma's pilgrimage, appearing in Śalyaparvan, both these being meant to describe the holy

places of India, after the fashion of the Purāṇas ; besides this, we find an actual mention of two Purāṇas ; " Matsyakam nāma Purāṇam III. 190. 55," and " Vāyuproktam anusmṛtya Purāṇam," III. 194. 16. It is therefore, probable that the Purāṇic account of Kṛṣṇa's life, crept in, at some stage of development of the text, as he formed one of the most prominent characters of the Epic.

2. Kṛṣṇa's identification with the Supreme godhead Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa is, except in a few cases, complete in the present texts of the Epic and the Purāṇas, and tracing the different stages, at which he was first described as a great hero, and subsequently identified with the Godhead, would be only a piece of guess-work. We find numerous references in the Mbh. where he is referred to as an incarnation of the Great God, the creator and protector, as also the destroyer of the world ; and the Purāṇas, too, are not a bit backward in this matter. There is only one prominent place in the whole Epic, and that is the Bhagavadgītā, where, if we compare it with its imitation, the Anugītā, we can find out some trace of this development. A detailed comparative study of these two, is still a desideratum. It would suffice, for the sake of our present subject, to give just a few points :—

3. The Anugītā, has, for its context, a blunt or rather a foolish occasion, when Arjuna, after the horse-sacrifice, seeing that Kṛṣṇa would be returning to Dvārakā, asks him to repeat the Bhagavadgītā, saying¹ that he had forgotten all about it ; Kṛṣṇa in reply, saying that he too, was unable to repeat it exactly, but would give him a story which would carry the same² sense, and then starts with the philosophy told by the Brāhmana from the heavens ; this story ends with adh. 20, which is concluded by Kṛṣṇa, by saying, ' this same was heard by Arjuna, at the time of the war : "Tadāpi hi rathasthas tvam śrutavān etad eva hi," 20.55, clearly meaning that the matter contained in adh. 17-20, was the same as that in the original Bhagavadgītā. Of course, the Anugītā, as we find it, at present, does not end here, but has got

1 " Yat tu tad bhavatā proktam purā Keśava souhṛdāt ' tat sarvaṃ puruṣa-vyāghra naṣṭam me vyagracetasaḥ, " XIV. 17. 6.

2 " Yathā tām buddhim āsthāya gatim agryām gamiṣyasi, " op. cit. 17. 14.

two more additions, (1) the dialogue between the Brāhmana couple adhs. 21-35, ending with Kṛṣṇa's explaining, that the Brāhmana was the mind (*manah*), and his wife was the intellect (*buddhi*); and (2) the dialogue between the teacher and his disciple 36-51, where too, at the end, Kṛṣṇa says that he was the teacher and the mind was the student, and here again, do we find the reference to the occasion of the BhG. repeated.¹ The number of stanzas in these three portions, amounts to a little above 700, the present BhG. text. Thus, if we are to judge from the Anugītā, the BhG, its original, seems to have *three* stages of development.

Apart from the treatment of the topics, a striking feature of the Anugītā is that, it is, all through, given in an indirect narration, while the text of BhG. abounds in statements in the 'first' person, referring to Kṛṣṇa, as the Supreme God. In other words, Kṛṣṇa asserts himself as the God, and disposer of the worlds, in BhG. text, while in AG. he merely expounds the principles of philosophy, stating only at the end that he was the teacher. If AG clearly purports to be a repetition of BhG, it is difficult to see why it takes this roundabout way, avoiding the first personal 'Aham' referring to Kṛṣṇa.

Mbh. is, otherwise, full of references recognising Kṛṣṇa, as the supreme God, and, as such he is often called 'Purāṇa Rṣi,' 'Vedātmā' vijānatām drśyah (II. 36. 10. 11) 'sākṣād devaḥ,' avyayātmā paramēśvaraḥ (III. 86. 25-28), 'lokatrayasyādhipatiḥ mahātmā (V. 22. 10), 'viśvasṛg (VII. 33. 12), 'viśvasya brahmano mukham (XII. 212. 10), 'sarvasya sraṣṭā, saṁhāra eva ca (XIV. 55. 4), 'etc. etc. all the epithets of Viṣṇu, Hari, Nārāyaṇa, being given to him.

4. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the 'Viṣṇu sahasranāma' at XIII. 254, does *not* contain any synonym illustrating any incident of Kṛṣṇa's Purāṇic life, though it mentions his connection with the Yādavas, and such other things that are found in the Mbh. text, too; there is again, a collection of 100 names, at XII. 42, directly addressed to Kṛṣṇa, by Yudhiṣṭhira,

1 'Pūrvam apyetaḍ evoktam yuddhakāla upasthite' 51. 49.

but here too, we find only his identification with the Godhead, and no reference to his Purāṇic life.

Mbh. is only responsible for the combined identification of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, with Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who are stated to be sages gifted with superior knowledge, incarnations of the God. There are only twenty-six references to this, comparatively far too little. In the Purāṇic sources, BhP, and that too, only in one place, refers to this identification, when Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna go to the heavens to fetch the dead children of a Brāhmaṇa (BhP 89 60: "pūrnakāmāv api yuvām Naranārāyaṇāv ṛṣi, "supreme God addressing the two). A striking fact, in this connection, is, that the famous benedictory stanza: 'Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya etc.' beginning the Mbh. and mentioning the pair under reference, is not found in the Southern MSS., which have some others to begin the great Epic with. It is, therefore, clear, that this stanza is a composition of the Northern Recension, and perhaps the identification itself is a Northern idea. Of course, the whole Mbh. MSS. material is not yet handled, and perhaps, even after the study of the S. MSS., it might be found that the 26 and old references to this Naranārāyaṇa idea, are not missing in the S. Recn. too; the contamination between the two Recensions was inevitable. But it is possible that although Kṛṣṇa was identified with Nārāyaṇa long back, it was only his friendship with Arjuna of the Mbh. reputation, that subsequently gave the latter, a position of Nara, and thus the two stood side by side, as worshipful ones. A proof of this joint worship of Vāsudeva and Arjuna, is indicated in the sūtra 'Vāsudevārjunābhyām vun' of Pāṇini, often quoted by scholars, to refer to Kṛṣṇa's greatness, disregarding the other part, mentioning 'Arjuna'; the sūtra would show that both Vāsudeva and Arjuna were considered as worshipful, and just as 'Vāsudevaka' denoted a devotee of the first, 'Arjunaka' should denote one worshipping the second. So perhaps, both these were given high position, and were worshipped as gods in the times of Pāṇini, and it was to point to this joint greatness, that references to their being Nara and Nārāyaṇa, were inserted at some stage of development of the Epic text.

6. R. G. Bhandarkar at p. 13, and 51, discussed some synonyms of Kṛṣṇa, saying at p. 13, that Kṛṣṇa, Janārdana and Keśava

are not *Vrsni* names, and at p. 51, that 'Govinda' has nothing to do with cows, but with 'go,' the earth, referring to the Boar-incarnation. In Mbh. V. 69, Samjaya tells Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the etymologies of some synonyms, and in another place, at Mbh. XII. 350, we find Kṛṣṇa expounding his names to Arjuna. Both these cases are more or less of an artificial nature, and the etymology of the word, 'Vāsudeva' given under Pāṇini's sūtra quoted, falls under this category. Both R. G. Bhandarkar, and Jacobi, have tried to put aside Vāsudeva altogether, rejecting on these grammatical grounds, that Vāsudeva is a patronymic, but the Epic and all the Purāṇic sources agree in putting Vasudeva as the father of Kṛṣṇa, and, as Pargitar, has pointed out at pp. 105, 107 of his 'Ancient Indian Historical Tradition,' we find his name properly placed in a regular genealogy of the Yādavas. In addition to this, we find his statement at p. 140. 'Kṛṣṇa is styled 'Dāsārha, Mādhava, Sāttvata, Vārsneya, and Śāuri' after various ancestors, as well as 'Vāsudeva' after his father. This use of patronymics seems to be more frequent in Kṣātriya than in Brāhmaṇa traditions.'

Along with other names we find Kṛṣṇa called 'the son of Devaki', as also of 'Vasudeva' all through the Mbh. and the Purāṇas; besides, there are in Mbh. about 14 occasional references to Vasudeva personally, and unless there is some scriptal error originally occurring in the Mahābhāṣya, and faithfully copied down by subsequent scribes, it seems rather strange that Patañjali, should go against the established tradition and state that Vāsudeva, is the son of Vāsu°, and not Vasu°. That the Ch. Up. mentions Kṛṣṇa, as merely a son of Devaki, is also not to be much made of, as the same epithet is given him, in the sources under consideration. It might be, a person was called after his father, as well as his mother, and subsequently the latter custom was somehow dropped away. In support of this statement a reference too, can fortunately, be given : at Atharvaveda, IV.16, the last Ṛk gives a sort of formula, the whole Ṛk being translated thus:—"with all these fetters, I fasten thee so and so, of such and such a family, son of such and such a mother..." Apart from this, it is also possible that this Kṛṣṇa initiated by Ghora Āṅgīrasa, was quite different from that of the Epic and Purāṇic traditions, which

mention only Sāṁdīpanī, in some cases, Garga, as his tutor, who is said to be a Kāśya; the same should be the case with the Vedic seer Kṛṣṇa; and more still, our Kṛṣṇa has not been stated to be a *seer* of Vedic hymns. If the identification of the two has to be taken at all, it is possible that the name of *our* Kṛṣṇa was attached to the particular Vedic hymns, where his name is found. Without going into details, we can see, that there are many hymns¹ in the Rgveda, which have got two or more names of seers, with the alternative 'vā'='or', while on the other hand, we can see some, where the seers of particular Rks, are carefully mentioned. It would thus seem, that, at the time the collection was formed, the names of seers of some of the hymns were *not known* for certain, and more than one were current in popular tradition, which is recorded faithfully; in the same way, it is possible, that some hymns were found *without* any name, and these were, by the people, given, some fictitious names, as their seers, and the seer Kṛṣṇa might be one of the type. Epithets like "Ṛṣiḥ purāho vedātmā, Mbh. II.36,10, applied to Kṛṣṇa, glorify him only in the general sense, without referring to his seership.

7. Turning now to our main point, we have seen, that although incidental cross-references are found both in the Purāṇas and the Mbh. it can safely be stated, even from the present state of the texts, that these references have been inserted at some later stage of the textual development, and originally the two accounts were mutually exclusive; so that the question is whether the two accounts refer to the same Kṛṣṇa, or to different persons.

Following the *orthodox view*, we can say that *one is supplementary of the other*. Kṛṣṇa was first glorified in the Mbh. and the remaining account of his life, which had nothing to do with the Pāṇḍavas, and their warfare, and was still in oral tradition, was put together to be used in the Purāṇas. It need not be argued, that he was unscrupulous in attaining his ends, and thus an unfit person to preach the high philosophy of the Bhagavadgītā. To find quite different, even contradictory characteristics, in one and

1. Vide, Rgveda I.105, VIII.42,71,102, X.9,11, 115 to quote only a few, where 'vā' is found; X.50 does not give any name, X.161 is doubtful about the deity.

the same person, is the very sign of greatness. The Pāṇḍavas, Bhīṣma and others were attached to him, considered him as their sole support and resort, and saw the great God in his person, while the Kauravas took him to be an ordinary man, and treated him as such; even taking the most indifferent stand, there is nothing strange or 'incongruous', in our hero's being reared in a cow-settlement, Kāṁsa had put to death the first issues of Vasudeva, so, to avoid further calamity of the same nature, and to put off suspicion, the child was removed secretly to an unimposing place like the cow-settlement, and another substituted; while the child grew there, the upsetting of a cart (sakata), killing of a bird (Pūtana), a crane (Baka), an ass (Dhenuka), etc. were quite natural and ordinary incidents,—a boy of some dash could easily achieve these things. There is only one point which is given extraordinary importance in BVP, and is not solely missing in any of the Purāṇic sources: it is his sports with the Gopīs. Some of the sources state that Kṛṣṇa was at this time, only *seven years'* old, so any amorous play with the girls of the place is clearly out of question; it is *physically* impossible the only fact seems to be, that the boy was attractive in appearance, and sharp in his intellect, and was naturally endeared to all, especially the women-folk, he played on flute, and the music attracted the girls round him; of course, matter other than this, is all the play of imagination, and should not affect our hero, in the least.' There is only one gap in the story of this boy Kṛṣṇa, and that is, once gone to Mathurā with Akrūra, he never returned to Gokulā. The sources have tried to bridge this over, but their very disagreement in this respect, brings out the broad fact to light, that the original tradition had nothing to say on this point.

8. With regard to Kṛṣṇa's personal normal activities of an ordinary day, we have a reference in Mbh. at XII.52.2f, and in BhP at X. adh. 70 too; where we find him practising *Yoga*, early

1 Or, was it that the figure *seven* suggested complete development. This suggestion has been made, in other connection, by: Art O'Mur naghan; see Theosophical path, October 1929 p. 491—"seven is a perfect number ...". If this interpretation is accepted, we shall have to take Kṛṣṇa to have attained his youth, when his love-sports would be, at least, physically possible.

in the morning. There is a reference in the Bh. Gītā at adh. IV stating that Kṛṣṇa revived the Yogic tradition. Perhaps it might be that he initiated the Pāṇḍavas, Bhīṣma and others in this practice, and was thus looked upon, by them, as their 'Guru-the God,' so that, while he was, to the world in general, a great hero and a politician, his inner circle looked upon him, even in his life time, as the reviver of an old system, the god incarnate come down to the Earth for the purpose.

But against all this orthodox view, there is a serious drawback in the two accounts, and it is, that they are mutually exclusive. An incident of greatest importance like the Mbh. war, Kṛṣṇa's preaching the message of the Bh. Gītā, are things which should not have been omitted in the Purāṇic accounts, as also on the other-hand, the Mbh. which brings hundreds of comparatively insignificant stories, in its finally developed form, of a lac of stanzas, should have recorded the rather wonderful incidents of his childhood; Janamejaya is always curious to know each smallest detail, and it is strange that we do not find any connected account of Kṛṣṇa's story, in the vast text of the Mbh.; the Southern Recension trying to put in matter of this nature at Sabhāparvan adhs. 23 and 52-60, makes this flaw only the more conspicuous.

If, on the other hand, we were to take the two accounts to refer to two different persons, there is much common matter that helps to identify the two, rather than separate them; so that, it is now impossible, on the authority of our present sources, the Epic and the Pūrāṇas—and these are mainly responsible for the Kṛṣṇa story; whether occasional references, outside this province, would make any conclusion valid, is doubtful to point out, where the two accounts separated and how they were mixed up; at best, we can only state that the mutual influence between these two is very great, and leave further analysis to higher criticism which would be subjective, and hence not acceptable to all alike.

APPENDIX I.

KṚṢṆA IDENTIFIED WITH THE SUPREME GODHEAD REFERENCES IN THE MBH (KUMBH. EDITION,)

- I. 64. 141-146ab विष्णुः...यसुदेवानु देवक्यां प्रादुर्भूतो... । called also ब्रह्म, पुरुष
etc. धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय प्रजन्तेऽन्धकृष्णिषु ।
68. 39-54 Earth approaching Brahmā, who in his turn, goes
to Nārāyaṇa and requests : अंशेनावनेत्येवं तथेत्याह च तं हरिः ।
68. 151 यस्तु नारायणो नाम देवदेवः सनातनः । तस्यांशो मानुषेष्वासीत् घासुदेवः प्रतापवान् ।
also शेषस्यांशो बलदेवः and सनत्कुमार प्रद्युम्नं etc.
214. 32, 33 Kṛṣṇa born of the black hair of Nārāyaṇa.
227. 55, 56 महेन्द्रशक्तनादृत्वा विश्वकर्मा तु केशवं । प्रगम्य प्रणिपाताहं.. ।
238. 10 Arjuna as यति-चिन्तयामास देवेदं केशं क्लेशनाशनम् । which Kṛṣṇa
with सत्यमात्रा in bed, -दिव्यशक्तिं दृष्टवान् ।
- II. 1. 21 लोकनाथः प्रजापतिः ।
13. 43 Yudh. सर्वलोकात्सरं मत्वा जगाम मनसा हरिम् । अग्रमेवं महाबाहुं कामाज्जात-
मजं नृप ।
36. 10, 11 हरिः । ऋषिः पुराणो वेदात्मा दृश्यश्चैव विजानता । जगतस्तत्पुत्रां भेष्टः प्रभव-
आव्ययश्च ह । भूतभव्यभवक्षाधः केशवः केशिसूदनः । came to Yudh.
with presents for the Rājasūya
39. 13-20 Nārada, on the अर्घ्य occasion, thinks of हरि नारायण be-
come incarnate as Kṛṣṇa, अन्धकवृष्णिनां वंशे जातः ।
41. 6ff. भीष्म declaring K. as Supreme God.
62. 9 Nārada supporting सहोदयः-कृष्णो कमलपद्माक्षं नार्चयिष्यन्ति ये नराः ।
जीवन्मृतास्तु ते ज्ञेया न संमाख्याः कदाचन ।
63. 14 Bhīṣma to Yudh.-माधव, the प्रभव and निधन, of all the चतुर्विध
भूत's in three worlds
67. 42 यादवस्य देवस्य (देहं विशतु पारितः).
70. 52 शिक्षिताल's तेजः entered the body of K.
90. 43-49 prayer of K. by Draupadī, at the time of वस्त्रहरण.
S. & N. Recensions have different texts, here.
- III. 12. 10ff केशव who is पुरुष, अग्रमेव, सत्य, अमितनेजम्, प्रजापतिपति, विष्णु
etc. is praised by Arj. describing his feats.

45. 26 Indra to लोमशः—भूमिगतः श्रीमान्विष्णुर्मधुनिबुद्धः । कपिलो नाम द्वेषो भगवानजितो हरिः ।

46. 38 धृतराष्ट्र to संजयः—जनाईनः हरिखैलोक्यनाथः being the मन्त्री, मोक्ष and सद्बद्ध of Arjuna.

86. 25-28 द्रौप्य to Yudh.—पुण्या द्वारवती where साक्षादेवः पुराणः परमेश्वरः हरिः आसते ।

192. 53 मार्कण्डेय to Yudh. स एष कृष्णो...पुराणपुरयो हरिरचिन्त्यात्मा... ।

202. 18 मार्कण्डेय to Yudh. देवक्रीपुत्रेण नरके मज्जमानो राजपितृगो ... स्वर्गं प्रापितः ।

264. 8-15 द्रौपदी praying K. as god at the दुर्वास affair [ref. दुःशासनादहं पूर्वं सभायां मोचिता त्वया । the whole of this adh. is a Northern text. Kṛṣṇa's help in the सभा affair is doubtful as there are two texts for the prayer and the पद्मह्राण is not mentioned in any other Epic reference ; the insult made much of is her being dragged to the court, while she was रजस्वला.]

273. 72 Śiva to जयद्रथः—स एष भगवान्विष्णुः कृष्णोति परिकीर्त्यते ।

311. 28 Indra to Karna : स (Arj.) यमाहुः नारायणमचिन्त्यं च तेन कृष्णेन रक्ष्यते ।

V. 7. 24 Arj. has, K. who is नुबु कामाज्जान, भजः etc.

7. 36 पीताम्बरधरो जगत्स्रष्टा जनाईनः ।

22. 10 धृत्. to संजय—लोकत्रयस्याधिपतिर्महात्मा ।

22. 30 „ „ „ अनुस्मरंस्तस्य कर्माणि विष्णोः ।

„ 33 „ „ „ सनातनो वृष्णिवीरश्च विष्णुः ।

48. 84, 88. K. called विष्णु by Arjuna.

53. 3 धृतराष्ट्रः—स स्रष्टा जगतः कृष्णः who would subjugate all the worlds.

67. संजय to धृतराष्ट्रः—सागतो जगतः कृत्स्नादनिरिको जनाईनः, who would burn the world, is the Lord of Time and Death, etc.

68. 3 संजय knows K. to be त्रिगुण...कर्तारमकृतं देवं भूतानां श्रमवाप्ययम् ।

69. „ relates to धृतराष्ट्र, etymologies of Kṛṣṇa's Synonyms. These seem to be, more or less artificial.

70 धृतराष्ट्र praises K. as सनातन, सहस्रशीर्ष, पुण्यपुरुष etc.

82. 36 ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां देवदेवः सनातनः leaving for हरितनायु.

83. धृतराष्ट्र advising a reception of Kṛṣṇa :—भूतानामीश्वरो हि सः

86. 3 „ त्रयाणामपि लोकानां भगवान्प्रणितामहः ।

90. 67 Kunti:—नमो धर्माय मेधसे । कृष्णाय महते नित्यं धर्मो धारयति प्रजाः ।

107. 14 गालव-विष्णुं गच्छाम्यहं कृष्णं... ।

„ 15 भोगा यस्मात्प्रतिष्ठन्ते ... । कृष्णं योगिनमव्ययम् ।

130. 55-67 विदुर to दुर्योधन, refers to the Purāṇic feats of K. :-
अयं कर्मा न क्रियते कारणं चापि पौरुषे ।

131. 4-6 K. showing his विश्वरूप, seen by द्रोण, भीष्म, विदुर, संजय,
धृतराष्ट्र.

V. 169. 16 भीष्म to दुर्योधन-युद्धाकेशो नारायणसहायवान् ।

VI. 21. 11, 14-16 Arj. to Yudh, अनन्तनेजा गोविन्दो... । पुरुषः सनातनमयो यतः कृष्ण-
स्ततो जयः । पुरा ह्येष हरिर्भूत्वा... । तत्प्रसादाद्भि वैलोक्यं प्राप्तं शास्त्रादिभिः
सुरैः ।

25-42, Bhagavadgītā, where Kṛṣṇa identified himself with
the God.

59. 96, 97 Bhīṣma to K.—देवेश जगन्निवास etc.

65-68 „, to दुर्योधन relating the विश्वोपाख्यान; where ब्रह्म requested
the God to come to the earth as Kṛṣṇa.

98. 14-15 भीष्म to दुर्योधन :-—यस्य गोप्ता जगत्कटा शङ्खचक्रगदाधरः । वासुदेवोऽनन्त
शक्तिः ... । सर्वेश्वरो देवदेवः ... ।

106. 62-64 भीष्म welcoming death at the hands of K.—देवदेवः
महत्स्व यपेटं... ।

VII. 10. 76 धृतराष्ट्र :-—नारायणो रणे नाथो दिव्यो दिव्यात्मकः प्रभुः ।

29. 34 K. explains to Arj. his fourfold form :-—(1) तपश्चर्यां कुरुते
भुवि, (2) पश्यति जगत् (3) कुरुते कर्म मानुषं, and (4) शेति... निद्रां वर्षसहस्रि-
कीम् ।

33. 12 द्रोण to दुर्योधन :-—विश्वसूय यत्र गोविन्दः... ।

49. 1 विष्णोः स्वप्ननेन्दकरः स विष्णुः प्रपुत्र भूषणः । i.e. अभिमन्यु.

79. 9 सर्वेषामाश्वरेश्वरः ।... विष्णुः comforted Arj.

- VIII. 23. 61 Karna to दुर्यो.—कृष्णश्च जगतः स्रष्टा रथं तमभिरक्षति (of Arjuna).
 65. 1 नारायणसमाहिते रथे.
 72. 14 Arj. took:—त्वमस्य जगतस्नात वेत्य सर्वं गतागतम् ।
 83. 65 Karna to Śalya:—(Arjuna)...नारायणेनाप्रतिमेन युतः । यस्य गुणा न शक्यं वक्तुं...महात्मनः विष्णोर्जिष्णोर्वसुदेवात्मजस्य ।
 101. 29-34 Yudh. praised K. after Karna's death.
- IX. 18. 27 पाञ्चालाः पाण्डवैः सह speaking:—येषां च जगतो नाथो नाथः कृष्णो जनार्दनः ।
 63. 12 भूतानामीश्वरे महात्मनि अवतीर्णि, Arjuna's रथ was reduced to ashes.
- XII. 42 Yudh. after his coronation, praises Kṛṣṇa:—विष्णुः, पुराणः, वैकुण्ठः, हंसः, हिरण्यगर्भः etc. (100 names of विष्णु acc. to S. Recn).
 45 Yudh. praising K. as a perfect yogin, and Lord ... कर्ता विकर्ता च त्वं क्षरश्चाक्षरश्च ह ।
 46 भीष्मस्तवराज, where K. is addressed as the Godhead.
 „ 136 हरिः (K.) gives वैलोक्यदर्शने ज्ञानं to भीष्म.
 50. 2-9 भीष्म praises K. in his विश्वरूपः दिवं ते शिरसा व्याप्तं पद्भ्यां देवी वसुंधरा ।
 51. 15 K. grants भीष्म divine knowledge, ease of limbs, etc.
 53. 25ff वासुदेव grants boons to भीष्म that his words would be honoured, and his fame would be eternal.
 110. 35-38 भीष्म to Yudh: य एष...तव च्युतः ।...वैकुण्ठः पुरुषोत्तमः : य एनं संभ्रयन्तीह भक्त्या नारायणं हरिम् । ते तस्मीह दुर्गाणि... ।
 206. भीष्म tells Yudh. how विष्णु, केशव, नारायण performed the creation, and identifies him with Kṛṣṇa, as related by नाद.
 208. 1 Yudh. wants to know all re : कृष्णमुच्ययमीश्वरम् ।
 „ 47 भीष्म tells all, giving the अवतारः, and concludes : स एष...सर्व-भूतादिरीश्वरः ।
 212 वार्ष्णेयावद्यात्मः वासुदेवः सर्वमिदं विश्वस्य ब्रह्मणो मुखम् । पुरुषं सनातनं विष्णुम्... ।
 286. 60 identifying जनार्दन with विष्णु नारायण [whose powers were told to वृत्र by सनत्कुमार.
 „ 62 K. is the तुरीयांश of the great God.
 348. 21-54 कृष्णावतार foretold by भगवान् to नाद (St. 25, 26, 30-33, 36-39, 41 cd—53 S. interp).
 „ 55 सात्वत the ninth अवतार.
 350 K. expounds his names to Arjuna.
 352 do. do. do.
 358. 88 कृष्ण एव हि लोफानां भावनो मोहनरतया संहारकारकश्चैव कारणं च विशाफते

- XIII. 263 भस्म praises Kṛṣṇa, as the first creator, supreme God, identifies him with नारायण परम अव्यय (46)
- XIV. 52. 6ff Arj. praising Kṛṣṇa : विश्वकर्मजमस्तेस्तु विश्वात्मन्विषसत्तम ।...त्वयि-
सर्वमिदं विश्व...।
54. K. explains to उदङ्ग his divine form.
55. 4, 5. K. reveals to उदङ्ग his divine form.
- ... 7-14 the sage praises Kṛṣṇa.
- ... 38, 39 K. gave water in the मरु land.
68. उत्तरा praying K. for the revival of her child :—इच्छन्मपि हि-
लोकांस्तीन् जीवयेथा दृष्टानिमान् ।
- XV. 33. 11 व्यास to गान्धारी—नारायणं हृषीकेशं (विद्धि).
- XVI. 5. 28 नारायण :—योगाचार्यो रोदसी व्याप्य लक्ष्म्या । स्थानं प्राप्तं स्वं महात्माऽप्रमेयं ।
- XVIII 5. 23 व्यास's teaching :—यस्तु नारायणो देवो...। तस्यांशो बासुदेवस्तु कर्मणोन्ते
विवेश ह ॥

APPENDIX II.

KṚṢṆA AND ARJUNA IDENTIFIED WITH NĀRĀYAṆA AND NARA IN THE MBH.

- I. 1. 198 यदाशौचं नरनारायणौ तौ कृष्णार्जुनौ वदन्तौ नारदस्य ।
- .68. 119 (सोम to gods re : अभिमन्यु's last fight) . नरनारायणाभ्यां तु स
संग्रामो विनाकृतः ।
- .238. 24 आस्तां प्रियसखायौ तौ नरनारायणावृष्टौ । (Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna
at Prabhāsa).
- .250. 8, 9 नरनारायणौ यौ तौ...। अर्जुनं बासुदेवं च यौ तौ लोकोऽभिमन्यते । (Brahmā
asking Agni to approach them).
- .254. 18 नरनारायणावेतौ पूर्वदेवौ द्विविधौ । (अश्विगिणी वाक् Indra in
Khaṇḍava fight).
- II. 89. 45 इच्छन् च हरिं नरं च जगाम विक्रोशनि यज्ञसेनौ ।
- III. 12. 46-48 Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna : समैव त्वं तवैवाहं...। नरकृपासि...हरिर्नारायणो
व्यहम् ।
- .40. 1-3 Śiva to Arjuna : नरस्त्वं पूर्वदेहे वै नारायणसहायवान् ।
- .45. 18, 19 Indra to लोमशः नरनारायणौ यौ तौ पुराणौ ऋषिसत्तमौ । तावेताव-
मिजानीहि हृषीकेशधनञ्जयो ॥
- .84. 6 युधि० to धीम्यः...अहमपि जानामि नरनारायणावृष्टौ ।
- ? 126. 19 प्रसवणगिरि where नरनारायणौ practised penance.
- .273. 31, 82 Indra to Jayadratha :...अर्जुनं नरं नाम नारायणसहायकं

- V. 49. 19 वितामह to the gods : वासुदेवाहुर्नो धीरो ...। नरनारायणौ देवोः पूर्वदेवाविति श्रुतिः ।
- .96. 49 जामदग्न्य to Kauravas : नरनारायणौ यौ तौ तावेवाहुर्नकेशवौ ।
- .111. 4 सुपर्ण to गालवः अत्र नारायणः कृष्णो जिष्णुश्चैव नरोत्तमः ।
- VI. 23. 18 दुर्गास्तोत्र, देवी to Arjuna : नरस्त्वमासि दुर्धर्ष नारायणेनहायवान् ।
- .121. 32 कथिते नारदेनासि पुर्वर्षिरामिनद्युने । वासुदेवसहायस्त्वं...॥ Bhīṣma to Arjuna.
- VII. 11. 41 Dhṛtarāṣṭra : पूर्वदेवौ महात्मानौ नरनारायणावुभौ ।
- .77. 2 After the death of Abhimanyu, नरनारायणौ क्रुद्धौ ज्ञात्वा देवाः सवासवाः । were anxious as to what would happen.
- VII. 80. 51 Śiva sees नरनारायणौ उभौ अगतौ for वायुपतात्र.
- .81. 9 Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna नरनारायणाद्वी, went to the lake and brought वायुपतात्र.
- .201. 14 नरनारायणौ tried their utmost to put down नागयणात्र.
- .202. 53ff व्यास to अश्वत्थामाः penance of sage नारायण,—called वासुदेव at st. 72,—his seeing Rudra who granted him boons. Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna = Nārāyaṇa and Nara.
- VIII. 52. 19 सर्वभूतवत्सौ धीरो नरनारायणाविवौ ।
- .92. 13 महाप्रह्ला to प्रजापति, when the fight between Arjuna and Karna was serious : सटरी जगन्धेतौ...। नरनारायणावेतौ...।
- XIII. 252. 55, 56 after फलश्रुति st. of कृष्णमाहात्म्यः वासुदेवधर्मजयौ practise तप at बदरी for 100 years, as related by नारद.
- .273. 44 भीष्म's last prayer : नरनारायणावेतौ संभूतौ मनुजेष्विति ।

APPENDIX III.

MBH. REFERENCES TO VASUDEVA.

(This point is referred to at p. 332.)

- I. 64. 141 वसुदेवानु देवक्यां मातुर्भूतः ... ।
163. 32 स्वसतं वसुदेवस्य ... (i. e. Kuntī).
239. 15 वसुदेवसुतां शुभम् । (i. e. Subhadrā).
- II. 40. 6 वसुदेवे स्थिते वृद्धे कथमर्हति तत्पुत्रः । Śiśupāla asking, when Kṛṣṇa was being given arghya.
- III. 304. 24 वसुदेवस्य भगिनी (i. e. Kuntī).
- VII. 144. 10 देवकीं वसुदेवार्थं । निजित्य... (शिशुः won देवकी on behalf of Vasudeva.

- XII. 47. 31 यं देवं देवकी देवी वसुदेवादजीजनत् ।
 XIII. आनकदुन्दुभि son of शूर, and father of Kṛṣṇa, of four hands (1).
 XIV. 60. 61 Kṛṣṇa related to Vasudeva the events of the Mbh. war.
 83. 15 Vasudeva with Ugrasena going to receive Arjuna
 with the sacrificial horse, at Dvārakā.
 XVI. 7 Arjuna came to see Vasudeva after the greatly unhappy
 end of the Yādavas.
 8. 15-26 Death of Vasudeva, who was followed by his
 four widows to the funeral pyre.
 XVIII. 5. 16 Vasudeva among those, who, after death, entered the
 deities.

APPENDIX IV.

LIST OF SOME HYMNS IN R̥GVEDA GIVING ALTERNATIVE NAMES FOR THEIR SEERS.

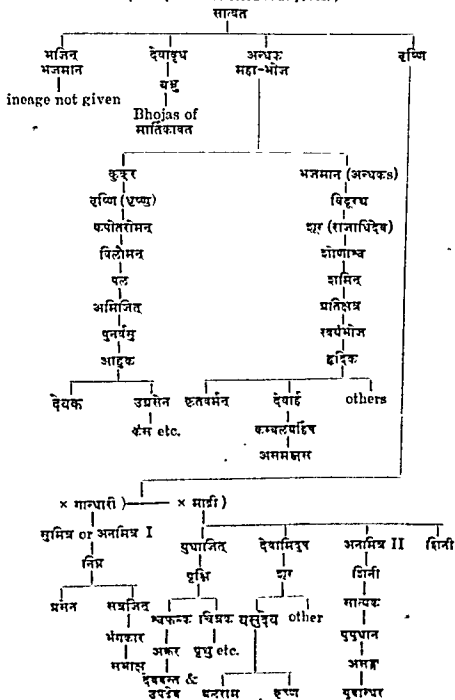
(This point is referred to at p. 333.)

- I. 105 आपयस्त्रितः कुत्सो वा.
 II. 1 यत्समद् अ० गिरसः शौनहोत्रः पश्चात् भार्गवः शौनरुः
 VIII. 42 नाभाकः काण्वः अर्चनाना वा । अथवा १-३ नाभाकः काण्वः । ४-६ नाभाकः काण्वः
 अर्चनाना वा ।
 .67 भरतः सामदो मान्यो वा मेधावरुणिर्बहवो वा भरत्या जलनदाः ।
 .71 सुदीति पुरुमीहो तयोर्वा अन्यतरः ।
 .73 गोपवन आत्रेयः सप्तनक्षित्रा ।
 .86 कृष्णोविश्वको वा काण्विः ।
 .87 कृष्णो व्यूरीको वा वासिष्ठः पियमेधो वा ।
 .92 अतस्तः सुत्सो वा ।
 .94 विन्दुः पूषदसो वा ।
 .96 निरश्नीर्युतानो वा भारुतः ।
 .102 प्रयोगो भार्गव अग्निर्वा पावरु बर्हस्पत्यः । अथवाग्नी गृहपतिरविष्टो सहस्रः सुतो
 तयोर्वा अन्यतरः ।
 IX 5. 24 आर्त्तनः काश्यपो देवलो वा ।
 .9 विशिरास्त्वष्ट्रिः सिन्धुदीपो वा अम्बरीषः ।
 .19 मयितो यापावनो भुपुत्रो वारुणिर्बहवो वा भार्गवः ।

- .20-26 पितर देन्द्रः प्राजापत्यो वा वसुकृदा वसुरुः ।
 .50 No mention of any seer
 .65 भृगुर्वाहणिर्जमराभिर्वा ।
 .67 different names for different groups of st., but for 23-32,
 पवित्रो वमिष्ठो योभो वा ।
 .72 बृहस्पतिर्बृहस्पतिर्वा लौक्य अटितिर्वा दाक्षायणी ।
 .79, 80 अग्निः सोचीको वैश्वानरो वा सप्तिर्वा वाजंमरः ।
 .88 धूम्रन्वानांगिरसो वामदेव्यो वा ।
 .101 doubtful about *the deity* विश्वेदेवा ऋत्विजो वा ।
 .102 „ „ „ दुधव इन्द्रो वा ।
 .105 doubtful about the name and epithet :-
 कौत्सो दृमिचो नाम्ना सुमिचो गुणतः, सुमिचो वा नाम्ना दृमिचो गुणतः ।
 .107 दिव्यो दक्षिणा वा प्राजापत्या । दक्षिणा, तद्वातारो वा ।
 .109 जुह्वर्वाहजायोर्ध्वनाभा वा मातृ ।
 .110 जमदग्निस्तुतो वा गयः ।
 .114 साभिर्वरूपो धर्मा वा तापसः ।
 .115 उपस्तुतो वार्द्धहव्यः ।
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APPENDIX V.

GENEALOGY OF THE YĀDAVAS—THE ŚĀTVATAŚ
 (Pargiter—Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp. 103, 107).
 (This point is referred to at p. 332.)



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ALCHEMY AND ITS PROBABLE DATE — BY P. K. GODE, M. A.
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Aufrecht mentions only one manuscript of *Rasasindhu* a work on alchemy by *Viṣṇu*, son of Mahādeva viz. "Radh 32." ¹ This is from the collection of the late Pandit Rama Krishna of Lahore. Detailed description of this Ms. as also its present whereabouts are not available. In the same place Aufrecht states that *Rasasindhu* has been quoted in *Ṭoḍarānanda*, ² an encyclopaedia of law, astronomy, and medicine, by Ṭoḍarmalla, the minister of Akbar (A. D. 1542-1605).

In view of the above information the work appears to be very rare. The Government Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute has luckily enough preserved a copy of the work under a different title viz. *Vaidyakaśāra-Samuccaya*—No. 634 of 1895-1902. This Ms. is incomplete and consists of about 152 folios. The name of the author as found in the colophon on folio 53 and entered in the catalogue is *Vijñāna*. On closer examination I find that the work is not *Vaidyakaśāra-Samuccaya*. The following colophons will bear out the truth of my statement:—

(1) Colophon on folio 5 —

“ इति पंडितमहादेवविरचिते
तनपविद्वलविरचिते रससिंधौ etc. ”

(2) Colophon on folio 19 —

“ इतिगलगंडपदांकितमहादेव-
पंडितविरचिते रससिंधौ etc. ”

(3) Colophon on folio 29 —

“ इतिगलगंडपदांकितमहादेव-
तनपविद्वलविरचिते रससिंधौ etc. ”

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1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 496 (b).
 2. *Weber's Catalogue of Berlin Mss* (1833), p. 289.
 3. *List of Mss. published by the B. O. R. Institute*, 1925, p. 23.

(4) Colophon on folio 53 —

“ इति श्रीपंडितविद्वलविरचिते
वैद्यकसारसमुच्चये रससिन्धौ etc.”

It is clear from these colophons that the correct title of the work is “रससिन्धु” and not “वैद्यकसारसमुच्चय” which appears to be only an adjectival epithet of रससिन्धु in the colophon on folio 53 quoted above.

Now as regards the name of the author, colophons 1, 3 and 4 tell us that it was composed by विद्वल, while it is clear from colophons 1 and 3 that he was the son of महादेव. With the exception of the colophon on folio 29 all others quoted above appear to be incorrect in some respect or another.

That the name of the work is रससिन्धु is further borne out by the author's own statement contained in the following verses on folio 2 :—

“ तत्तद्ग्रंथात्समालोक्य सर्वतन्त्रानुसारतः ।
गलंडपदभूपार्थं महादेवस्य सनुना ।
विष्णुना शैवसद्धियां नलिनी ओषभास्वता ।
संभाव्य सूच्यते ह्युद्दिर्नातिसंक्षेपविस्तरा ।
अतिसंक्षेपतः कार्यसिद्धिर्न स्यात्साधिविस्तरात् ।
अनादरत्वं वैयानां अनैश्चित्यादवैभवात् ।
श्रीगुरोरूपरसादिशोषनं ।
घातुवग्रनभसां च मारणं ।
स्वेदनादि विधिं जारणादिकं ।
पारदस्य न च येति सो भिषक् ।
नाना ग्रंथसरिलोलसकल्लोलशालिनं ।
मज्जेयुर्मिषजः सर्वे रससिंधुं ममाभिप्रे ।
भवतात् भिषजां ग्रंथभारसंभारसंहारः ।
रित्या चतुरया चागं ग्रंथोपं विष्णुनिर्मितः ।”

The above verses, which occur in the body of the text, may be regarded as reliable. They tell us that the work was composed by विष्णु son of महादेव to bring honour to the title “गलंड” (गलंडपदभूपार्थं). The title mentioned in the colophons on folios 19 and 29 is “गलगंड” which is rather high-sounding.

The only contradiction between the colophons quoted above and statement made by the author in the foregoing verses is in respect of

the name of the author. While the colophons proclaim विट्ठल as the author of the work, the verses explicitly mention विष्णु as the author. This apparent contradiction can be explained away only on the supposition that विष्णु is a Sanskritised substitute for विट्ठल, which may have been the popular name of the author.

The present work draws largely from other works on alchemy as will be seen from a cursory perusal of the manuscript. I note below some of the authors and works referred to in this work :—

नीलकण्ठ (17)*	रसदर्पण (86)
रसरत्नावली (17, 19, 40, 93)	लोकनाथ (86, 87)
रसचन्द्रिका (18, 72, 79, 83)	' रसराजस्वसंवेद्यात् ' (124)
रसार्णव of परेश (2)	compare ' स्वसंवेद्यात् ' on folios :
यामलत्रय of केशव (2)	(87, 88, 99, 100, 106)
व्याहि (2)	भवानीमत (88, 99, 104)
सिद्धनागार्जुन (2)	काकचण्डेश्वरीमत (93, 102, 119,
आनन्दानुभाष (2)	120)
दामोदर (2)	नक्षत्रमाला (99)
वैयनाथ (2)	' कामदेवभवानीमतात् ' (104) .
रत्नावली (30, 85,)	' श्रीमदौमात् ' (106, 124)
रसरहस्य (33, 35, 69)	कामराजरसदीपिका (106)
रसार्णव (34, 83, 86)	सुक्तावली (107)
रसरत्नाकर (35, 74, 79, 86)	रसेन्द्रमंगल (110, 147, 150)
रसमहोदधि (38, 15)	राजसृगांक (120)
रसदीपिका (56, 69, 85, 95)	रसप्रयोध (121)
रससुक्तावली (56, 114)	वृद्धपाराशर (121)
सूतमहोदधि (57, 89, 97, 107,	' बाहुदेवानुभावात् ' (128, 140)
129, 165)	सुतार्णव (140, 150)
रसपटल (58)	' औमात् ' (135)
रसासूत (68, 87)	compare ' श्रीमदौमात् ' men-
स्वच्छंदशस्त्रागम (75, 89)	tioned above.
' श्रीमतात् ' (78, 79, 84, 89, 120)	कुलागम (2)
रसेन्द्रचूडामणि (81)	
रसरजलक्ष्मी (83, 84, 101, 105,	
132)	

* The bracketed numbers in this list indicate the numbers of folios of the Manuscript where the references occur.

The above list is not quite complete. Some of the works in the above list will be found in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* and in the "History of Hindu Chemistry" by P. C. Ray (1909). Sir P. C. Ray does not appear to have come across this work in the course of his solicitous search for old works on Hindu alchemy.

Date of the Work—The Manuscript of *Rasasindhu* analysed above appears to be about 300 to 350 years old from the condition in which it is at present preserved in the Govt. Mss. Library. The age of the Ms. cannot be determined as it is incomplete. From the fact that *Rasasindhu* has been quoted in *Toḍarānanda*, a work by Raja Toḍaramalla, the celebrated minister of Akbar we can infer that during Akbar's time (A. D. 1542-1605) the work had attained a respectable position as a work on Hindu alchemy. This would push the date of composition of the work as far back as the middle of the 15th century A. D. According to Sir P. C. Ray ¹ *Rasārṇava* is "one of the earliest works of the kind, which throws a flood of light on the chemical knowledge of the Hindus about 12th century A.D." We have seen above that *Rasārṇava* has been quoted many times in the present work. The present work must therefore, have been composed between 12th century and the middle of the 15th century A. D. The probable dates of other works quoted in *Rasasindhu* which are determined by Sir P. C. Ray ² are the following :—

रसेन्द्रचूडामणि—between 12th and 13th centuries (quoted by नित्यनाथ in रसरत्नाकर—c. 1350 A. D.)

रसामृत—before 1350 A. D.

रसरत्नाकर—c. 1350 A. D. (This work is presumably one by सिद्धनित्यनाथ as the रसरत्नाकर ascribed to नागार्जुन belongs to 8th cent. A. D.) नित्यनाथ quotes from रसेन्द्रचूडामणि).

नक्षत्रमाला—Probably रत्ननक्षत्रमालिका is meant. The work is older than Samvat 1557 i. e. A. D. 1500 which is the date of a Ms. of the work referred to by Sir P. C. Ray.⁴

1. P. C. Ray — Bibliotheca Indica Edition of *Rasārṇava*, 1900 — Introduction p. lxxix.

2. —Do— History of Hindu Chemistry Vol. II.

3. —Do— —Do— Introd. p. xli.

4. History of Hindu Chemistry, Vol. II, p. LXI.

काश्चण्डीश्वर ¹	} mentioned in रसरजलक्ष्मी.
युतमहोदधि ²	
स्वच्छन्दशक्त्यागम ¹	

रसरजलक्ष्मी—latter part of the 14th century¹ (about 1375 A. D.). In the foregoing chronological conspectus the date of रसरजलक्ष्मी viz. the latter part of the 14th century is very important as it brings down the date of रससिन्धु to a period between the *latter part of the 14th century and the middle of the 15th century i. e. between A. D. 1375 and 1450.*

Another argument in favour of the above date, though a negative one, is furnished by the circumstance that modern works such as रसदीप, रससौहृदी, भावप्रकाश, अरुणप्रकाश do not appear to have been quoted or mentioned in the रससिन्धु so far as my cursory perusal of the Ms. shows. The modern period according to Sir P. C. Ray is 1500 to 1600 A. D.

In view of the data collected above we shall not be wrong if we state that the present work *Rasasindhu* was composed towards the close of the fourteenth century.

1. History of Hindu Chemistry Vol. II, p. I.IX. I.X.

2. According to Aufrecht's Cat. Catalogorum.

An Examination of Sāṃkara's Refutation of the Sāṃkhya Theory.


INTRODUCTION.

"The Sāṃkhya Theory is believed to be the earliest attempt on record, to solve from reason, the mysterious problems regarding the origin of the Universe etc." The System existed in one form or another before the composition of the Brahma Sūtras. The empiric Sāṃkhyas had once been so powerful that they claimed the Vedas and especially the Jñānakāṇḍa, as maintaining their doctrine of Prakṛiti, and threatened even the claim of the Aupanishadas. This accounts for the immense trouble taken by the Author of the Vedānta Sūtras to refute the Sāṃkhya tenets in the opening Adhyāyas of that immortal work. As a commentator of the Uttarā Mīmāṃsā, Sāṃkara attempted to refute the Sāṃkhyas, but his line of argument does not in all respects correspond to that of the Sūtrakāra. That commentator has been too much led astray by his own doctrine of Māyā, and has not therefore been able to follow the Sūtrakāra in dislodging the Sāṃkhyas from their firm but false position, and his refutation of the Theory of the Sāṃkhyas is itself full of inconsistencies. We shall therefore, in the following pages, weigh his refutation of the Sāṃkhya Theory and point out the chief points in favour of that system as compared with the comparatively modern doctrine of Māyā, and finally, meet the Sāṃkhyas, on the lines of the Sūtrakāra Himself.

"Kapila's system may claim" observes Prof. R. Garbe, "more than any other product of the fertile native mind, the interest of those thinkers, whose view of the Universe is founded on the results of modern Physical Science. His synthetic System is based on reason. According to it, Prakṛiti and Puruṣa are two distinct Principles and hence the Theory is essentially dualistic. Accepting three kinds of Proof viz. Perception (Dṛiṣṭam), Inference (Anumānam)—prior and posterior—and Valid Testimony (Āpta vacchānam), it traces, by a correct philosophical method, the material

Universe, back to its First Cause. None of these proofs presents, to a human mind, an idea of an external Author of the Universe, *Īśvara* therefore is not admitted as *knowable*. It appeals to human observation that Cause and Effect imply each other, and ends by stating that they are *identical*. It proves the Causation of formal existence from four different grounds.¹ The System shows that all formal existences (except *Purushas*) have been evolved out of inanimate *Prakriti*, the rootless Root.² The effects are caused³, transitory, mobile, multiform, dependent, attributive, conjunct and subordinate, while *Prakriti* is uncaused, external, universal, self-existing, one and supreme. The Cause and Effect both possess *Gunas*. Both are indiscriminating, objective, generic, irrational and productive."⁴

Evolution for the sake of *Purusha* is the nature of *Prakriti*, an equipoise⁵ of three *Gunas*. *Sattva* is the principle from which all good evolves, *Tamas* is the source of all ignorance, and *Rajas*, of activities. When the equilibrium is disturbed, *Prakriti* begins to evolve out of itself *Mahat*⁶ etc. as under:—

Prakritih or Nature  Purushah or Soul
(Nā prakritih nā vikritih).

Mahān or Buddhih (Prakritivikritih)

Ahaṁkārah or Ego (Prakritivikritih)

Pancha Tanmātrās or
five subtle Elements.
(Prakritivikritayah)

Ekādasa Indriyāni, viz. Manas, five
Senses and five Organs of action.
(Vikritayah).

Pancha Sthūla Bhūtāni, or Five Gross Elements (Vikritayah.)

A mere involuntary union of *Prakriti* and *Purusha* brings out the regular development of *Prakriti* into *Mahat* etc. without any extra instrumentality (- *Nimittam*). *Purusha* is only linked with *Prakriti* by means of a *Linga Sariram*, until final Emancipation.

1 Vide Sāṁkhya Kaumudī Kārikā 15 and Sāṁkhya Pravachana Sūtras I, 130—132.

2. Vide S.P.S.I, 67. 3. Vide S.K.K. 10. 4. Vide S.K.K. 11:

5. Vide S. P. S. I, 61-65. 6. Vide S. K. K. 3 and 22.

The Psychology of the Sāmkhyas is really instructive. The five Senses (Jñānendriyāni) simply observe and receive impressions, the five Organs of action (Karmendriyāni) act according to their own functions, Manas is both a Sense and an Organ of action. It receives and arranges the impressions and presents them to Ahankāra as Perceptions. Ahankāra individualises these impressions as "mine". Mahat distinguishes and discriminates and forms them into Concepts. These distinctions are *real*, and these mental operations are purely of a *scientific* nature. Sensation is not purely a passive state, but implies a certain amount of mind-activity necessary to catch a Sensation. Manas etc., are themselves *material*, nay, even Elements emanate from the *material* Ahankāra. Again, there are five Tanmātrās, a clear apprehension of the truth that hearing etc., depend not only on some channel of communication between the Ear etc., but on some modification of the material through which sound etc., are conducted.

The Sāmkhyas differ from modern Materialists, and assert that there are Purushas, independent of Matter and eternal, though for a time linked with it. They prove their existence from five different grounds¹ Against the school of Sāmkara the Sāmkhyas believe in a boundless *plurality*² of Purushas. Purusha is *neither* Cause nor Effect.³ It is pure and simple intelligence and free from Gunas. It is isolated,⁴ neutral, perceptive and inactive by nature. It is not active (Kartā) but *merely* an Enjoyer (Bhoktā). Mahat etc., belong to the *material* part of man. The Sāmkhyas are therefore constrained, by their rigid reasoning, to say that something more than Purusha migrates. They therefore hold that Linga Sarira,⁵ consisting of Mahat, Ahankāra, Tanmātrās and eleven Organs, migrates with the Soul to inferior or superior regions according to vices or virtues practised here. The sufferings of existence are dependent on the apparent connection of Prakriti and Purusha.

The study of the Sāmkhya Philosophy develops Sattva. This Sattva points out the Purusha's indiscrimination (Aviveka) and

1. Vide S. K. K. 17 and S. P. S. 1, 139-144.
3. Vide S. K. K. 3.

4. Vide S. K. K. 19.

2. Vide S. K. K. 18.

5. Vide S. P. S. III, 9.

Prākṛiti then ceases from affecting that individual Puruṣa. The separation of Prakṛiti and Puruṣa is the proper aim of the Sāmkhya System. The object of this Philosophy is to relieve man from three sorts of Pain.¹ The inefficiency² of the Vedic *rites* has been emphatically declared, because they are *impure*, they could not exempt man from *all* material conditions, and finally because *all* could not offer *costly* sacrifices. The leading Principle is that Absolute Existence can never be regained by Religious Rites, that that knowledge³ alone is really efficacious, which teaches the Discrimination of Prakṛiti and Puruṣa.

“Deliverance of Puruṣa,” says Prof. Deussen, “consists merely in ceasing to mirror the sufferings of Prakṛiti, of Prakṛiti, on the other hand, in that its sufferings are no longer mirrored and consequently no more experienced, and cease therefore to be sufferings. Deliverance is an event that does not concern Puruṣa but Prakṛiti. Strictly speaking, then, Discrimination (Vivekah) separates Prakṛiti and Puruṣa.”⁴

Even after complete Discrimination, Puruṣa, like a potter's wheel,⁵ resides in the body for a time. After this quietude of the liberated in lifetime (Jivanmukti), final separation of Puruṣa and Prakṛiti comes at last.⁶ Prakṛiti ceases to act for that individual Puruṣa. Its purpose has been accomplished. Puruṣa attains abstraction from Matter and both continue to exist externally independent and isolated from each other.⁷

Thus, the Sāmkhyas accept *three* sorts of Evidence unlike Sāmkara, who accepts *six*. They believe in twenty-five Tattvas and classify them into Prakṛiti etc. Sāmkara in reality accepts *one* Tattva only, viz. Ātman, everything else being only *phenomenal*. Prakṛiti and Puruṣa, two distinct entities, are the bases of the whole existence according to the Sāmkhyas, but Sāmkara would *in reality* accept nothing except one Brahman.

1. Vide S. K. K. 1. 2. Vide S. K. K. 2. 3. Vide S. K. K. 63.

4. Vide S. K. K. 59-62. 5. Vide S. K. K. 67. 6. Vide S. K. K. 68.

7. “Abhūtāmatānāṁ Sarvathā Nirahamkritān

Svarūpastho Yadā Jivāḥ Kṛitārthāḥ sa Nigadyate” (Bālabodhah).

The Sāmkhyas declare that inanimate Prakṛiti is the Material Cause and do not accept any *Instrumentality*, mere vicinity of Puruṣa being sufficient, Sāmkara would however say that Brahman environed with Māyā *appears* to be the Material Cause, but *really there exists no Universe*. He accepts Brahman *without attributes* (Nirguṇam) to be the substratum (Adhishthānam). Instrumentality may not quite be denied by him. The Sāmkhyas would assert that in evolving itself Prakṛiti has a *motive* of obliging Puruṣa, Sāmkara can assign no such motive to pure or Māyā-environed Īśvara (māyāsabalesvarah). The Sāmkhyas are Prakṛitiparināmavādins and accept an evolution of Prakṛiti, Sāmkara is a Brahṃavivartavādin in reality, though a Māyāparināmavādin in practice (Vyāvahārah). The Sāmkhyas believe in *real and distinct* existence of each Individual Puruṣa, while with Sāmkara the Individual Soul *appears* to exist because of Nescience (Avidyā), Its distinct existence being merely *phenomenal*. The Sāmkhyas believe in a multiplicity of separate and distinct Puruṣas, with Sāmkara they are all mere shadows (Ābhāśah). The Sāmkhyas assert that the multifarious Puruṣas are all-pervading (Vyāpakāh), Sāmkara would say that Brahman is really all-pervading and that the Individual Soul (Jivātmā) is Brahman environed in Nescience, and is therefore all-pervading, but that a multiplicity of pervading Puruṣas is a logical absurdity. The Sāmkhyas are silent about the existence of the Supreme Deity, Sāmkara sincerely accepts the existence of Ātman or Brahman alone, everything else being strictly Vācārambhanamātram.

We shall now proceed to weigh Sāmkara's criticism of the Sāmkhya Theory in necessary sections, and show that he has *utterly* failed in his object, essentially because he is *not at all faithful* to the Sūtrakāra.

THE PRAMĀNA SECTION.

The Sāmkhyas clearly begin their philosophical investigation inductively. "The genuinely philosophical spirit" observes Prof. Garbe "in which its method is manipulated of rising from the known factors of experience to the unknown by the path of logical demonstration and thus to reach a knowledge of the final Cause,

Let us now see however whether Samkara is consistent. Knowledge, with Samkara, is not something to be *newly* gained the only thing required being to dispel the beginningless Nescience. In his Adhyāsa-Bhāṣya he observes that all distinctions including those of the knowing Agent (Pramāṇi), means of right Knowledge (Pramānam), and the objects of knowledge (Prameyam), are the *Outcome of Nescience*. The Pramānas like Perception, Inference and even Word teaching, nay deliverance are merely the product of *Nescience*. Men¹ and animals follow the same course of procedure regarding the Pramāna and Prameya. It is remarkable that in spite of similar observations, he practically admits as many as six² different sorts of evidence.

Now all this is a heap of inconsistencies. If all the Pramānas are but the outcome of Nescience, there is an end to all judicious enquiry, that about Brahman included, and the whole Brahma Mīmāṃsā Sāstra becomes *useless*. When *all* the Pramānas are really due to Adhyāsa, how does Scripture enjoy superiority over Perception etc? It remains a mystery how *unreal* Pramānas, products as they are of Nescience, can ever eradicate Nescience. The equivocacy of phenomenality (Vyavahārah) and reality (Paramārthah) is hardly tenable. Rational philosophical enquiry cannot tolerate such an equivocal aspect in Evidence. The position of the Sāmkhyas is certainly more *reasonable*.

There is another remarkable feature of Samkara which is similarly objectionable. When he has to *fight out* his case against the Mīmāṃsakas he draws a *difference*³ between 'dependence on the Energy of the Person' (Puruṣatāntram) and that on 'the nature of existing things' (Vastutāntram) and admits that Ātmanavidyā is Vastutāntrā and not Puruṣatāntrā like Karuṣavidyā. But when the practical Sāmkhyas take advantage of such a clear admission from Samkara and urge the *claims* of Reason on the same ground of Brahman's being an accomplished existing Substance⁴ (Pariniṣkṛitavastu) Samkara shifts his ground and observes that Brahman, being de-

1. यतः समानः पक्षादिभिः पुरुषाणां प्रमाणप्रमेयव्यवहारः B.S.S.B. Adhyāsa-Bhāṣyam.

2. Vide Vedānta Paribhāṣā page 38 Venk Edition.

3. Vide अतो न पुनश्चाप्यतन्त्रां वक्तव्या । किं नहि ? प्रज्ञादिप्रमाणविषयवस्तुज्ञानवद्वैतस्तन्त्रैव ॥ B.S.S.B.I., 1, 4.

4. Vide B. S. S. B. II. 1, 4.

is acknowledged with admiration by all inquirers who have seriously occupied themselves with this system." A glance at the Sāṃkhya Pravachana Sūtras is enough to show that the author proceeds to prove the causality of Prakṛiti, not by the Word-authority but by Inference. He measures the Cause from the Effect. *After* showing by Inference¹ that Prakṛiti is the cause, he supports his Inference by means of Śrutis like 'Atha yad āpa n Tan Martyam' "Pradhānājagada-jāyata" etc.² This is confirmed by the process in the Sāṃkhya Kārikās. The knowledge of Formal or Generic existence is by Perception, of things beyond the Senses by Inference, and that, which can be determined by neither,³ is to be determined by Valid Testimony. The Sāṃkhyas reject all innate ideas and do not admit any *moral* sense *inherent* in the Puruṣas. Like modern Sceptics, they depend on Perception and Inference, but whenever their Perceptions and Inferences could be supported by the Vedas, they unlike the Bauddhas etc., corroborate the same by means of the Vedas. They thus accept the Vedas, but insist that the Vedas should be interpreted in the light of Perception etc. (Pratyakṣhādiparigṛhitā śrutih) They would even accept Smṛitis, if any be in harmony with Perception etc. and proceed to interpret the Vedic passages in the light of Perception, Inference, and Śrutis etc based *on Reason*. This accounts for the epithets 'Smṛtiḥ' and 'Ānuminikān' used by our Sūtrakāra for the Sāṃkhyas. "In Kapila's doctrine, for the first time, in the history of the world," observes Prof. Garbe, "the complete independence and freedom of the human mind, its full confidence in its own powers were exhibited." Saṃkara, on the other hand, *deduces* his system from a limited and unintelligible⁴ passages from Scripture, his method being more *Deductive* than Inductive. He starts from his own or rather Gaudapāda's modern doctrine of Superimposition (Adhyāropah) as if it were warranted by Scripture and is anxious to prove that the *various* means of Right Knowledge (Pramāṇāni) fit in there properly. He accepts *six* Pramāṇas, but appears to insist that they should be in harmony with Scripture.

1. Vide S. P. S. 1, 67-77. 2. Vide S. P. S. 1, 77.

3. Vide S. K. K. 6.

4. Like इन्द्रो मायाभिः पुरुषं दृश्यते and several others quoted in Tat-tvadīpa Nibandha I. 81.

Let us now see however whether Sāṃkara is consistent. Knowledge, with Sāṃkara, is not something to be *newly* gained the only thing required being to dispel the beginningless Nescience. In his Adhyāsa-Bhāṣya he observes that all distinctions including those of the knowing Agent (Pramāṇi), means of right Knowledge (Pramāṇam), and the objects of knowledge (Prameyam), are the *Outcome of Nescience*. The Pramāṇas like Perception, Inference and even Word teaching, nay deliverance are merely the product of Nescience. Men¹ and animals follow the same course of procedure regarding the Pramāṇa and Prameya. It is remarkable that in spite of similar observations, he practically admits as many as six² different sorts of evidence.

Now all this is a heap of inconsistencies. If all the Pramāṇas are but the outcome of Nescience, there is an end to all judicious enquiry, that about Brahman included, and the whole Brahma Mimāṃsā Sāstra becomes *useless*. When *all* the Pramāṇas are really due to Adhyāsa, how does Scripture enjoy superiority over Perception etc? It remains a mystery how *unreal* Pramāṇas, products as they are of Nescience, can ever eradicate Nescience. The equivocacy of phenomenality (Vyavahārah) and reality (Paramārthah) is hardly tenable. Rational philosophical enquiry cannot tolerate such an equivocal aspect in Evidence. The position of the Sāṃkhyas is certainly more *reasonable*.

There is another remarkable feature of Sāṃkara which is similarly objectionable. When he has to fight out his case against the Mimāṃsakas he draws a *difference*³ between 'dependence on the Energy of the Person' (Puruṣatantram) and that on 'the nature of existing things' (Vastutantram) and admits that Ātmanavidyā is Vastutantrā and not Puruṣatantrā like Karuṇavidyā. But when the practical Sāṃkhyas take advantage of such a clear admission from Sāṃkara and urge the *claims* of Reason on the same ground of Brahman's being an accomplished existing Substance⁴ (Pariniṣkṛitavastu) Sāṃkara shifts his ground and observes that Brahman, being de-

1. यतः समानः पक्षोऽस्ति हिः पुरुषाणां प्रमाणप्रमेयव्यवहारः B.S.S.B. Adhyāsa-Bhāṣyam.

2. Vide Vedānta Paribhāṣā page 38 Venk Edition.

3. Vide अतो न पुरुषस्यास्तन्त्रं प्रमेयम् । किं तर्हि ! प्रत्यक्षदिप्रमाणविषयवस्तुजन्यं प्रमेयं स्तन्त्रम् ॥ B.S.S.B.I., 1, 4.

4. Vide B. S. S. B. II. 1, 4.

void of form etc., cannot be *perceived*, and as there are in Its case no characteristic marks, It cannot be *inferred*. Other means of right knowledge do not similarly apply to It, but, like Religious Duty (Dharmah), It is to be *known solely by means of Scripture*.¹ After once advocating, against the Mimāṃsakas, a clear distinction between Religious Duty and Ātmavidyā, he now *disowns* the same distinction against the Sāṃkhyas and observes that 'Ātmavidyā is like Religious Duty, both being *solely known by Scripture*. Such a *glaring* contradiction is hardly admissible. While making this fresh statement, he certainly loses the advantage gained over the adversary in B. S. S. B. I 1, 4. Reason demands that when once the difference between Parinishthita Yastutantram and Purushatantram is drawn, he *must*, at all cost, stick to it in *all* places and at *all* times.

Again, when Sankara has to attack his own opponents, he utilises all weapons. He then contrives to lay aside his so-called *sole* stand on Scripture. But when the opponent attacks him, he assumes that his Theory is *solely based on Scripture and that arguments cannot molest him*. This is *certainly* unfair. If his theory is based on Scripture *alone*, (Āgamamātrasamadhigamyam) he forfeits all claims to *rational* discussion. If he takes shelter in Āgamamātra, the other party would give a similar retort and there being *no common ground*, all discussion comes to a summary end. If however he claims the privilege of advancing arguments against others, reason is imperative that the same privilege should justly be extended to his opponents likewise.

Moreover, when the authority of Scripture alone is insisted on, where lies the necessity of admitting ratiocination (Tarkah) etc? If he were to answer that Tarka etc, in harmony with Scripture (, Srutiparigrihitatarkah) are necessary, he contradicts his own statement² about the independent authority (Nirapeksha Pramānyam) of the Vedas.

Moreover, no Āgama teaches *six* Pramānas. Manu,³ whose authority Sankara never questions, supports the *same* three Pramānas accepted by the Sāṃkhyas. The *six* Pramānas can, again, be well included in three. Analogy (Upamānam) and Apparent Inconsistency (Aithāpattih) in Inference, and Negation (Abhāvah) in Perception.

1. Vide B. S. S. B. II, 1, 4.

2. Vide B. S. S. B. I, 1, 3. 3. Vide Manu XII, 105-106.

After this general examination of Pramānas, we now consider the attitude of both the parties towards the Vedas.

The Sāmkhyas accept among their three Pramānas¹ Valid Testimony (Āptopadesah) which includes the Vedas. They admit that the Vedas are productive² of Right Knowledge by themselves (Svataḥ-pramānam) and add that the Vedas are *not* eternal (Anityāḥ) because the Śruti³ 'Trayo Vedā Ajāyanta' itself teaches so. The Vedas however are *not* the work of a Person⁴ (Apaurusheyāḥ), because there is no Puruṣa who can be their Author. They are like sprouts *not* eternal (Anityāḥ), and yet Apaurusheyāḥ, because they are wholly unpreceded by Thought (Abuddhipūrvakāḥ).

Samkara also takes the Vedas as *not* eternal and quotes Brīhad. Upa. II, 4, 10 in support. He holds that the *letters* of the Vedas may be eternal, but Vedic words and sentences are *not* so, they are as Anitya as human words and human sentences. He observes that though Paramātmān creates the Vedas, because he has acquired omniscience through the adjunct of beginningless Nescience, He is *not* at all independent, in as much as he has to give them out *exactly* as he did in the preceding Kalpas. This want of independence⁵ on the part of Īśvara (Paruṣhāsūtantryam) in giving out the Vedas—though a Creator—is called 'Apaurusheyatvam' by him.

This view of Samkara is certainly objectionable. He cannot take the creation of the Vedas (Vedasambhavaḥ) in the same sense as the Vaiśeṣikas, for if he like them takes 'Vedasambhava' as actually and voluntarily sitting down for *composing* the Vedas, he at once loses his superiority over his opponents. He should therefore admit that the Vedas came forth from Īśvara involuntarily. If then this 'involuntary coming forth of the Vedas' be taken to mean their 'non-eternity', his troubles to prove that Īśvara is omniscient fail altogether. *Involuntary* coming forth can *hardly* mean *creation*. Nor can such an involuntary creation of the Vedas demonstrate that Īśvara is omniscient, because omniscience can strictly be acknowledged⁶ only when Thought precedes the creation of the Vedas (Buddhipūrvakāḥ). The Sāmkhyas who base their system on Reason may call the Vedas non-eternal, but it is simply a *blasphemy* in the mouth of one who *prides* himself as the only true Commentator on the *final decision of the Vedas*.

1. Vide S. P. S. I, 99-101.

2. Vide S. P. S. V, 51.

3. Vide S. P. S. V, 45.

4. Vide S. P. S. V, 46 etc.

5. Vide Bhāmatī I, 1, 3, and Vedānta Paribhāṣā Āgamīparich. l. 1, 3.

6. Vide Jayatīrtha's Tattvapraśāṅga I, 1, 3.

Again, if the Vedas be accepted to be non-eternal on the evidence of *one* set of Srutis, how is Samkara going to interpret *another* set of Srutis like 'Vāchā Virūpanityayā' etc.? The passages like 'Vedo Nārāyaṇaḥ Sākshāt'¹ 'Vedasya chesvarātmavāt'² etc. are decidedly against him. The word "Vedas" in these passages does not mean the 'Vedic letter' alone, but 'the Vedas as they are traditionally handed down.' These passages decidedly teach that not only the Vedic letters but even the Vedic words and sentences too are as fully eternal.³

Moreover, if Īśvara acquires omniscience through the adjunct of Nescience, either that omniscience is *unreal*, or the Soul will as well have to be called omniscient even in his *worldly* condition (Samsārāvasthā).

Further, if the simple adjunct of Nescience contributes to omniscience, why need *human* efforts to eradicate ignorance?

The argument of Puruṣāśvātantryam, as he takes it, is not at all enough to demonstrate 'Apauruṣheyatvam' of the Vedas. Īśvara then is no better than a Government Officer reading out a Royal Proclamation and He *ceases* to be omniscient. Such an attitude, again, is contradictory to what he has himself observed viz. किमु वक्तव्यमनेकशाखादिभेदमित्रस्य etc. In B. S. S. B. I, 1, 3. The position of the Sāmkhyas admitting 'Pratyakṣādyanugribitasabdah' is *prima facie* sifer than that of Samkara admitting 'Sābdānugrihitipratyakṣin.' Both Sāmkara and the Sāmkhyas accept the 'Apauruṣheyatvam' of the Vedas, but the Sāmkhya idea of 'Apauruṣheyatvam' excels that of their adversary.

Samkara's acceptance of Word-eternity (Sābdanītyatā) deserves no admiration by itself, because such an admission is *worthless*, so long as the eternity of Vedic Words and Sentences is *not* accepted by him.

Further, when the Vedas themselves are *not* eternal, how can they be accepted as *Final* Authority?

Moreover, it is to be borne in mind that Samkara takes the Vedas to be *unreal*, for *nothing* but Brahman is *real*. It is simply funny to observe that one who accepts the Vedas as *unreal* - and *not eternal* manages to pass on as the *only true exponent of the Vedānta Philosophy*.

1. Vide Bhāgavata Purāṇa VI, 1, 40.
2. Vide Bhāgavata Purāṇa, XI, 3, 43, and similar passages.
3. For a full discussion of this vide our Prasthānaratnākara pages 13-25.

Before Samkara proceeds to point out inconsistencies in the Sāṃkhya Philosophy, he should himself admit the reality of Pramānas and give up the mania of Māyāvāda. He should further accept the 'eternity' of the Vedas as taught by the *Srutis*,¹ *Smritis*,² *Bādarāyana*³ and *Jaimini*⁴ and also improve upon his exceedingly meagre idea of *Apaurusheyatva*.

Once safe on the ground of one real and all-embracing Brahman, Samkara may well point out to the Sāṃkhyas their own inconsistencies of calling the Vedas *Anitya* and yet *Apaurusheya*. The Sāṃkhyas should then be compelled to give up either of these two incompatible views. He should then proceed to show that if the Vedas are *Anitya*, they would like sprouts be a *product* of *Prakriti*. If however they are not a *product*, they must be included in the *Purusha* Category. The Sāṃkhyas being thus once for all dislodged, he may well point out that they could be free from such absurdities, if they but admitted one *really* omniscient *Brahman*. If Samkara be truly faithful and sincere to the Vedas, he should finally maintain that the Vedas are simply Brahman in the *real* capacity of Its celestial and divine Breath,⁵ and refrain from reversely inferring, from this and similar passages, the non-eternity of the Vedas.

THE PRAMEYA SECTION.

We shall now begin the discussion about *Prakriti* and examine (1) whether the doctrine of *Prakriti* is supported by Scriptural passages, (2) whether Samkara's interpretations of such passages are correct, and (3) whether he has been able to refute the doctrine of *Prakriti* on purely speculative grounds.

Let us commence with Samkara's so-called *Chatussūtri-Bhāṣya*. In the introductory *Adhyāsa-Bhāṣya*, he incidentally refers once or twice only to the Sāṃkhyas, as he is there engaged in establishing his own "Inexpressible Apprehension" (*Anirvachanīyakhyāti*). After promising an enquiry of Brahman, he observes as an introduction to the next *Sūtra* that there

1. वाचा विष्णुनिष्पत्त्या *Rig Veda Samhitā* VIII, 75, 6. *Taittiriya Samhitā* II, 6, 11, 2. *Maitrāyanīyasamhitā* IV, 11, 6, 175, 4. *Kāthaka Samhitā* VII, 17, and similar *Srutis*.

2. अनादिनिधना नित्या *Mahābhārata* *Santiparva*, 239, 93; *चन्द्रमस्य सुदुर्बलम्* etc. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* XI, 21, 35 and similar passages.

3. Vide B. S. I, 1, 4, and I, 3, 28-30.

4. Vide *Jaimini's Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* I, 5.

5. अस्य मदतो भूतस्य निश्चलितम् *Bṛihad. Upa.* II, 4, 10.

is a diversity of opinion regarding the peculiar *characteristics* of Brahman, and mentions among a few such diversities, that of the 'Sāmkhyas that their Purusha is only enjoying but not acting. To refute this diversity, he utilises the second Sūtra (Janmādyasya yataḥ), and observes that *Brahman* is the omniscient and omnipotent Cause, from which proceed the origin etc. of the Universe, differentiated by names and forms, implying of course that the Universe is an *unreal* outcome of Māyā-enslaved Īvara. He then observes that Prakriti cannot be the Cause, because the Universe (1) is differentiated by names and forms,¹ (2) is replete with agents and enjoyers, (3) is the substratum of actions and their results having definite places, times and causes, and lastly because (4) the nature of its *design* cannot even be imagined by the mind. The Cause of such an Universe should therefore be Īvara. Saṃkara finally concludes that the Sūtra in question is meant rather to set forth a Vedānta text² (Vedāntavākyaprādarsanam). He then proceeds to give two interpretations of the next³ Sūtra (1) that Brahman is the source of Scripture and (2) that Scripture is the only source to know it from. In the fourth Sūtra,⁴ he is greatly anxious to show that the Vedānta texts converge towards his own doctrine of Māyā.

Let us now examine this. Saṃkara's Inexpressible Apprehension is incompatible, because there is no such thing existing. Nothing is known except what either exists or does not exist.⁵ The Sāmkhyas would here maintain their own 'Apprehension of something real and something unreal' (Sadasatkhyātiḥ) by observing that it is disproved and not disproved⁶ (Sadasati khyāyete). Saṃkara could have completely silenced the Sāmkhyas and many others, if he would have observed that the Universe is itself a *form* of Brahman, because the Universe is simply Sat+potential Chit+potential Ānanda of Brahman, and as such entirely real; but that the *sense* of Ego (Ahantā) and Meus (Mamata) superimposed on that Universe is entirely false, and that this worldly Apprehension of Ego and Meus is therefore unreal (Samārah). Saṃkara ought to-

1. अथ जगतो नामरूपाभ्यां व्याकृतस्य जन्मादि सर्वज्ञात् सर्वशक्तेः कारणाद् भवति तद् ब्रह्म B. S. S. B. 1,1,2. 2. Vide Taittī. Upa. III, 1.

3. As a matter of fact 'Sāstrayonitvāt' is not a separate Sūtra but only a *portion* of the second Sūtra, vide Anu Bhāṣhya I, 1, 2.

4. Tat Tu. Samauvayāt is similarly not the 4th but the 3rd Sūtra.

5. S.P.S. V, 54. 6. S. P. S. V, 56.

have rather explained superimposition as a false but distinct Apprehension (Anyakhyātiḥ). He ought to have rather observed पूर्वोक्तस्यानुभवस्य संस्कारात्मना, स्थितस्योद्बोधकैः प्राबल्ये मायिकार्याकारवन्ती बुद्धिर्त्तिमायया बहिः क्षिप्यते तदा सा पुरोवर्तिनं सर्वतो वाशतो वाक्यं बहिरवमासतः इति मायिकस्यान्यस्यैव खयानादन्यस्यातिरिक्तत्वं व्यवहियते.¹

Again, the Sāmkhyas do not deny that the Universe including names and forms is differentiated; They do call it differentiated; but just as he calls Undifferentiated and Unreal Māyā to be the Cause of the Universe, they would call Undifferentiated but *real* Prakriti to be the Cause. The difference then lies in the *meaning* of the word 'undifferentiated' (Avyākṛitam), rather than in the *line* of argument. Prakriti is as undifferentiated as Māyā-environed Īśvara. The activity of Prakriti to emanate the Universe is *real*, and therefore stronger than the *unreal* activity of Sāmkara's Īśvara. Sāmkara here presupposes in his second argument that some higher Soul like his so-called Īśvara alone can be active. The Sāmkhyas would here retort that activity belongs to inanimate Prakriti, and enjoyment to animate Pūrūṣa, and also add that *pure* life (Chit) even according to Sāmkara, cannot be active. They would not admit his presupposition of Īśvara, especially when that Itself is again unreal, and the argument thus cannot have any force against them. His third argument is that Prakriti cannot be the organising Agent. They would however here refer him to the very nature (Svabhāva) of Prakriti. The fourth argument is the celebrated argument of *design*, which we shall have to discuss later on in detail. They may even urge that the Brahman in Taittī. Upa. III, 1 is not Māyā-environed Īśvara but their own Prakriti, since from It every thing evolves *really*. The etymology too of Brahman may perhaps be shown by them to be in their own favour. Again, the Chatussūtri itself is strongly against the doctrine of Māyā. Sāmkara says that omniscient and omnipotent is the Cause of the Universe, but Īśvara according to Sāmkara himself is *really neither*, for omniscience and omnipotence are only *phenomenal*, if not altogether *fictitious*. It is remarkable that his commentary on the second Sūtra has again been a source of confusion and perplexity to his *own* bewildered adherents, who have to interpret it in a variety of divergent² ways.

Sāmkara could have easily freed himself from all similar

1. Vide Purushottamaji's Khyātivāda.

2. Vide Siddhāntaleśa pp. 9-10, Vizayanagara series.

imputations, if he could have but remained faithful to the Sūtra-kāra and accepted *pure* Brahman Itself to be the Cause of the Universe. In this case, he would have of course to give up his doctrine of Māyā and subscribe himself to Vallabha's doctrine of *Pure* Brahman. But if he brings in his superimposition and sublation (Adhyāropa and Apavāda) in the causality of Brahman, and regards Brahman to be active only phenomenally, it is best in such a case, to answer him by the following succinct refutation given in the Anu Bhāṣhya and the Tattvadīpa Nibandha.

उत्पत्तिस्थितिनाशानां जगतः कलं वै बृहत् । वेदेन बोध्यते तद्धि नान्यथा भवितुं क्षमम् ॥
न हि ध्रुतिविरोधोऽस्ति कल्पोपि न विरुध्यते । सर्वभावसमर्थत्वादचिन्त्यैश्वर्यवद् बृहत् ॥

A. B. I. 1.2.

केचिदत्रातिविमलप्रज्ञाः धीतार्थवाचनम् । कृत्वा जगत्कारणतां दूषयन्ति परे हरेः ॥
अनाद्यविद्यया बद्धं ब्रह्म तत् किल कारणम् । स्वाविद्यया संसरति मुक्तिः कल्पितवाक्यतः ॥
ज्ञाननाशत्वसिद्ध्यर्थं यदेतद्विनिरूपितम् । तदन्यथैव संसिद्धं विद्याविद्यानिरूपणात्¹ ।
यन्मायिकत्वकथनं पुराणेषु प्रदृश्यते । तदैन्द्रजालपक्षेण मतान्तरमिति ध्रुवम् ॥
नास्ति श्रुतिषु तद्वातां दृश्यमानासु कुत्रचित् । वाचारम्भगवाक्यानि तदन्यत्वबोधनात् ।
न मिथ्यात्वाय कल्पन्ते जगतो व्यासगौरवात् । ज्ञानार्थमर्थवादधेच्छ्रुतिः मृष्ट्यादिरूपिणी ॥
अनहोकरणाशुक्तं विधिमाहात्म्ययोरने तत् । अपवादार्थमेवैतदारोपो वस्तुतो न हि ॥
दृढप्रतीतिसिद्ध्यर्थमिति चेन्न युज्यते । मुख्यार्थवाचनं नास्ति कार्यदर्शनतः श्रुतेः ॥
ऐन्द्रजालिकपक्षेपि तत्कर्तृत्वं नटे यथा । मुक्तिस्तदातिनष्टा स्यात् स्वप्रदृष्टगजेभिव ॥

मायादीनां च कर्तृत्वं श्रुतिसूत्रैर्विवाच्यते ॥

स्वप्रवृत्तिविधातेन शुर्वादीनां च दूषणात्² । मायावादो न मन्तव्यः सर्वव्यामोहकारकः³ ॥
अकर्तृत्वं च यत्तस्य माहात्म्यशापनाय हि । विरुद्धधर्मवैधाय न युक्त्यैकस्य वारणम् ॥
मायिकत्वं पुराणेषु वैराग्यार्थमुदीर्यते । तस्मादविद्यामात्रत्वकथनं मोहनाय हि ॥
असत्यमप्रतिष्ठं ते जगदाहुरनीश्वरम् । अपरस्परसम्भूतं किमन्यत् कामहेतुकम्³ ॥
अखण्डाद्वैतमाने तु सर्वं ब्रह्मैव नान्यथा । ज्ञानादिकल्पशुद्धिस्तु बाध्यते न स्वरूपतः ॥

(T. D. N. I, 80-92)

After promising an enquiry of the Supreme Brahman in the first Sūtra, the second Sūtra becomes inconsistent, if applied to the *lower* (Aparam) Brahman. Dr. Thibaut rightly observes "As soon as, on the other hand, we *discard* the idea of a two-fold Brahman, and

1. ब्रह्मवादे विद्याविद्ययोरुभयोरपि ब्रह्मशक्तित्वम् । TattvaDīpa Nibandha 1, 35.

2. Vide TattvaDīpa Nibandha Prakāsa I, 89.

3. Vide BhagavadGītā xvi, 8.

conceive Brahman as *one* only, as the all-enfolding Being, Which sometimes emits the world from Its own substance and sometimes retracts it into Itself, ever remaining *one*, in all Its various manifestations; a conception which *need not by any means be modified in all its details on the view of Rāmānuja*,¹ the definition of Brahman given in the Sūtra becomes altogether unobjectionable."

Again, after translating the word "Asya" in the Sūtra as "of the Universe" (Jagatah), the so-called *third* Sūtra becomes useless, for Scripture is *included* in the Universe. At any rate the 'Tvāt' of 'Sāstrayonitvāt' in that Sūtra becomes altogether redundant, as 'Sāstrayoni' would have been *quite* sufficient, if Saṃkara's meaning was *at all* intended by the Sūtrakāra. To believe that a single proposition is mentioned in two *distinct* Sūtras is indeed astounding. Again, from his commentary on the *fourth* Sūtra, it would appear that by Scripture (Sāstram) he really means 'the Upanishads.' This is *limiting* the import of that word once for all decided by himself in B. S. S. B. I, 1, 3:

The word 'Samanvayah' in the so-called fourth Sūtra does not mean 'convergence by means of collation (Aidampariyam)' because 'Samanvaya' in that sense is yet *to be* proved (Sādhyah), and cannot at this stage be granted as already *proved* (Siddhah). Such a Samanvaya cannot be called proved (Siddhah), until the Sūtrakāra has at least reached the end of the first Adhyāya. If 'Samanvayah' is taken to be proved (Siddhah) here, the first Adhyāya would become useless. Even admitting that 'Samanvayah' is a reason, and at the same time a proposition to be proved further on (Pratijñāgarbhitahetuh), Saṃkara cannot gain anything, for we do not at all observe in the following Sūtras the Samanvaya leading to the doctrine of Māyā.

After observing the causality of Brahman on the evidence of Scripture, it is but natural and legitimate that the Sūtrakāra would teach that Brahman is not merely an Agent (Kartā) and the instrumental Cause (Nimittam) but that It is *actually* the *material* cause

1. The italics are our own.

2. समन्वयो नाम सम्प्रपञ्चोक्तिनामगुणेन होतुः सर्व लक्ष्यकृत्यानुवर्तमानत्वम् । अस्ति भातिप्रियत्वेन महिदानन्दत्वकुर्याद्व्यवृत्त, नाममायोः कार्यत्वम् । Vide Anu Rāshya-Prakāśa, I, 1, 3.

of the Universe. He would thus be able to show thoroughly and satisfactorily that Brahman (and not Prakriti, Atoms, Māyā, Nescience etc.) is the Cause. In fact, the *material* cause of the Universe must be pointed out *first* of all, otherwise the greater part of the Upanishads would remain unintelligible. Sāṃkhya, over-anxious to fight out his case against the Mīmāṃsakas, forgets this natural process, and has some how to explain away 'Samanvaya' in a sense *not intended* by the Sūtrakāra and *not entirely suitable to himself*. After saying that Brahman is the Cause of the Universe on the authority of Scripture, his *first* object would naturally be to show that, though in some passages¹ Brahman is described as the *Author* of the Universe and in others² as *Pure Existence*, Thought and Bliss, yet both the sets of Śrutis mean one and the same thing, and that Sachchidanānda Brahman Itself, and nothing else,³ is the cause of the Universe. In the Samanvayādhikāraṇa the Sūtrakāra therefore teaches that Brahman in the capacity of Pure Existence (Sat) is the Author of the Universe. In the next two Adhikāraṇas, he similarly shows that Brahman in the capacity of Thought and of Bliss is the Cause of the Universe. The Sūtrakāra in the opening Sūtras ought rather to establish his *own* theory than directly begin the refutation of others. To suppose that he begins, leaving aside that great object of his, the refutation of the Sāṃkhyas at once, is only indirectly pointing out a grave defect in the Sūtrakāra's *succinct* line of argument. He must satisfactorily show that Brahman and Sachchidanānda Brahman Itself and none else,⁴ is the material Cause, and that Ether, Breath etc. are mentioned as the Cause, only because they are looked upon as aspects, phases, or forms of Brahman Itself. It is only after completely establishing his own theory in the first three Pādas of the first Adhyāya, that he takes up the direct refutation of the Sāṃkhyas in the fourth Pāda of the opening Adhyāya.

1. Taittī. Upa. III, 1. etc. 2. Taittī. Upa. II, 1. etc.

3. प्रकृतेरपि ब्रह्मवादे भगवदशेषम् । 'आसीज्ज्ञानमयो ह्यर्थः' । 'एकमेवाद्वितीयम्' इत्यादि-
 'वाङ्मनोगोचरातीतं द्विधा समवेदं ब्रह्म । तयोरेकतरो ह्यर्थः प्रकृतिः सोमयात्मिका । ज्ञानं त्वन्य-
 तमो भावः पुष्टयः सोमिधीयत' इत्यादिश्रीभागवतकादशह्मन्वीयप्रमुखाख्यात् । अज्ञानात्, परिच्छेदा-
 प्रियत्वे । ज्ञानेन वाधदर्शनात् । नानात्वं त्वच्छिक्तमेव । जडजीवान्तर्यामिण्येकैकांशप्राकट्यात् ।

Anubhāshya Prakāś'a, I. 1.3.

4. In doing this, the Sāṃkhya theory, with many others will incidentally be refuted as a matter of course.

'Samkara' is thus wrong with many others to see in 'Ikshatē-nāśabdam' etc., the *direct* refutation of the Sāmkhyas. We shall yet examine his arguments independently and point out that the attacks against the Prakritivāda apply with equal force to his *own* doctrine. The *Ikshatyadhikaraṇa* is a very important Adhikaraṇa from Samkara's point of view. He shows here that Prakriti is not taught in the Vedas (Asabdam), because they teach that the Author of the Universe is *Ikṣanākārtri*, possessed of the quality of seeing, that Prakriti cannot, being inanimate, possess that quality, and that therefore it is Asabdam. By 'Ikṣh' is meant not 'that verb alone' but 'any verb having a cognate sense' Samkara manages to meet the objections urged against him by the Sāmkhyas by his usual recourse to "Imputed quality" (*Upahitārthaka*).

The Sāmkhyas may in the first place point out that omniscience is possible in the Sattva aspect of Prakriti, and that an inanimate effect may well proceed from inanimate Prakriti. Again, the very illustration of the *inanimate* Sun mentioned by Samkara to suggest the eternity of knowledge in *Iśvara* may be shown by them to be more in their favour than Samkara's. The defenders of the Sāmkhya system may here remark that their theory cannot be called Asabdam, since the Sāmkhyas do accept the Vedas (Sabdam). Nor can the Sūtrakāra call their theory Asabda from his own standpoint, because in *Svetā. Upa. IV, 5*, etc, Prakriti is actually taught.¹ Nor is there any necessity to imagine something else by 'Ajā', because the difference in the interpretation of Ajā is more nominal than essential. Prakriti has been taught by the Vedas (*Srauti*) as a *power* in *Svetā. Upa. IV, 5* etc, and it must be admitted in that capacity to be the Material Cause on the evidence of Inference based on numerous Smritis.² Without Prakriti there will ever remain a gap.³ The passages like *Svetā. Upa. IV, 10*. etc. are misinterpreted by Samkara. *Svetā. Upa. IV, 10* is to be read in connection with *Svetā. Upa. IV, 9*, and it is obvious that Māyā there is *nothing*

1. Vide Jayateertha, I, 1, 5.

2. Vide Bhikshu, I, 1, 5.

3. Observe all this is certainly *not* the Sūtrakāra's view, for, according to him, Brahman is all-embracing and in want of nothing.

else than *real* Prakriti or creative power of *Pure* Brahman. *Mâyâ* again never means "the Superimposition of silver on mother-of-pearl (Suktirajatādhyāśah)." People rather use *Mâyâ* in the sense of "power". If in spite of such retorts from the Sāmkhyas and their defenders like Madhva, Rāmānuja Bhikshu etc, Samkara persists in maintaining his ground, his own Brahman equally becomes *Asabdam*, since he himself calls It to be 'beyond speech' (Avāchyam) on the questionable evidence of Taitti. Upa. II, 9, and similar mysterious Sruitis, and when Brahman is *really* Avāchyam, as Samkara thinks, the enquiry of Brahman is of no avail, for no evidence, Sabda included, can reach It if It *were really and entirely beyond speech*.

Again, Samkara is not consistent, if he says that Brahman is *Ikshanakartri*, because according to him It is only *Ikshanam* (Seeing). And if he were to assert that *Ikshanakartritvam* can be reconciled in *Mâyâ*-enviored *Isvara*, he may be reminded that the enquiry is about *Pure* Brahman, and not about *Isvara*. Brahman, and not *Isvara*, is therefore the Cause of the Universe. *Mâyâ*-enviored *Isvara* is not desired to be the object of enquiry, because Its knowledge would really be of no utility. Brahman, moreover, cannot be *Ikshanakartri* according to Samkara, for then It can as well be seen (*Drisyam*), and therefore It would cease to be Avāchyam. Nor can *Ikshanakartritvam* be looked upon as figurative (*Gauṇam*), for that would be possible even in Prakriti, and Samkara then gains nothing.

Rāmānuja here observes that Samkara's doctrine of Brahman without attributes (*Nirvisesha-Brahmavāda*) is also refuted in this *Adhikarana*, because Brahman referred to in the Sūtras is an object of knowledge (*Jijñāsyam*) and Its seeing (*Ikshanam*) is real (*Pāramārthikam*). With Samkara, however, this seeing is *unreal*. This *Ikshati* Sūtra establishes that Brahman is really intelligent and not merely intelligence. "Intelligent" means "possessed of the quality of intelligence." If Brahman's *Ikshanam* is not real, It is, like Sāmkhya Prakriti, *without* the quality of seeing (*Ikshanagunavirahitam*), and Samkara's *Isvara* is thus no better than the Sāmkhya Prakriti. Again, if Brahman is *absolutely without* attributes, light (*Prakāśah*) becomes inconsistent in It, because light is an *attribute*. A substance without attributes can neither enlighten others nor be

enlightened itself. Brahman would in that case be no better than a void without quality. And if he has to observe that Brahman has the *potentiality* of Prakāsa (Tatkshamāṁ), this "potentiality" means "power." (Sāmarthyam), and Brahman *does* become possessed of attributes (Savisesahanam) *in spite of* Samkāra. Further, if *one* attribute of Prakāsa is admitted on the evidence of Śruti, why not admit *all* the attributes on the same authority, and bid farewell to the modern doctrine of Māyā altogether?

Again, Samkāra contradicts himself when he resorts to implication (Lakṣhanā) in interpreting the word 'Ikṣhate' in the fourth Sūtra after once admitting in B. S. S. B. I, 1, 2 that the Sūtras have *merely* the purpose of stringing together the flowers of the Vedānta passages etc. (Vedāntavākyakusumāgrathanatvāt Vedāntānām).

As a matter of fact this Adhikaraṇa has no *direct* concern with the Sāṁkhya theory, since, as stated above, the Sūtrakāra is primarily engaged here to establish his *own* system. If the Sūtrakāra really intended to refute the Sāṁkhya claim on the Śruti in this Adhikaraṇa, he would have brought in here the Ānumānika and similar Adhikaraṇas as well, and at once set up a *chain* of arguments against them. Refutation in detached Adhikaraṇas can hardly be called a *scientific* process of meeting a strong adversary.

Samkāra's arguments in the fifth and other Sūtras go against himself. The causality is *not metaphorical* (Gaunam) as of Īśvara, but *real* and *principal* (Mukhyam), because there is the word 'Ātmānam' in the Text. If Māyā-environed Īśvara be the Cause, the worshipper of such a phenomenal Īśvara would gain nothing but phenomenal existence only, and not deliverance. The worshipper of the Author of the Universe however does *gain* deliverance, and the Cause of the Universe is therefore not unreal Īśvara, but *real and all-embracing* Brahman. Again, if the Cause of the Universe be figurative (Gaunam) only, a denial (Apavādah) would follow; but there is no statement of Its having to be set aside (Heyatvam). Not only do the passages teaching creation refer to *Pure* Brahman, but even those teaching complete sleep (Sushuptih) and deliverance (Muktiḥ) *directly* refer to *Pure* Brahman, because Brahman is only one, and all the passages refer to It alone and nothing else. The

Sûtra 'Srutatvât Cha' based on 'Pûrnamadah'¹ etc. distinctly says that *Pure Brahman*, and not *Mâyâ-environed Īsvara*, is the Cause of the Universe. *Samkara* could however easily extricate himself from all such attacks, if he but became *faithful* to the *Sûtrakāra* and accepted like him *one Brahman* only "as the all-enfolding Being which sometimes emits the world from Its own substance and sometimes retracts it into Itself, ever remaining *one* in all Its various modifications." *Pure Brahman* can safely be the Author of the Universe, and *Mâyâ* Its *real power*, entirely subordinate to and dependent on the *same Pure Brahman*. Nor will the right non-duality of Scripture suffer in that case, for power is only a voluntary (*Aichchhikam*) and real (*Vāstavikam*) aspect or form (*Rûpam*) of the powerful Substance Itself, viz. *Brahman*.

The *Sûtrakāra* now proceeds further and shows in the *Ānandamayādhikarāna* that *Brahman* in the capacity of *Ānanda* also is the Cause of the Universe. *Brahman* in all Its three aspects of *Sat*, *Chit*, and *Ānanda* is now fully established to be the Cause. It is now conclusively demonstrated that *Taittī Upa. III, 1*, etc., refer to *one* and the *same Brahman*, *same* in form, *same* in essence. After taking a positive view that *Brahman* as *Ānanda* is the Cause, the *Sûtrakāra* reviews the whole subject negatively, and shows that nothing *but Pure Brahman* can become the Cause. After dismissing the claim of the Soul, since it is *Chit* but not manifest *Ānanda*, he proceeds to dismiss the claim of the *inanimate substance (Jadam)* in *B.S.I., 1, 17-18*. The former *Sûtra* literary means "there is no requiring of *Inference* (*Anumānam*) because of desire (*Kāmat*). The next *Sûtra* means "and moreover Scripture teaches the union (*Tad-yogah*) of the individual Soul in that *Ānandamaya*." Both the *Sûtras* go against all *Jadavādins*, and therefore against the *Sāmkhyas* too.

Let us now see how *Samkara* manages to interpret these *Sûtras*. *Bhāskara*, *Rāmānuja*, *Madhva*, *Nimbarka*, *Vallabha* and *Bhikshu*, all accept the reading *Anumānāpekshā*, but *Samkara* seems to read *Anumānāpekshā* in stead and translate '*Anumānah*' by '*Anumānikah*' and observes that *Ānandamaya* does not refer to inanimate *Prakriti*, because the latter has no *Kāma*.² The *Ikshatyadbikarānam* had been

1. Vide *Bṛihad. Khila-Kūṇḍa*.

2. Vide *Taittī. Upa. II, 6*.

utilised by him to repudiate the claim of the Sāṃkhyas on the Vedas, and he is here compelled to add a lame defence of the Sāṃkhya refutation repeated here, observing that "a favourable opportunity presents itself, and the Sāṃkhya tenet is refuted here a *second* time on the basis of the Scriptural passage about the Cause of the Universe feeling desire¹." In the next Sūtra Saṃkara is more concerned with the reconciliation of his own inconsistent dogmas, and says nothing remarkable against the Sāṃkhyas.

Now 'Anumānāpekshā' gives a very good sense, and there was not the slightest necessity to take Anumānāpekshā, especially when all the published Bhāṣyas read Anumānāpekshā. Again, the root 'Iksh' was already taken by him to signify 'any verb having a cognate sense' and it would therefore signify 'desire' too, and the Sūtra 'Kāmāt Cha etc.' would therefore be redundant. The Sūtrakāra however reads it a distinct Sūtra, and it is clear that he did not therefore mean by 'Iksh' 'all verbs having a cognate sense'. Moreover "a favourable opportunity" (Prasāṅgāt Punarnirākaraṇam) is not a satisfactory answer, since there is no favourable opportunity for Saṃkara at any rate, for, from his own observation in the latter part of B. S. S. B. I, 19, it is obvious that desire (Kāma) is impossible in Nirguna Brahman, as It would then be one *feeling* desire (Sakāma) and therefore *possessed* of attributes (Saguna). Desire, according to Saṃkara is then only figurative, and his position would thus be no better than that of the Sāṃkhyas. Again, even admitting for a moment that these two Sūtras present a favourable opportunity, Saṃkara cannot take advantage of it, for all such opportunities have already been once for all simultaneously answered away, on Saṃkara's own admission, in the Ikṣatyadhikaraṇam.

Again, Saṃkara should observe that the Sūtrakāra from his mention of Kāma in the Ānandamaya Adhikaraṇam seems to believe that desire (Kāma) is a property, neither of the inanimate Substance (Ahit) nor of the Soul (Chit), but of Ānanda *essentially*. Brahman's desire (Kāma) of evolving the Universe should not of course be confounded with the petty desires of the Individual Soul (Jivātman) fettered with the sense of Eg and Meus. Kāma is sometimes taught to be a property of Buddhi, but it is *essentially* a property of Ānanda, and Buddhi too primarily inherits it only

1. कामयितृत्वमुक्तिमाश्रित्य प्रसङ्गात्पुनर्निराक्रियते । B. S. S. B. I, 1, 18. :

from the ānandamaya Paramātmān. It is *after* the ānanda of the Individual Soul is involved, that the poor Soul becomes a victim of worldly desires through Buddhi.

Again, the next Sūtra is a grave difficulty for Saṃkara. He does not accept a *union* (Sāyujyam) in Brahman, but a mere disembodied existence (Kaivalyam), and the word 'Tadyogah' in the sūtra is certainly a very hard nut for him to crack. The Sāṃkhyas would here maintain against almost all the schools of the Vedānta philosophy that ānandamaya is Prakṛiti in the aspect of *Sattva*. They would urge that ātman cannot have the head¹ (Siras) etc, and ātman in that passage is merely figurative (Gaunah). ānanda means 'happiness,' and it is therefore, they would continue, a property of *Sattva*. The passage therefore does not refer to ātman, but to Prakṛiti in its *Sattva* aspect. The Sūtrakīra however silences them by observing that such an *Inference* is *not* required, because *before* one comes to that Inference after a *long* chain of Reasoning, the very word 'Kāma' *immediately* decides the question in favour of the ānandamaya Brahman. Desire cannot surely be a property of any inanimate object *primarily*.

In the Antaryāmyadhikarāna, there is a Sūtra 'Na Chā Smārtaṃ etc. where the word 'Smārtaṃ' seems to refer to the Sāṃkhyā Prakṛiti. The discussion refers to Brihad. Upa. III, 7,3. The Pūrvapakshin is supposed to believe that Antaryāmin is not the Paramātmān, but some *deity* presiding over the Earth etc. Saṃkara answers that Antaryāmin is not a presiding deity (Abhimāni-Devatā), because that deity has not self-hood (ātmatva), immortality (Amṛitātva), the quality of being known to the Earth-deity (Prithivyādyajnātātva) and similar other qualifications. Antaryāmin is therefore Māyā-environed *Isvara*.

Saṃkara's arrangement of this Adhikarāna is in the first place faulty. That the internal ruler (Antaryāmin) is real Paramātmān has already been decided in the AntaryāmiBrāhmanam with sufficient clearness. In that Brāhmana, four remarkable truths have been taught. (1) Brahman exists in everything and It is not yet affected by that thing or the properties of that thing, (2) Brahman exists in everything, and yet

the special qualifications of Brahman do not in the least affect any substance, otherwise all would be liberated at once. (3) In spite of this, everything is the body (*Sarīra*), not merely a substratum (*Adhishthānam*) of Brahman. This gives us some idea of its immense "glory" e. g. of its enlightening the universe, of its moral and spiritual government etc. etc. It demonstrates that Brahman is far superior to the individual soul or gods. (4) To crown all, Brahman remains the internal ruler (*Niyāntṛi*) of everything. The *Adhikarāṇa* in question therefore decides another dispute. The question arising here is whether the words *Adhīdeva*, *Adhīloka*, *Adhīveda*, *Adhīyājña*, *Adhībhūta*, and *Adhyātman* refer to *Paramātman* or to something else. The *Sāṃkhyas* urge that *Adhīdeva* etc. refer to the Presiding Deity. *Adhīloka* etc. are wellknown in the *Sikshopaniṣad* to have been used etymologically, *Adhīdeva* etc. therefore mean neither Brahman nor anything else. The *Sūtrakāra* of course answers against the *Sāṃkhyas* that *Adhīdeva* etc. are Brahman and nothing but Brahman. *Samkara* therefore does not seem to have understood the whole *Adhikarāṇa* here.

Again, *Samkara* suspects that the *Sāṃkhyas* may maintain that the *Adṛishṭa* etc. refer to *Prakṛiti*. But this is a groundless fear. The words "seer" (*drāṣṭā*) and "hearer" (*Śrotā*) in *Bṛih. Up. III, 7, 23*. are obviously against them and the moment they listen to those two words, they cease to maintain that the passage *Adṛishṭa* etc. refers to *Prakṛiti*. It is but impossible that the *Sāṃkhyas* would presume to defend their doctrine of *Prakṛiti* on hearing one single word '*Adṛishṭa*' in that passage. When *Samkara's* *pūrvapakṣa* is thus entirely wrong, his *uttarapakṣa* deserves no consideration at all.

It is, however, interesting to watch how the *Sāṃkhyas* would attempt to demonstrate that even the passages in the *Antaryāmi-Brahmana* refer to *Prakṛiti*. *Bādārayana* accepts the doctrine of Brahman on the evidence of *Chhā. III, 14, 1, VI, 8, 4*. etc. Brahman then is the cause, the inanimate substance and the soul being the effect, though they are forms of the same causal Brahman. At any rate, *Antaryāmin* is not known in his doctrine. Brahman again

having no body (Sarīra) and the powers of the soul being limited, neither can be Antaryāmin. Thus it will be necessary to imagine an Antaryāmin in the form of a secondary Isvara (Kāryeswara). Now this Kāryeswara can only be one who has his presiding power (Abhimāna) on Prakṛiti or Mahat. In spite of all these and similar imaginations, contradiction in Śrutis (Śrutivirodha) will continue to be a grave objection, for no Upanishad according to Bādarāyana teaches such a Kāryeswara. The Sāṃkhyas would continue this line of argument and finally say that as for themselves they accept a Kāryeswara, and that this AntaryāmiBrahmana being in their favour, their doctrine is śrauta.

Samkara standing on his Māyāvāda cannot certainly meet such a pūrvapaksha. The Brahmovādin as distinguished from the Māyāvādin alone is competent to make a satisfactory reply to the Sāṃkhyas. He can consistently show that Antaryāmin is not a Kāryeswara but a *real* inner ruler, and that it is nothing but an aspect of all-embracing¹ Brahman itself, possessing incomprehensible infinite powers. Standing thus firmly on his Brahmovāda, the Brahmovādin may competently point out to the Sāṃkhyas that Prakṛiti cannot even by implication be the inner ruler, for clay is not the inner ruler of pots etc. Even Bhikṣhu has here to observe देवानां यत्किञ्चित्प्रकृतिपुरुषैरेकेत्येव न सर्वान्तर्यामिन्वम् ।

In the Dyubhāvadyadhikarana there is a sūtra Nānumānikamatachchhabdāt directed against the Sāṃkhyas. Samkara here observes that Prakṛiti is not the abode of heaven, earth, etc. because there is no word in its favour. The Sāṃkhyas would however here point out a few passages in their favour. Mundaka II, 2, 5, II, 2, 7, II, 2, 9, etc. certainly favour the Sāṃkhyas better than the Māyāvādin. The property of the inanimate substance, of the body, of effect and of light are respectively illustrated in those passages Add to

1 बहु स्याम्प्रजायेयेति बाष्पा तस्य ह्यभूत् सती । तदिच्छामात्रतस्तस्माद् ब्रह्मभूतांश्चेतनाः ॥
मृपद्यादौ निर्गताः सर्वे निराकारास्तादिच्छया । विस्फुल्लङ्गा इवामेस्तु सद्देशेन जडा अपि ॥
आनन्दोदास्वरूपेण सर्वान्तर्यामिरूपिणः । सच्चिदानन्दरूपेषु पूर्वयोरन्यलीनता ॥ अत एव निराकारौ
पूर्वावानन्दलोपतः । जडो जीवोन्तरात्मेति व्यवहारलिप्ता मनः ॥ (Nib Sās. Prak.)

these Mundaka II, 2, 7 etc. referring to Puruṣa. The Sāṅkhyas would thus conclude that their doctrine of Prakṛiti and Puruṣa is quite consistent with the Vedas (Śrauta).

Again the arrangement of Śaṅkara's Pūrvapakṣa is faulty. He represents the opponent observing that it is known from everyday experience that a bridge presupposes some further bank to which it leads, while it is impossible to assume something beyond the highest Brahman. Śaṅkara then utilises this Adhikaraṇa in solving this mention of the bridge¹ (Setuvyapadesa). If, however, he answers that question here, he cannot again put forth the same Pūrvapakṣa in B. S. III 2, 31, for, if once a difficulty is got over, it cannot be brought forth again. Śaṅkara again contrives to bring in his Māyāvāda here and suggests that Brahman's being an abode (āyatanam) is also *unreal* in spite of Mundaka II, 1, 1, II, 1, 2, II, 1, 3, II, 2, 1, II, 2, 6, and similar passages down to the end of that Upanishad, that conclusively teach that Brahman is the *real* (not unreal) support.

The Brahmvādīn can easily show that the passage refers to Brahman as the support (ādhāra) of everything, and silence the Sāṅkhyas etc. for an inanimate substance can never be conceived to be the support of heaven and earth.

We now come to a very interesting discussion about the "Invisible"² (Adṛiṣyam). The Sāṅkhyas maintain that the Invisible etc. refer to Prakṛiti, 'source of all beings' (Bhūtayoniḥ), they say, is enough to decide the case in their favour. The illustrations selected are all of inanimate objects. Even if some were to urge that the "Spider" (Uṇmābhiḥ) and "a living man" (Puruṣa) are illustrations implying life, they would answer that pure life (Chetanam) cannot be the source (yoni), life may but work as a substratum (Adhiṣṭhānam). Again Mundaka II, 1, 9 etc. refer to Puruṣa. The Scriptural passages begin with Prakṛiti and end with Puruṣa as in Katha I, 3, 11. Even if "source" (yoni) be taken not as material cause but as instrumentality, Puruṣa will be the instrumental

1. Mund. II, 2, 5. 2. Mund. I, 1, 5 and 6.

cause (nimitta), since there is no distinct mention that Brahman can be the nimitta, and not J'va. Sāṃkara assumes that Mund. II, 1, 9 is enough to decide that the Invisible etc. refer to Paraṃātman. Neither the Sāṃkhya Prakṛiti nor the soul can be omniscient. Nor can the Sāṃkhyas urge that 'omniscience' refers to their own Puruṣa, because Mund. II, 1, 9 comes after Mund. II, 1, 7 and the general topic of discussion (Nirdeśasāmyam) decides that the "Imperishable" (Akṣharam) is the source of all beings (Bhūtayoni) and that the Imperishable itself is omniscient. Nor does Mund. II, 1, 2 mean that the Sāṃkhya Puruṣa is higher than Sāṃkhya Prakṛiti. Mund. I, 2, 3 decides that Imperishable and Puruṣa are not different as in the Sāṃkhya theory. The knowledge of the Imperishable again is higher knowledge, that can really be so only if it results in summum bonum (Nihṣreyasam) It is clear that the knowledge of Pradhāna does not end in Nihṣreyasam. Had that knowledge been at all meant, three sorts of knowledge would have been mentioned because they would require (1) knowledge of the Rig Veda etc, (2) knowledge of Prakṛiti and (3) knowledge of Puruṣa. Again the Pradhāna is no answer to the question put in Mund. I, 1, 3, whereas knowledge of Brahman is a correct answer to that question. This Brahmanavidyā, again, being the highest knowledge has been given to the *eldest*¹ son. It is clear that the lower knowledge (Aparāvidyā) is censured, while the higher knowledge (parāvidyā) is admired. Illustrations of the inanimitate do not go to show that the things compared should also be of the same nature. Again, the epithets "celestial" etc. decide that the 'Invisible' is Paraṃātman,² neither the soul nor Prakṛiti. There is again some distinction between Prakṛiti and "Source of all beings" (Bhūtayoni). The Imperishable means that developed entity which represents the seminal potentiality of names and forms, the final parts of material elements. That Imperishable resides in Īśvara and forms his limiting adjunct (अव्याकृतनामरूपबीजशक्तिरूपं भूतसुखमसीश्वराश्रयं तस्यैशेषादिभूतम्) and the Supreme (Para) refers to the highest self. Besides, the source of all beings has a form as in Mund. II, 1, 4. This form can be reconciled in Īś-

1. Mund. I, 1, 1. 2. Mund. II, 1, 2.

vara but not in Prakṛiti, since Prakṛiti is not the inner self of all (sarvātman). The context fairly decides that the form refers to "the source" (Bhūta-yoni). In conclusion, Sāṃkara, after giving one interpretation of "Mention of form" (Rūpopanyāsa) referring to the source, gives another interpretation of it as referring to the Hiraṇyagarbha beginning from "Others are however of opinion" (Anye Punar Manyante) etc.

We may now proceed to examine all this. There are certain inaccuracies in Sāṃkara's pūrvapakṣa. Adhishṭhāna does not appear to be acceptable to the Sāṃkhyas. At any rate, its meaning must be modified, for they would only require *approximity* of animate Puruṣa. Puruṣa is not the adhishṭhāna in Sāṃkara's sense. Again the Sāṃkhyas will hardly admit "Yoni" to be taken as instrumentality (nimittam). It does mean the material cause and the Sūtrakāra himself uses the word in that sense in Brah. Sū. I, 1, 25. Sāṃkara's Nirguṇa Brahman may not or cannot be a 'yoni' but the Sāṃkhya Prakṛiti can very well be one. The Sāṃkhyas moreover do not accept that Puruṣa is the instrument (nimittam). Puruṣa is only in the vicinity (sannibhitā). Adhishṭhānam and Nimittam then are two objectionable words in the reiteration (Anuvāda) of the Sāṃkhya system. He had better use *sannikarṣah* etc. accepted by the Sāṃkhya thinkers, especially when he is representing their line of thought. The defect of this reiteration (Anuvāda) system is wellknown. Anuvāda in scholastic literature is sometimes an undue means to drag the opponent on to the respondent's side. The Sāṃkhyas may urge that in the passages referred to in the anuvāda, Akṣhara and Puruṣa are both taught to be distinct, and that creation is taught from both of them. Such a double aspect of creation cannot be accounted for by the Māyāvādin. The passages therefore distinctly teach the Sāṃkhya theory. They may also urge that creation is due to the union of Prakṛiti and Puruṣa (प्रकृतिपुरुषसंयोग) and that in the capacity of union either Prakṛiti or Puruṣa may be called a 'source' especially when the universe consists of *two* distinct principles. As for the form (Rūpa), that may also be reconciled in this aspect of union of Prakṛiti and Puruṣa. A further argument may be

advanced that the seminal state in the shape of Prakṛitipuruṣa-samslesha may have a form, otherwise modifications developing or emanating from a formless seminal state would also remain formless.

We may now proceed to examine Sāṃkara's replies to this. If dull Prakṛiti is not the meaning of the Invisible, it is certain that neither Nescience, nor environed Soul, nor environed īśwara is the meaning of that word, because omniscience would then be a figment. Sāṃkara, while arguing against the Sāṃkhyas, observes that the whole chapter refers to some one thing only तस्मात्त्रिर्देहसाम्येन प्रत्यभिज्ञायमानत्वादभिधीयते Br. Sū. Bh. I. 2. 21. and not a part to Prakṛiti and another to Puruṣa, but he contradicts himself when he has to interpret Mund. II, 1, 2. If the knowledge of the Imperishable (Akṣharam) and that of Supreme Brahman be two *aspects* of the doctrine of Māyā, the knowledge of Prakṛiti, and the knowledge of Puruṣa may as well be those of the doctrine of the Sāṃkhyas. Sāṃkara calls the Rig Veda etc. to be the *lower* knowledge and the knowledge of the Imperishable to be higher, but the moment he says "Imperishable" 'refers to undifferentiated etc.' the knowledge of the "Imperishable" ceases to be higher with Sāṃkara too, for he himself acknowledges that the Supreme Brahman is higher than the Imperishable. Again if the knowledge of Pradhāna does not result in summum bonum, Sāṃkara must admit that the knowledge of the Imperishable too does not, since its knowledge would lead to the lower deliverance (Aparamoksha) only while the higher knowledge of the Supreme Brahman alone would lead to the final and higher deliverance (Paramoksha). Sāṃkara remarks that if this knowledge of Prakṛiti be admitted as a Vidyā, the text would have spoken of three Vidyās, but similarly it may be said that if the text meant Māyāvāda then also it would have spoken of three Vidyās, (1) of the Rig-veda etc. (2) of Māyā-environed īśwara and (3) of the Supreme Brahman, but Scripture speaks of *two* Vidyās only, and thus Māyāvāda cannot be a Vidyā meant for Preyas or Sreyas. If Pradhānavidyā is not an answer to the question set in Mund. I, 1, 3, īśwaravidyā of Sāṃkara is still far from being a solution of the problem, because the knowledge of neither Māyā nor Nescience nor adjunct nor of environed īśwara is enough for know-

ing everything. Knowledge of *all* by means of that of *one* is possible only if *pure* Brahman is honestly acknowledged to be the *material* cause, for then and then only a knowledge of the *cause* would lead to that of the *effect*. The very fact that it was given to the *eldest* son is enough to show that "Imperishable" does not mean Sāṃkara's Māyā but only a *real* aspect of the Supreme Deity. The Vidyās would be *two* only, if the Imperishable is Pure (Suddham) Brahman in its *causal* aspect. Certainly the higher knowledge has been admired, but that very fact goes to show that it is not the knowledge of Māyā-environed Īśvara, but that of all-embracing Pure Brahman. Sāṃkara means by 'Celestial', etc. Īśvara and excludes its applicability to the soul and the inanimate substance, but such a statement implies that the soul is not exactly identical with Brahman. There is no mention of duality due to limiting adjuncts in Scripture. The soul is something *real* and yet not *quite* identical with Brahman. The celestiality (divyatva) of Īśvara being unreal, Īśvara ceases to be celestial in reality, and the difference drawn so emphatically against the Sāṃkhyas becomes meaningless. If 'Celestial' is taken to mean Nirguna Brahman, celestiality (being an attribute, its being without attributes comes to an end. Again, it may be said against him that he is here compelled to take negative words like invisibility etc. in the sense of *attributes*, may even in the sense of *positive* attributes like omniscience etc. The excluding characteristics are again unreal, and therefore the inapplicability of 'Imperishable' to Prakṛiti is itself unreal. Further, duality being a figment, the difference of the Highest Self based on false duality is itself unreal.

We may now answer the Sāṃkhyas from the standpoint of the Sūtrakāra. 'Invisible' is Brahman, because Brahmanavidyā is the highest knowledge of knowing everything by knowing *one*, for that same reason that Vidyā is called the *higher* Vidyā. Both 'Invisible' and 'Puruṣa' are but *aspects* of Brahman. The 'Invisible' is Brahman in the aspect of means (sāthanāvasthā) and 'Puruṣa' in the aspect of summum bonum (Phalāvasthā). Puruṣa therefore though essentially non-different from the Invisible, may formally be looked upon as *supreme* on the evidence of Tait. II, 1. 'Invisible' is

Brahman in the capacity of Sat, Chit, and *limited* Ānanda; Purusha is Sat, Chit plus *infinite* and *manifest* bliss. The Sāmkhyas do not understand this doctrine of Brahman and therefore insist that 'Invisible' is Prakriti. *Mund.* 1, 1, 7. however decides the question in favour of Brahāvāda, for in the Upanishads causality of Brahman *alone* is taught. As for Purusha there is not the slightest doubt about its being Brahman.

Even if the Sāmkhyas were to urge (1) that in their Panchasikha's Vritti, "Imperishable" is a synonym of 'Invisible', (2) that 'yoni' means a material cause, that (3) Purusha is taught to be higher than 'Imperishable' and that therefore (4) the passage teaches the doctrine of Prakriti, the Sūtrakāra answers that there is a difference of *attributes* and also a difference of *mention*. Both these differences are in favour of the Brahāvādin. The attributes like invisibility, omniscience, etc. differ from those of Prakriti, the attributes like celestuality etc. differ from those of the Sāmkhya Purusha, and the mention of Brahavidyā in the beginning, middle and end of the Upanishad decides the question in favour of the Doctrine of Brahman. Prakriti is neither invisible nor omniscient. It cannot be invisible, when its products are actually visible. None can conceive for a moment that clay is invisible, while its product is visible, especially when it is every moment modifying itself. This fault can be imputed to Prakriti and not to Brahman, because Prakriti is eternal and yet changeable, whereas Brahman is eternal and unchangeable, in spite of modifications. Mutability and invisibility are simultaneously inconsistent in Prakriti. If the Sāmkhyas give up mutability of Prakriti for the sake of its invisibility and acknowledge its unchangeableness, they will have to give up their own admission and adopt another. Further, Prakriti can never be omniscient. Nor can the Sāmkhyas urge that omniscience refers to Purusha, for the passage teaching omniscience is in *Mund.* 1, 1, 9. while Purusha is described in the second Adhyāya *Mundaka*, and this long distance (Vyavahāna) between the passages about omniscience and Purusha is against the Sāmkhyas, and omniscience therefore cannot be connected with Purusha. Again Prakriti can never by the Sāmkhyas be

called Puruṣha,¹ nor the attributes of Prakṛiti can ever by them be transferred to Puruṣha, where the attributes of Puruṣha are applied to this 'Invisible' in the beginning and the end of the first part of Mundaka. This clearly shows that 'Impcrishable' is Puruṣha or Brahman of the Brahmvādins, and not Prakṛiti of the Sāṃkhyas. But the attributes of Puruṣha too in the Upanishads differ exceedingly from those of the Sāṃkhya Puruṣha. the Sāṃkhya Puruṣha is only a looker-on (Sākshin) disembodied (Kevala) indifferent (Madhyastha) inactive (Akartri) and neutral (Drashtri) whereas the Puruṣha (Brahman) of the Upanishads possesses celestialty and similar *transcendental* attributes. This answer should silence the Sāṃkhyas even if they were prepared to change Aksharam (n.) into Aksharah (m.) and to urge that Aksharah meant their own Puruṣha. Again the Sāṃkhyas do not accept any sort of difference among the Puruṣhas, whereas the Brahmvādins do accept a difference between Brahman and the souls, and celestialty etc. may therefore be well applicable to Brahman. Again, the Puruṣha (Brahman) of the Vedāntins, being supreme, becomes the inner ruler of all the souls and the universe, whereas the Sāṃkhya Puruṣhas being all alike, *none* is neither the ruler nor the ruled. Again the Sāṃkhya Puruṣha is not the self of all external and internal substances, whereas the Puruṣha of the Vedāntin is the *true* self of everything.

Again, breath etc are not accepted by the Sāṃkhyas to be evolved from Puruṣha. Thus the attributes of Puruṣha too are quite different here from those of the Sāṃkhya Puruṣha. The difference of mention (Vyapadasabhedā) against the Sāṃkhyas for the Upanishad thrice (in the beginning, in the middle and at the end) proclaims that this is 'Brahmavidyā,' the Sāṃkhyas therefore have no claim whatsoever on these passages.

The Sūtrakāra however adds the strongest argument against

1. In Mund. 1. 1. 7 etc. and Bhag. Geetā XV, 15-16 etc. Akshara is called, 'Puruṣha,' neither Sāṃkara nor the Sāṃkhyas can say that Akshara is Puruṣha, because with the first Akshara means *unreal* Māyā, while with the latter it means *real* Prakṛiti as distinct from Puruṣha.

the Sâmkhyas in conclusion, that the Sâmkhya Purusha has *no form* but the Upanishad Purusha *has a form* as is taught in Mund. II, 1, 4. This Sûtra has been read distinctly and separately because it is by itself an independent and principal argument against the Sâmkhyas. The 'Cha' in the Sûtra implies that the doctrine of Brahman is not against any Sruti, because all the scriptural passages converge towards *this* doctrine. It is thus conclusively proved that the passages in the Mundaka Upanishad do not at all bear out the doctrine of Prakriti. The Imperishable and Purusha there are not the Sâmkhya Prakriti and the Sâmkhya Purusha, but the Aupaiśhada Akshara and Purusha, both being aspects of one Brahman. The Sâmkhyas urged against the Mâyâvâdins that they could explain the form in Mund. II, 1, 4, as referring to the union of Prakriti and Purusha. But the context shows clearly that the *form* cannot belong to united Prakriti and Purusha. In Mund. II, 2, 1, 1, creation is taught from Akshara alone. In Mund. II, 1, 2 is taught the superiority of independent (Kevala) Purusha and not Purusha united with Prakriti (Samslishta). In Mund. II, 1, 3, creation of breath etc. is taught from Purusha alone and independent, and in Mund. II, 1, 4 is taught the form of *that* Purusha alone and independent and not united with anything like Prakriti. The last portion of Mund. I, 1, 4 decisively shows that the passage refers to Purusha alone and independent and not to united Prakriti and Purusha. Mund. II, 1, 5 corroborates this decision that the passage refers to the form of Purusha alone and independent, and not to united Prakriti and Purusha. The Sâmkhyas have therefore not the least possible claim on these passages and it is now once for all concluded that the Vidyâ is Brahnavidyâ and not Sâmkhyavidyâ.

Before finishing this topic let us however examine Samkara's observations on Rûpopanyâsa. It would appear from the usual mode of interpretation that the *first* interpretation in *his*, though it is a fact that all his commentators opine that the first interpretation is Vrittikâra's and that the *second* one is Samkara's. Vâchaspati observes that context is stronger than mere proximity and that the *form* in Mund. II, 1, 4 should belong to Paramâtmân. It has however *no* body and therefore *no form*. The passage

Mund. II, 1, 4 should belong to Paramâtman. It has however *no* body and therefore *no form*. The passage therefore has no connection with Paramâtman. Mund. II, I, 4, however is stronger than a very remote context and Samkara is therefore compelled to put forth a *reason* in "spoken of as something produced" why the Sruti should be taken with Hiranyagarbha.

From the mode of introducing another interpretation by "Others again believe" (Anye punar Manyante-) it appears that the second interpretation is not Samkara's but of some other school of the Aupanishads. Samkara introduces this interpretation as of *others* (Anye). The word 'again' (Punar) goes to show that the *first* interpretation is his. If Samkara considered the case as his commentator does, he would have by all means quoted Mund. II, 1, 4 itself as an authority for the second interpretation. Again it may be added that Samkara would not leave the Vrittikâra's view without criticism, if the second interpretation were really his. The very fact that he puts forth both the views without offering any remarks is at any rate enough to indicate his own mental perplexity and indecision. Rûpopanâyâsâchcha is certainly a terrible sûtra for one whose Brahman is absolutely formless. If Samkara accepts the first interpretation, his Brahman becomes *possessed* of a *form*. It is quite manifest that the Sûtrakâra really meant that Brahman *has* a form and that he specially brought forth this fact as his final and strongest argument against the Sâmkhyas whose Pradhâna is undoubtedly *formless*. The Sûtrakâra emphasised this difference that the *material* cause taught by the Upanishads *has a rûpa* whereas Prakriti and Purusha—nay even their union—are all *formless*. Samkara cannot certainly meet the Sâmkhyas if he takes rûpa as referring to the Hiranyagarbha.

If in spite of all these objections against Samkara's having accepted the second interpretation, his adherents persist that the *second* interpretation is Samkara's, we finally observe that (1) such a meaning is against the context (2) that if rûpa is absolutely impossible in the supreme Brahman it *may* be taken elsewhere (but such is not at all the case) and (3) that this rûpa cannot even belong to Hiranyagarbha, for its rûpa cannot be accounted for if rûpa is not at all admitted in Paramâtman, its own cause.

Finally, B. S. III, 2, 14 is not against the Bhāgavata view, because had the Sūtrakāra meant that Brahman is absolutely formless, the word 'arūpam' would have been quite sufficient and he would not have gone to the length of 'arūpavat.' Yājñavalkya calls Brahman to be ParamānandaVigraha. Nārada etc. call Brahman to be Ānandamātrakarapādāmukhodarādi. The Geetā teaches Brahman's form in XIII, 13 and similar verses. Rūpa therefore is a synonym of Ānanda. Brahman's rūpa is nothing but its sarvāntaratva or Sarvakāyatva, an essential characteristic of Ānanda.

We now come to the Akasharādhikarana which bears a great similitude to the one just discussed. The question according to Sāṃkara is whether the Imperishable described in Br. III, 8, 8 means the sacred text Pranavaḥ or Prakṛiti or something else. Sāṃkara utilises this Adhikarana in showing the inapplicability of the word to the sacred text. Vāchaspati strongly defends Sāṃkara and says that the import of the Sūtra is the inapplicability of 'Imperishable' to the sacred text. He argues that there is no such settled rule that a negation of anything should always presuppose its possibility (Nishedhe Prāptipūrvakatvasyābhāvaḥ) and cites in support Nāntarikshe na divi etc. where prohibition of kindling the fire is, he believes, taught though there is no such possibility.

Let us now examine this. There arises no question at all that this Imperishable may ever be the sacred text. That sacred text cannot possess the qualities of the Imperishable mentioned in Br. III, 8, 7-8.¹ Further Vāchaspati is certainly wrong. The prohibition in Nāntarikshe etc. is certainly necessary, as gods and others, who are authorized for karman may, owing to their extraordinary ability, perform sacrifices etc. even in the atmosphere etc. if they were not specially prohibited by such passages. The illustration cited thus goes quite against him. Such a pūrvapakṣa may be allowed, if there is no other alternative, but such is not at all the case here. Again, Sāṃkara would certainly have been able to say here much against the doctrine of prakṛiti, had he not wasted his energy to show the inapplicability of Imperishable to the sacred text.

1. Vide Bhāskara, Bhikṣhu and Kesava Bhatta.

We have finished the examination of detached Adhikaranas where the Sūtrakāra is primarily engaged to show that Brahman in the capacity of Sat, Chit, and Ānanda, is the cause of the universe, that Brahman itself is the inner self, that Brahman itself is the abode of heaven and earth, that 'Invisible' is Brahman, and finally that Imperishable is Brahman. He incidentally shows that words like Adhideva etc. cannot be applicable to anything else. By the end of the third pāda of the first Adhyāya, the Sūtrakāra has shown that Brahman is everything, the supported and the support. He now commences the direct refutation of the Sāṃkhyas in connected Adhikaranas.

The Sāṃkhyas maintain that in Kaṭha I, 3, 14 "Beyond the Great there is the Undeveloped, and beyond the Undeveloped there is Puruṣa," the technical words "Great" (Mahat) "Undeveloped" (Avyakta) and Puruṣa are clearly and decisively in their favour. Sāṃkara observes that the passage does not refer to Prakṛti known from the Sāṃkhya Smṛitis. 'Undeveloped' does not mean the independent Prakṛiti of the Sāṃkhyas. It does not denote any particular Avyakta of the Sāṃkhyas, but simply denotes according to its etymological sense anything that is subtle and difficult to destroy. The Sāṃkhyas give a settled meaning which may be valid in their own system, but that meaning has no force in determining the sense of the Vedas. Nor does the equality of position (KramanātraSāmānya) prove equality of being (Samānārtha) unless the equality of being is recognised independently. The general strength of the subject-matter too goes against the Sāṃkhyas. Avyakta here means the body mentioned in the simile of the chariot, for the simile then becomes complete, nothing remaining. The general context thus clearly decides that to complete the simile, the body, which had been compared to the chariot, was wanting, and this is supplied by Avyakta. And if the Sāṃkhyas were to question how the gross body which is developed (vyakta) can appropriately be denoted by Avyakta, he answers that Avyakta denotes directly the causal body, and

that the term denoting the causal substance is applied to the effect, as in the RigVeda IX, 4, 6, 4. Again, Taddhedam Tarbyavyākṛita-māsit (Bṛih. I, 4, 7) shows that these evolved distinctions of name and form were in a seminal state (avyakta). If the Sāṃkhyas were now to observe that the admission of such a seminal state of the universe virtually sanctions their own theory of Prakṛiti, since Prakṛiti is nothing but such an antecedent condition, Saṃkara answers that such an antecedent state is not the *independent* cause of the universe. Such a state depends on Īśvara, and such an Avyakta must necessarily be admitted, for, without it, the Lord himself *cannot* be the Creator. He cannot be active without the power of action. Saṃkara finally concludes that this is sometimes called Ether (Bṛih. III, 8, 11) sometimes Undeveloped (Mund II, 1, 2) and sometimes Mâyâ (S.e. IV, 10), and thus enforces his own doctrine of Mâyâ. The Sāṃkhyas would here urge against Saṃkara that Avyakta means 'the Undeveloped.' The Smṛiti passages show that Avyakta is Prakṛiti, whereas there is no passage to show that Avyakta means Nescience or Mâyâ. Avyakta by the customary sense (Rūḍhi) means Prakṛiti, whereas it never means Nescience etc. Even the etymological sense is not against them. The arrangement of the verse in question is quite in their own favour.

To these we may add that no passages teach that Nescience etc. are the material cause of the universe. Again, Saṃkara does not consistently stick to his own meaning of Avyakta, while interpreting Tadavyaktamāha hi (B. S. III, 2, 23) he has to change the meaning and take Avyakta in the sense of Brahman.

Saṃkara observes that 'Imperishable' Ether' etc. sometimes stand for Avyakta but this does not at all prove that Avyakta is nescience. In Rīcho akshare Parama Vyoman (Sve. IV, 18) Satyam Jñānam Ānandam Brahma yo veda nihitam Guhāyām parama vyoman (Tait. II, 1) etc. the words Akshara and vyoman certainly do not mean nescience. In Dvāvimau Purushau Loke (Geetā XV, 16) Akshara is actually said to be *one* of the *two* Purushas. In Aksharam Brahma Paramam (Geetā VIII, 3) Avyaktoksharamityuktah (Ib. VIII; 20) Taddhātma paramam mama (Ib. XV, 6) Akshara is

said to be the *highest abode*. In none of these, Akshara means the unreal body, or Nescience, or Mâyâ, but 'it certainly means Brahman.¹ Samkara's meaning is thus totally unfounded. The very fact that he is sometimes compelled to take Avyakta as Brahman is enough to show that Samkara has to prevaricate.

The argument that though the gross body is manifest, it is yet the meaning of Avyakta, is as lame as it possibly can be. Again, if Avyakta was to be taken in the etymological sense, Samkara ought not to have run to 'implication.' Moreover, even after resorting to implication, he cannot bring out any beautiful meaning. Duality is besides not at all due to Nescience. The Upanishads in general do not teach that Nescience is the material cause of the universe, on the other hand, they emphatically teach that Unchangeable and Immutable Brahman itself is the material cause.² To say that it is Nescience, that contributes the power of creation to the Nirguna Brahman is against the native powers of the Supreme Deity. Sve. IV, 8 and similar Śrutis teach quite the reverse of what Samkara propounds. There cannot exist any greater heresy than saying that it is only through Nescience or Mâyâ that eternal pure enlightened and liberated Brahman appears omniscient or omnipotent. Samkara finds it hard to explain the verse in question and has to give two different and objectionable interpretations. Nescience can never be said to be higher than Mahat Âtman. To take Mahat Âtman in the sense of Buddhi or Hiranyagarbha is but twisting the sense unnecessarily. To all this, it may be added that the verse in question does not teach identical knowledge of the Soul and Brahman but the way to obtain the Vaisnavam Padam. Samkara's deliverance consists in knowledge (avagati) at best. The summum bonum taught in the Upanishads is not mere knowledge (avagati) but acquisition (Prâpti), so unfavourable.

1. Mâdhva quotes a śruti from Pippalâda recension to support that Avyakta means Brahman and this is also against Samkara. Again, Samkara has to go against the old Vṛttikâra, whom he attacks here very feebly and has to wind up the whole matter, since he loses his temper.

2. स सर्वं भवति, यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते, न ब्रह्मानं स्वयमुक्तम् ।

vourable to the doctrine of *Mâyâ* that *Saṁkara* is compelled to refute it in *B. S. S. B. I*, 1, 4 in spite of *Tait. II*. 1 and *Mund.* III. 2, 4 as well as *B. S. IV*. 4, 1 etc.

Let us now see how the *Sūtrakāra* himself meets the *Sāṁkhyas*. There is not the least doubt that *Mahat Avyakta* and *Puruṣa* are found technically used in the *Sāṁkhya* theory, but mere words cannot be called decisive. Under the circumstances the context must be the final recourse. From the context it is clear that the verses Nos. 3-10 and 12-13 are closely connected with those under discussion. That interpretation is therefore the most legitimate which suits all these verses naturally. The *Vallī* discusses the means of release of the Individual Soul, and it is clear from the foregoing verses that the individual soul, after the acquisition of a proper body etc., becomes worthy of an approach to the Supreme Deity. The body is the principal means and therefore it is metaphorically styled 'a chariot.' It possesses all the necessary requirements and freedom of movement as a car. The chariot depends on horses, horses on reins, reins on the charioteer, charioteer on the road, and the road itself on the final destination. The body similarly depends on senses and organs, senses and organs on *Manas*, *Manas* on *Buddhi*, *Buddhi* on the good or bad path selected by itself, and the path again on its final destination either permanent deliverance or continuity of bondage. Verses Nos. 12-13 decidedly teach that *Puruṣa* is seen by subtle seers through their sharp and subtle intellect guided by the *Upanishads*.

This prelude will assist us in understanding the exact sense of the verses under consideration. The first half is clear enough. *Buddhi* too is higher than *Manas*, for the latter has to depend on the former. We now come to the fourth foot of the tenth verse *Buddherātina* etc. Literally it means "Mahat Ātman is higher than *Buddhi*". Read in the light thrown by the foregoing and following verses, this Mahat-Ātman does not at all seem to be the *Sāṁkhya* Mahat, for that Mahat cannot for a moment be called *higher* than *Buddhi*. Let us for a time with *Rāmānuga* etc. take "Mahat Ātman" as the individual soul and "Avyakta" as a real causal body. This interpretation carries with it a number

of merits against Samkara, but this interpretation cannot perhaps entirely silence the Sāmkhyas. They would naturally question why the Individual Soul should be called Mahān especially by Rāmānuga etc. Again if the Soul be Mahān really why should Avyakta be called higher than the Great Soul? They may take advantage of this very slight weakness and again push their theory on. The Sūtrakāra therefore would not stop where Rāmānuga stops, but soar even higher and once for all give a decisive and distinctive blow to the dualist Sāmkhyas from his own standpoint of Brahmayāda. He would show that the Sāmkhyas have not the slightest claim on these verses. The Sūtrakāra would in the first place silence the Sāmkhyas by showing that the whole Valli considers the means of the Soul's release and that the whole chapter is therefore against them. The Valli begins with "Brahmavido vadanti" and not Prakritivido Vadanti—a beginning decidedly unfavourable to the Sāmkhyas. The second verse reads 'Aksharam Brahma yat param' etc. and not Aksharam Prakritih—a reading clearly against the Sāmkhyas. The seventh and the eighth verses read 'Tatpadamāpnoti' and not Kaivalyamāpnoti—a lesson unfavourable to the Sāmkhyas. The ninth verse emphatically declares 'Sodhvanah paramāpnoti Tad Viśnoh paramam padam' neither Prakriteh nor Purushasya—a declaration contradictory to the Sāmkhya tenets. Add to these "Īśa sarveshu bhūteshu gūḍhotmā na prakāśate—an addition chilling the Sāmkhyas. After thus silencing them by means of the very context the Sūtrakāra may point out that Mahān Ātmā is neither the Sāmkhya Mahat, because (1) the Sāmkhya Mahat is not higher than Buddhi, both being identically the same, and because (2) the Sāmkhya Mahat can never be called Ātman, it being only a modification of Prakriti, nor is Mahān Ātmā the Individual Soul, for the Soul, being only atomic, cannot be called 'Great' at any rate in its 'Asampatti' condition. Again, if Mahān ātmā be the Soul in its 'Sampatti' condition, the verse would mention it in the third foot of the verse and not in the second, because Avyakta—body—can never be called *higher* than the "Great Soul." Mahān Ātmā and Avyakta then mean something else. The sense of the verse is exactly satisfied if Ātman is taken as vijñāna (अतति व्याप्नोति). It is specially called Ātman because true knowledge with Brahma—

vādins is not dull or lifeless. It is life itself. It permeates everything. It is called Mahân, because this knowledge is not the partial knowledge of the Individual Soul, but it is a thorough and complete knowledge of Brahman, Mahat truly. Mahân Atma then is the Brahnavidyâ of the Upanishads in totality. Mahân Âtmâ is that Brahnavijnâna which opens our eyes and makes us realise that the universe and the soul are but true emanations or modifications of that glorious unchangeable Brahman. But the soarings and singings of the Upanishads are yet infinitely transcendental. Even the knowledge of Brahman is not the highest stage, and the next verse therefore teaches that Avyakta is higher than Mahat Âtman. This Avyakta then cannot be anything but Divine Grace. Without it, even knowledge of Brahman in its totality cannot assist one in gaining the final release.¹ After the universal Brahnavijnâna the soul has to remain eager for an ablution in the Divine stream of Grace and gain fresh Imperishable Divine Body etc. to approach Brahman the Bridegroom by means of Parâ Bhakti.² This Divine Grace is 'Avyakta' because it is not visible itself, it has to be inferred from the wonderful religious life of Angelic Saints who have drunk plenty of the Divine Grace. But the Divine Grace again is dependent on the Supreme Deity itself, Avyakta or Grace is higher than all the rest because it is not in the least dependent on any *ordinary* means. Avyakta is thus the "Highest of the highest". The word "cha" in the sîtra is pregnant with significance. It implies that deliverance is not merely a disembodied state (Kaivalyam) but a real acquisition and union (sâyujyam) with Purusha, the Bridegroom Lord.

But here arises a question why this Divine Grace should at all be called Avyakta. The Sûtrakara answers that it is Brahman itself, not at all different from it, and since Brahman is Avyakta or invisible, Divine Grace also is rightly called Avyakta.

But again, if the Divine Grace is Brahman and Purusha is also Brahman, how can Brahman be higher than Brahman itself?

1. Vide Katha I. 2, 22.

2. Vide Geetâ XVIII, 54 and B. S. I. 3, 2, IV. 4, 2. etc.

The Sûtrakâra answers 'Divine Grace has to depend on Purusha.' Purusha (Supreme Deity) is therefore nondifferent and yet higher than Avyakta, Divine Grace. Divine Grace is the means (sâdhanam) and the Supreme Deity is the summum bonum (Phalam). Avyakta and Purusha stand to each other as means to summum bonum.¹

The same passage is further discussed from another point of view. Sankara observes that the Sâmkhyas accept Prakriti to be an object of knowledge (jñeya), but in the passage under discussion Avyakta is not mentioned as jñeya, and Avyakta is not therefore Prakriti. Avyakta, he says, can be a body because though not itself jñeya, it is yet mentioned as useful for the purpose of throwing light on the highest place of Vishnu, in continuation of the simile of the chariot. If the Sâmkhyas were to urge an objection that later on in Katha I, 3, 15 Avyakta is treated as jñeya, owing to asahdam etc., Sankara would answer that the context still goes against them, since that passage refers to Prâjna and not to Prakriti. Again, were Prakriti meant as jñeya, Nâchiketas would question and Yama would answer, but the absence of such a question or such an answer is enough to show that Prakriti is not jñeya. Nâchiketas put only *three* questions and Yama fully answered them. None of these refers to Prakriti.

Let us consider this. If Avyaktâ is not mentioned here as jñeya and therefore Avyakta does not mean Prakriti, it may well be urged that a body or Nescience too is not here mentioned as jñeya, and that Avyakta therefore does not mean a body or Nescience. And if Sankara were to observe that the knowledge of Prakriti is desired by the Sâmkhyas, whereas the knowledge of a body or of Nescience is not desired by a Mâyâvâdin, this difference cannot at all better his position. The Sâmkhyas would

1. Avyakta is not only the Divine Grace but Divine Abode (Vide Geetâ XI, XII, XV) of the Supreme Deity. Avyakta and Purusha are both aspectes of Brahman, nothing but Brahman, and the Sâmkhya claim on the verses has thus been entirely repudiated by the Sûtrakâra.

desire the knowledge of Prakriti simply for distinguishing it from Puruṣa, such a knowledge of both being necessary for the distinction of Prakriti and Puruṣa. The knowledge of Prakriti *per se* has very little value even with the Sāṃkhyas. Saṃkara too in spite of himself will have to admit that at least for the distinction of Ātman and Avidyā, the knowledge of both is equally necessary. One cannot realise the absolute existence of Ātman unless he knows that Nescience is *sadasat*, whereas Ātman is really *sat*. The difference drawn between Prakriti and Nescience is therefore a false and untenable distinction, so far at least as their knowledge is concerned.

Again, Saṃkara should observe that the passage refers to Prājña and this Prājña is but *īśvara*, who, according to Saṃkara, is not *jñeya* but merely an object of worship (*upāśya*). If he admits that Prājña means Nirguna Brahman, the difference between Prājña and Nirguna Brahman drawn by him with so great a tenacity becomes thoroughly inconsistent.

To exclude Prakriti Saṃkara says that three questions refer to Fire, Soul and Paramātmān. But Saṃkara finds it very hard to answer the objection raised by the Sāṃkhyas whether the question regarding the Soul and Paramātmān is only one or the questions regarding them are separate. If the question is only one, there will be a contradiction in the Sūtra, for the total number of questions will then be two and not three. If the questions are distinct, the question regarding Paramātmān (*Kath.* I, 2, 14) cannot be included in any of the three boons (1) pacification (*Saumanasya*) of the father (2) *Agnividya* and (3) *Ātmavidya*. If another fourth boon be imagined, the word "*Tritīya*" (third) in the text goes against Saṃkara. And, moreover, when the question about Paramātmān is thus not included in the three boons, and when Saṃkara does not consider it a mistake to assume a question in excess of the number of the boons granted, he cannot similarly object to the Sāṃkhyas if they assume an explanation about *Pradhāna* in excess of the number of questions put. Saṃkara's answer to this objection—that the question regarding the Soul and Paramātmān is only one because they are identical, and that the

answer too is one and the same, but that the sūtra is framed for apparently teaching the duality of the Soul and Paramātman, for Śrītiś teach a real non-quality of both—is certainly far from correct. In the same Valli the characteristics of the Soul and Paramātman are mentioned as decidedly distinct (Kātha. II, 1, 4) and Sāṃkara's labour to include both the distinct questions into one are against the context. And if in spite of such a glaring distinction of the Soul and Paramātman, Sāṃkara claims inclusion of the *vital* question about Paramātman into the comparatively less important question regarding the Soul, why not extend the same privilege to the Sāṃkhyas and allow them to include Prakṛti-vidyā in any of the three?

Let us see how the Sitrakāra really meets the Sāṃkhyas. They would, hearing the foregoing observations about the interpretation of verses Nos. 10-11 (Kātha. I, 3), perhaps say that the verses under discussion were interpreted in the light of the context, but that the two verses themselves taken independently give a distinct and clear sense, the Sitrakāra answers that even taking the verses independently Avyakta cannot be Prakṛti. Prakṛti is an object of knowledge with them, but here Avyakta is not at all mentioned as 'jñeya'. What the Sāṃkhyas want is that they must know the *difference* of both Avyakta and Puruṣa, but a mere mention of Avyakta cannot result in the desired *summum bonum*. When the verses do not indicate any means to the *summum bonum*, they would become meaningless. Again, how can the Sāṃkhyas account for the word 'Para'? The passage says Puruṣa is *higher* than Avyakta, now this superiority (Paratva) of Puruṣa over Avyakta can be known only if both are standing in an un-united condition, but when both are united, how can the superiority of one be realised over the other? So long as creation goes on and the Puruṣa is in the state of indiscrimina-tion, neither of them can be imagined distinctly; the superiority of one over the other is not at all realised, and the passage becomes meaningless. And if Puruṣa be supposed to stand apart and indifferent, the very mention of 'superior' (Para) becomes absurd, for one who is indifferent can neither be compared nor called

'Para'. If the Sâmkhyas were to point out that in verse No. 11 there is a mere mention but that Avyakta is later on described as an object of knowledge in *Asabdam etc.* (*Katha*, I, 3, 15), the Sûtrakâra shows that the context decides that that verse refers to Brahman and not at all to the Sâmkhya Avyakta (Prakriti). The Sâmkhyas cannot be allowed to detach the first half of the eleventh and the whole of the fifteenth verses from the whole group. A collation of all the passages converges to show that verse No. 15 refers to Paramâtman. The whole topic is *one*. It begins from the beginning of the third Valli down to verse No. 16 of the same. The subject-matter of this topic is the Soul and Paramâtman. The whole Valli teaches the 'Rathitva' of the Soul, the means of release required by him, the summum bonum finally gained, and the nature of Paramâtman whom the soul approaches and perceives. Thus the object of knowledge is not the Sâmkhya Avyakta but clearly and decidedly Paramâtman. Again, the final part of the fifteenth verse goes against them. The Sâmkhyas do not believe that a knowledge of Prakriti results in the release from the jaws of Death. This clearly decides that the verse No. 15 refers to Paramâtman whose knowledge certainly saves one from the jaws of Death. The verse "that without sound etc." is not at all applicable to Prakriti, but by all means to Paramâtman alone. And now if the Sâmkhyas assert that there is not only one topic but two, that the first topic ended at the verse No. 9 and that the second began from the verse No. 10, that in this latter section verses Nos. 10 and 11 simply mention the Sâmkhya principles, that the verses Nos. 12 and 13 describe Purusha, that the verse No. 15 describes Prakriti and clearly states its difference from Purusha essentially necessary for its discrimination, and that the Valli is fully in their favour, the Sûtrakâra answers that such an imagination is groundless, for there would then be four sections (*Prakaranani*) instead of three, and that an unnecessary additional section is unwarranted. If in the third Valli, there would be two sections as the Sâmkhyas believe, there would be an independent fourth question to answer. There are therefore three sections only. The arrangement of the three

sections is as follows. Katha 1, 1, 12 is the question No. 1 and Katha 1, 1, 13 and the following verses form the answer to it. Katha 1, 1, 20 is the question No. 2 and the following verses form the answer to it. Katha 1, 1, 14 is the question No. 3 and the verses following it down to the end of the first Adhyâya form the answer to it. It therefore follows that if the Valli at all taught the Sâmkhya doctrine, there would be a fourth question and a fourth answer. The very absence of such a question and such an answer goes strongly against the Sâmkhyas. Again, this is the third Valli and numerically speaking, it is but proper that the answer here should all refer to the question No. 3. Further what would be the motive for such a fourth section? It can not be deliverance, for that has already been taught from the beginning of the second Valli down to 1, 3, 9. Again, if the Sâmkhyas were to say that the dis-embodied existence is higher than the acquisition of Vishnupadam, the latter half of 1, 3, 8 goes against them. The acquisition of Vishnupadam itself is an end to the three miseries. Knowledge leading to the dis-embodied state has also been discussed not as the Sâmkhyas think after 1, 3, 10 but before it. It is thus certain that the motive for such an independent fourth section is entirely groundless. Again it would be useless to reiterate that the verse No. 15 cannot at all refer to Prakriti, for its knowledge cannot according to the Sâmkhyas themselves save one from Death. Nor should the Sâmkhyas now finally urge that the three boons were over as far as the pacification (Saumânasyam) of the father and the two questions regarding the Fire and the Soul, and that the third question regarding Paramâtman is therefore an outcome of imagination, because the word "vada" of Katha 1, 2, 14 (yat tat pasyasi tad vada) makes a distinct mention of the third question. Nor is a good reason for such a question wanting. The satisfaction of Yama (as in Katha 1, 1, 16) supplies a very good reason for Nâchiketas to ask the final question of vital importance. Nor should the Sâmkhyas go to the length of urging that there was no good cause for Yama's satisfaction (Pritih). The word "dearest" (Prêshthâ) in Katha 1, 2, 9 is enough to show that Yama was entirely

satisfied with Nâchiketas. Nor should it again be urged that this third question is simply a reiteration or extension of the second one, for the subject (Vishayah) and mention (Nirdeśah) of both differ very widely. To be brief, Nâchiketas thoroughly satisfied Yama by his excellent capacity (Uttamâdhikarah), and this entire satisfaction thoroughly accounts for this third question. The Sâmkhyas thus are absolutely wrong.¹ Samkara too is therefore completely wrong in including the third question in the second, Yama's complete satisfaction at Nâchiketas being itself the good cause of his setting the third question. Nor should Samkara urge that this third question is put over and above the three boons granted, for the words 'welfare to me' (Svasti mestu Kadhā 1, 1, 9) there suggest that the three boons granted by Yama were with a clear intention of welfare (Svasti). The three boons—pacification of the father, and the two questions on the Fire and the Soul—were not enough for Svasti. To reach the highest level of Svasti, this third question and its answer are quite necessary. The very word 'tell' (Vada) in 1, 2, 14 puts an end to the objection that the third question is a mere outcome of imagination.

1. Brahmasûtra I, 4, 6 is differently interpreted by the commentators. Bhâskara and Vallabha say, unlike Samkara, that the three questions refer to (1) the Fire (2) the Soul and (3) Brahman distinctly. Neither of these two includes the question regarding Paramâtman into that about the Soul. Madhva says that the three questions are (1) pacification of the father (2) Agni and (3) Paramâtman. Nimbârka sides with Madhva, so far as the first two questions are concerned, but adds that the third refers to (Prâpya, Prâptri and Upâya) the object to be acquired, the Soul acquiring, and the means of acquisition. Râmânûja understands the object of worship, worshipper, and worship (Upâsya, Upâsaka and Upâsanâ) by these three, and Bhikṣhu takes the Adhikarana in connection with Sve. IV, 5 and Trayânâm in the sûtra as enjoyer, object of enjoyment and the instigator (Bhokta, Bhogya and Preraka). His alteration of Trayânâmeva into Trayânâmapi is not to be found in any of the published Sûtra-Bhâṣyas and is therefore to be certainly rejected.

Nor is the excess of this third question a fault, for Yama liked it. *Samkara's* labours to answer the objection of the *Sāmkhyas* to demonstrate the unity of the second question in spite of the two clearly distinct questions and in spite of the difference so cleverly drawn between the Soul and *Paramâtman* in *Kaṭha* II, 1, 4 etc. are therefore fruitless and out of place.

Before concluding this *Adhikarana*, *Samkara* adds that just as the word *Mahat* is not used by the *Vaidikas* in the technical sense of the *Sāmkhya Mahat*, the word *Avyakta* as well is not used by them in the *Sāmkhya* sense. *Samkara's* line of argument is correct, he is however wrong, if he says that *Mahat* of *Kaṭha* II, 1, 4, *Sve. III*, 8 etc. means the individual Soul, because the word means *Paramâtman*, and not *Jivâtman*. Again, he should stick to one meaning and not sometimes take it as *Buddhi* and sometimes as the Soul. The *Sāmkhyas* and at any rate their defenders *Bhikṣu* etc. will perhaps urge here that even in *Kaṭha*, II, 1, 4 etc. *Mahat* is inanimate and cannot be taken in the sense of the conscious Soul or *Paramâtman*, they will even add that the breath of *Mahat* (in *Bṛih. Up.* 2, 4, 10) is also the breath of *Purusha* environed by the limiting Internal Organ. The *Sūtrakāra* would answer these objections by saying that the word *Atmā* in *Kaṭha* 1, 3, 10 clearly shows that *Mahat* is not inanimate. The breath too primarily belongs to *Ānandmaya Paramâtman*, and the Internal Organ inherits it only from that *Paramâtman*, otherwise a carcass would begin to breathe and give out the Vedas. It is then clear that *Mahat*, *Avyakta*, and *Purusha* are not at all *Sāmkhya* principles, and the *Sāmkhyas* have no claim whatsoever over the passages mentioning them. *Mahat* etc. are nothing but aspects of the same all-embracing Brahman taught by the *Upanishads*.

We shall now take up the passage *Ajām* etc. (*Sve. IV*, 5). *Samkara* says that this verse is itself unable to decide one way or another, just as in the verse *Arvāgbilachama-a* (*Bṛih. Up.* II, 2, 4) independently does not indicate this or that cup, since there is nothing special in this verse that would particularly decide the case in favour of the *Sāmkhyas*. If the *Sāmkhyas* were to say that just as there is the supplementary passage (*Vākya-seshah*)

distinctly denoting a peculiar kind of *Chamaśa* there must be something to decide the particular sense of *Ajā* as well, *Samkara* answers that *Ajā* should mean the causal matter comprising three elementary substances (*Bhūtatrayalakṣaṇā*) and not the *Sāmkhya Prakṛiti*, since *Yadagne-rohitam* etc. (*Chhân. VI, 4, 1*) distinctly says that light water and earth (*Tejah, Âpah* and *Annam*) emanated from *Iswara* and that they were red white and black (*Rohita* etc.). Besides '*Rohita*' etc. primarily mean red etc. and *Rajas* etc. are not the primary but only the secondary meanings of these words. *Mâyâ* therefore is the legitimate meaning of *Ajā*. If the *Sāmkhyas* were to ask how light etc. are called *Ajā* when they do not possess the form of the she-goat, *Samkara* answers that *Ajā* is here neither used to show the form nor in its etymological sense. It is a mere metaphor (*Kalpanā*). Its clear sense is that the Soul fettered by Nescience is affected by *Mâyâ* but not the other who has attained knowledge. The verse does not inculcate duality of Souls, but simply distinguishes bondage from release.

Prof. Deussen observes "the most characteristic feature of the *Sāmkhya* system is the doctrine of three *gunas* which depends upon the thought that the three forces that are active in the psychical organism viz. *Sattwam* etc. (which approach the modern distinction of sensibility, irritability, and reproduction) are also present in *Prakṛiti*; and constitute its entire substance. Novel as this doctrine appears on its first introduction in the *Svetâśwara Upanishad*, it yet depends upon older premises.....That this verse (*Svetâ IV, 5*) expresses the fundamental thought of the *Sāmkhya* doctrine is not open to question. The manifold relations of the many *Purushas* to the one *Prakṛiti* cannot be more effectively illustrated than by the manifold relations of the many rams to one she-goat. Under these circumstances, the reference to the description of the she-goat as red-white-black to the three *gunas* of which *Prakṛiti* consists is inevitable." After further reviewing the whole case from the stand-point of *Samkara*, he decides "in this controversy both sides are right. The *Vedântin*, inasmuch as the verse unquestionably refers back to *Chhân. VI, 4*, and the *Sāmkhyist* in as much as the three constituent elements which

according to Chhâ. VI, 2 proceed from the One without a second, and of a mixture of which everything in the universe consists, have been psychologically transformed into the three gunas. These three likewise are the primal elements, only that each of these primal elements has become the vehicle and expression of one of the three fundamental psychical forces which rule in our inner being.....Nothing prevents us from assuming that that transformation of the three primal elements into three primal forces—or rather the conception of each of the three primal elements as vehicle of a definite primal force—has been first developed later on in direct connection with the above verse."

Goviindânanda notes that Ajâ according to Samkara means simply Mâyâ, which interpretation is based on the Context, while according to the Sûtrakâra, who explains Ajâ on the ground of the Chhândogya passage treating of the three primary Elements, Ajâ denotes the aggregate of those three Elements constituting an Avântara Prakriti.

Dr. Thibaut observes that on Samkara's explanation, the term presents no difficulties, for Mâyâ is Ajâ, i. e. unborn. On the explanation of the Sûtrakâra, however, Ajâ cannot mean 'unborn', since the three primary elements are *products*. Hence we are thrown back on the Rûdhi signification of Ajâ, according to which it means a she-goat. This clearly shows that Samkara, while interpreting Ajâ as Mâyâ, is going against the sense intended by the Sûtrakâra.

Râmânuja's interpretation of this Adhikarana deserves a careful consideration. He observes that the Chamasamantra itself is not decisive but the supplementary passage settles that the Chamasa is a particular Chamasa (the head). Neither the meaning nor the context of the Ajâ passage can decide that this Ajâ is the particular Ajâ, viz. independent Prakriti of the Sâmkhya. At best, Ajâ can be called the Creator, but can never be called *independent*. There is nothing in the Vedas to prevent us from accepting Ajâ as Brahmatanikâ Prakriti, meaning of course the subtle a-chit body of Brahman. Râmânuja quotes a number of Srutis in support and shows that Ajâ is not Bhûtatraya in Samkara's sense, but Prakriti

in the special sense of the subtle causal body of Nārāyaṇa. He, with Bhāskara, Nimbārka and Bhikṣu, reads Jyotirupakramā in stead of Jyotirupakramāt and shows that Ajā means Prakṛiti, an outcome of Brahman (Brahmakāranikā). He too like Bhikṣu calls Ajā a Divine Power. Nimbārka and Rāmānuja both give a remarkable interpretation of Kalpanā, when they take it in the sense of 'creation' (Sṛishtiḥ). Rāmānuja then commences his attack on Saṃkara. If Saṃkara understands Light, Water and Earth together to be one Ajā, the essence of which is Light etc., the plurality of Light etc. remains as it is. Nor can the argument of making each of these three tripartites (Trivṛtkaranam) obviate this difficulty. For the same reason Light etc. cannot refer to changeable Brahman. If by Ajā is meant something eternal, which is the cause of the Universe, it should be the causal state as taught by the Sṛutis. There is no utility, he continues, in taking a metaphorical sense of Ajā as a she-goat, while there is some utility in accepting such a sense of Vācham Dhenum etc. The imagination is again inconsistent, because, (1) Ajā is concerned with the whole Universe, while a she-goat with a small part of the creation, (2) Ajā is connected from time immemorial while the she-goat only adventitiously. (3) Ajā supplies fruition for all animate beings while a she-goat for a few only. (4) Ajā is the cause of all misery or happiness, while the she-goat of some misery or happiness only, and (5) Ajā is inanimate while the she-goat is animate. Thus then Ajā is not Bhūtatraya in Saṃkara's sense.

Let us now see how the Sūtrakāra would meet the Sāṃkhyas. They contend that Sve. IV, 5 supports their theory independently of any context unlike Kaṣha I, 3, 10-11. If the Sūtrakāra were to point out that the words under consideration is a verse from the Sve. Up. which begins with Brahmavidyā, (Sve. I, 1) and that the meaning of the verse should therefore tally with Brahmavidyā, they urge that just as the Sacred Text (Pranavaḥ) though by itself meaning something else, is yet utilised to support Brahmavidyā, or again just as the Riks like Imam me Varuṇa (R. V. S. 1, 25, 19) etc. though independently referring to Varuṇa, are yet utilised in invoking the Sun (Sūryopasthānam), the verse

in question independently teaches the doctrine of Prakriti and may be utilised by the Brahmvâdins for their Brahmvaidyâ, 'should they like to do so. The sense of this independent verse however cannot be twisted in the light of the other verses. 'They add further, had there been only one verse' of this nature, and the remaining verses of a different nature, there would perhaps have been little harm in twisting the sense of that one verse and making it tally with that of the others, as e. g. Katha 1. 3, 10-11. But as the case stands here, there is not merely one verse supporting their doctrine, but a number of them, e. g. Sve. I. 3. I. 9, V. 2 etc. These and similar verses bear out the Sâmkhya tenets. It is therefore legitimate to hold that the Sâmkhya theory is Vedic. The Sûtrakâra answers that as in Brih. Up. II, 2, 3, it is here impossible to imagine any independent Prakriti by Ajâ, for Sve. 1, 3 calls it the *power* of the Supreme Deity, and the power has always to *depend* on One holding it (Saktinân). The portion 'Sra' of 'Svaguṇaiḥ' in Sve. I, 3 clearly shows that the Guṇas are Brahman's. Again, the latter part of Sve. 1. 3 corroborates the view that the whole verse refers not to independent Prakriti but to a power of Brahman on whom it depends. Nor can the Sâmkhyas contend that Sve. 1, 9 is in their favour, for that can as well be applicable to Brahman's own power. It is thus clearly impossible to imagine on the evidence of Sve. IV, 5 Rajas etc. by 'red white and black' and to twist other passages in conformity with this verse. As for the mention of 'Kapila' we shall discuss it later on. If now the Sâmkhyas were to say that the sense of Brih. Up. II, 2, 3 is decided by the supplementary passage but that there being no such passage here, Sve. IV, 5 may well be taken to teach independently the doctrine of Prakriti, the Sûtrakâra answers that Ajâ means Light (Jyotiḥ) and not Prakriti. Just as a she-goat gives only a little milk, Ajâ gives only a transitory happiness. This Jyotiḥ is the same as is taught by Hamsa to Satyakâma in Chh. IV, 7, 2 (Agniḥ kulâ etc.). This Jyotiḥ is the same whose forms are Agni, Soma, Sûrya and Lightning. The latter part of Chhâ. VII, 2, 2, teaches that this Jyotiḥ is a foot of Brahman. This Jyotiḥ is so called, because it is an Amsa

of the Tejas taught in Chhâ. VI, 2, 3. The passage 'That Divine being thought "let me now enter those three beings with the Soul by means of Atman and let me then evolve names and forms, let me make each of these three tripartites. (Chhâ. VI, 3, 2-3)' ' teaches that this Ajâ is the first-born Deity. The beginning (Sve. IV, 2) and the end (Sve. IV, 6) bear out this meaning of the middle verse in question. This Jyotih is the principal creation, it is the first product, capable of evolving further creation. Again, the two Ajâs are not the fettered and the released Souls but they are the Individual and the Supreme Souls. Though all this is not clearly taught in the Sve. Up., it is yet ably propounded in Chhâ. II, 4, 1. The same process continues further on in Chhâ. II, 4, 2-4. The Sûtrakâra specially uses the word Jyotih and not the word Tejas, because he desires to connect these verses in Chhâ. VI, 4 with verses 2-3 in Chhâ. IV, 7. Brahman then enters this Jyotih with the Soul (Jivana) using its own self as the means (Atmanâ). There is no trace here of Sâmkara's doctrine of Mâyâ, the means of entering the Jyotih being Brahman itself. This Jyotih though one, is again threefold, because its origin Brahman itself being Sat, Chit, and Ânanda is already threefold and yet one.¹ Brahman does not enjoy the Jyotih, because it is an object of enjoyment for the Soul. Ajâ then is not Prakriti, but the prime creation of Brahman, as is borne out by so many Scriptural authorities. The Sâmkhyas have therefore no claim on the Vedas. And if now the Sâmkhyas were to object that it is neither the Etymological nor the Rûdhi signification, the Sûtrakâra emphatically asserts that it is a metaphor (Kalpanâ), and a metaphor resorted to *purposely*. This prime creation is called Ajâ by metaphor. There is some beauty in this answer of the Sûtrakâra. The Sâmkhyas themselves accept the Gauṇi Vṛitti, when they have to explain passages 'Âdityo Vai Devanadhu' etc. because the Sun being the presiding Deity of the eye, can be 'Madhu' neither by Etymology nor by Rûdhi (Cf. Panchasikha). To avoid going against the Srutis, the Sâmkhyas themselves under these circumstances resort to this metaphorical sense. The shrewd Sûtrakâra who knew

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Another topic is now put forth for discussion. Sankara says that the assertion of the Sâmkhyas that there is Scriptural authority for Prakriti in 'Yasinin Pancha Panchajanâh' etc. cannot be made on the mention of the *number* of the Sâmkhya categories, because (1) there is a diversity of the categories and because (2) there is an excess over the number of these categories. He observes that Panchajanâh is a conventional Compound and that it is a Proper Name, and finally explains Pancha Panchajanâh as five Panchajanâh like seven Saptarshayah. This mantra (Brih. IV, 4, 17) is followed by another "They who know the breath of breath" (Pranasya Prâna etc. Brih. IV, 4, 18). and Sankara concludes on the ground of proximity that the five Panchajanâh are the beings mentioned in this latter verse. If the Sâmkhyas were to ask how the word 'Janâh' can be used for the breath etc., he would point out that while interpreting the word Janâh, the Sâmkhyas themselves disregard the usual sense of the word. He would also add that the complementary passage (Brih. IV, 4, 18) is in his own favour. The breath etc. may be signified by 'Janâh', because they are connected with it. Moreover the term Purusha (which means much the same as Janâh) is found to be applied to the Prânas in the passage 'These are the five Purushas of Brahman' (Chhâ. III, 13, 6). Again, (Chhâ. VIII, 15, 1) teaches that the breath is the father etc. On the strength of composition (प्रयोग) there is then no objection to the Compound being taken in the settled conventional sense. Again some commentators take the five Panchajanâh to mean gods etc., others take

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it as five castes. Again R. V. S. VIII. 53, 7 teaches that Panchajanāḥ means created beings in general. The Sūtrakāra however with a view to show that the passage does not refer to the Sāṃkhya categories, declares, on the ground of the complementary passage, that Pancha Panchajanāḥ are breath etc.

Samkara's view is certainly objectionable. The word Puruṣa in Chhā. III, 13. 6 is already used to express Prāṇa, Apāṇa, etc. and therefore that word cannot by Rūdhi mean breath, eye, etc. mentioned in the complementary passage (Bṛih. IV. 4, 18). Again, the whole word Panchajanāḥ may as well be taken by Rūdhi to mean Prāṇa, Apāṇa, etc. and then the word Panchajanāḥ cannot by Rūdhi mean breath, eye, etc. taught in the complementary passage. There is thus nothing to show that breath, eye, etc. of the complementary passage is the Rūdhi sense of Panchajanāḥ. Further, if Samkara were to observe that the five Panchajanāḥ may mean Prāṇa, Apāṇa only, he is wrong, because then the word Prāṇāḥ would have been enough, 'Ādayaḥ' would in that case be redundant, and the Sūtrakāra would not go to the length of Prāṇādayaḥ. Again, there will in that case be a contradiction in his own statement that five Panchajanāḥ are on the ground of proximity the beings mentioned in the complementary passage (वाक्यशेषेणैवैवमत्रिधानात् पञ्चजनानि विवक्ष्यन्ते). Further, the celebrated Law समुदायशब्दादर्थव्यवस्थार्थस्याभावः meaning that in a compound-word the individual members are meaningless goes against him. 'Janāḥ' in 'Panchajanāḥ' is redundant, and it is impossible to arrive at the required sense by means of the redundant 'Janāḥ' in 'Panchajanāḥ'. Again, Samkara observes that the five Pancha Janāḥ etc. may be taken as gods etc. or five castes etc. (कैचित्तु देवाःपितरः xxx आचार्यस्तु पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वानांमिह प्रतीतिरस्तीत्येवंपरमया प्राणादयो वाक्यशेषादिति जगद्). But this refinement from him is not at all required here. If Pancha Janāḥ are gods etc. or castes etc., the number five becomes certainly redundant. Brahman's Glory in its being the support of everything is in that case set aside by Samkara. To understand its Glory it is necessary that Panchajanāḥ must mean the breath, the eye, etc. taught in the complementary passage and nothing else. Moreover, if the complementary passage is not admitted as prominent, Panchajanāḥ may simultaneously express any number of five things each, and

there being nothing decisive (निर्णायक) in the shape of the complementary passage, the sense of the passage itself will ever remain undecided. Further, when the complementary passage ceases to be finally decisive (निर्णायक), the discussion itself so cleverly opened by the Sūtrakāra comes to an end. Other commentators make their stand on the complementary passage and by Rūdhī interpret Panchajanāh as Prāna, the eye, etc. Such a Rūdhī however is neither wellknown nor conveys the sense rapidly (प्रसन्नर). It is therefore best to take 'Janāh' *Etymologically* and understand by Panchajanāh the breath, the eye, etc. mentioned in the *complementary* passage. It is interesting to watch how the Sāmkhyas would here support their case and how the Sūtrakāra would meet them even Grammatically. Neither the Genitive nor the Locative Tatpurusha can assist them, for पञ्चानां पञ्च or पञ्चसु पञ्च would give no good sense. If they interpret पञ्च पञ्च as a Repetition, पञ्च पञ्च would be ten and not twenty-five. If they run to the Diksanjñāsamāsa and call Pancha Panchajanāh to be a Diksanjñā Compound, one never finds in Vedic or Sanskrit literature Panchapanchajanāh as he finds Saptarshayah actually used. Rūdhī then cannot assist them and they would have to take the etymological sense of Janāh, and explain पञ्चानां जनानां समाहारः=पञ्चजनाः and then again पञ्चानां पञ्चजनानां समाहारः=पञ्चपञ्चजनाः, resorting twice to the Collective Dvandwa Compound, but here too the Gender and Number of पञ्चपञ्चजनाः are wrong, because Collective Dvandwa Compounds are always Neuter Singular. They may now take पञ्चगुणिताः पञ्च=पञ्चपञ्चपञ्च resorting to the Madhyamapadalopi Compound and then explain पञ्च च ते च पञ्चजनाः=पञ्चपञ्चजनाः as a Karmadhāraya Compound and some how persist in maintaining पञ्चपञ्चजनाः to mean their twenty-five Elements. But the Sūtrakāra would at once now point out that the Sāmkhyas do not actually group their twenty-five categories in five groups of five each. They on the other hand group them in *four* groups of one, seven, sixteen, and one. It is quite possible to arrange their twenty-five Tattwas in five groups of five each as under :—

Gross Elements	Subtle Elements	Organs	Senses	The Inner Ones	TOTAL
5	5	5	5	5	25

but they do not classify them in that way. Even if they correct their mistake and arrange them according to the above scheme in five groups of five each, still their names and characteristics widely differ. To the Vaidikas, organs are not known as *Ākūtayah*, senses are not known as *Chittis* and *Prakriti* etc. are never known as *Antassthas* (Inner Ones). Not only Bhikshu's names and characteristics are wrong, but even Vāchaspati's. The terms *Prakriti*, *Prakritivikriti*, *Vikriti* and *Neither-Prakriti-nor-Vikriti* and their interpretations are absolutely unknown to the Vaidikas. Again, their *Purusha* cannot be called *Jana* *etymologically*. Nor can *Purusha* be called *Jana* by *Rūdhi*, 1stly because there is no controller (नियामक) of that *Rūdhi* and 2ndly because *Jana* in that case will have to signify two different sets of meanings by two different modes e. g. *Purusha* by *Rūdhi* and the categories by *Etymology*, and this is again absurd. The excess of *Ether* and *Ātman* moreover cannot be accounted for by the *Sāmkhyas*. The *Sāmkhyas* would now perhaps say that पञ्चपञ्चजनाः can be interpreted as in *Astrology*. Just as त्रिणवन् in त्रिणवरात्रम् is explained as त्रयो नव यत्र=त्रिणवन्, पञ्चपञ्चजनाः may be explained as पञ्च पञ्च यत्र=पञ्चपञ्चन्, and the Compound be taken as a *Subluk Bahuvrihi*. As for *Ether* and *Ātman*, they do not add to the existing number, because they are only for a special emphasis mentioned again as being principal of the twenty-five *Tattwas*. *Ether*, which is recognised as the support of everything, is itself supported by *Purusha* and thus is the par excellence of *Purusha* demonstrated. The *Sūtrakāra* now answers that these *Panchajanāḥ* are not the *Sāmkhya Tattwas* but the *Ether* etc. of the complementary passage. It would have been necessary to follow the *Sāmkhya* interpretation of the verse in question, had there been no Vedic interpretation supplied already. As the complementary passage however supplies a very clear sense there is not the slightest necessity of the round-about interpretation of the *Sāmkhyas*. *Panchajanāḥ* is certainly to be interpreted

etymologically, as बुद्धेः पञ्च वृत्तिर्जनयन्तीति पञ्चजनाः. The Supreme Deity is the support of all and therefore also of the five¹ functions of Buddhi. These five functions are working not of themselves but under the direct control of Brahman. The individual Soul is certainly too feeble to set the whole machinery of the universe in motion.

If the Sāmkhyas were to object to the following passage (Brih. IV, 4, 18) being complementary, they should observe that Prāna etc. are mentioned as Karanas and they depend on the effect which is mentioned in Brih. IV, 4, 17, while the effect mentioned in Brih. IV, 4, 17 depends on the Karanas mentioned in Brih. IV, 4, 18. This mutual dependence of the passages conclusively shows that the latter is a complement. The dependence is fully verified when they are taken together as teaching that Brahman is the prime mover of every thing. On the other hand if they are not read together, each would give an incomplete sense. The word Prāna in Brih. IV, 4, 18 means the principal Prāna and includes therefore the skin which is its modification, the nose which is its accompaniment, and ordinary breath-like Apāna etc., which are its forms. The tongue is included in food, and food (Annam) is therefore mentioned there. The Kāṇva recension reads Jyotis in stead of this very Annam. Speech (Vāk) also is included in Jyotis. Akāsa is not included in Panchajānāh and therefore it is mentioned separately. It is therefore clear that the passage under consideration converges to the Glory of Brahman and the Sāmkhya claim on it has been proved to be totally groundless.

Sāmkara now begins to refute the Sāmkhyas who urge that the Scriptural passages are conflicting with regard to the *order* of the Creation. They enumerate its successive steps in different orders and speak of the different creations as Ether etc., Fire etc., Breath etc., etc., while somewhere *spontaneous* development has been taught. It is therefore better to accept some *other* cause of the universe on the authority of Smṛiti and reasoning.

Sāmkara tries to answer these discrepancies under the shelter of his doctrine of superimposition. He answers that the passages may be conflicting with regard to the things created, but they

१. संशयोऽथ विपर्ययो निश्चयः स्मृतिरेव न । स्वाप इत्युच्यते बुद्धेरक्षणं वृत्तिः पृथक् ॥

do not conflict with regard to the cause. It would be too much to infer from the differences as regards created things the difference of the cause, though the Sūtrakāra later on reconciles even such differences (B. S. II, 3, 1 to 7). Again, the creation of the world and similar topics are not what the Scriptures mean to teach for the acquisition of the summum bonum, which does not at all depend on these matters. Samkara finally quotes from Gaudapāda¹ that if the creation is instructed by means of similes of clay, iron, sparks etc. that is only a means to teach that there is no difference in reality.

As for the assertion regarding Tait. II, 7, the context of the passages treating of Brahman is sufficient to show that Nonbeing does not mean absolute non-existence. The Vedas are extolling the Glory of the Supreme Deity and not of Prakṛiti Māyā or Nescience. Thus the Glory of Brahman is principal, because it is the way to the knowledge of Brahman. The doctrine of superimposition cannot be accepted, since it puts an end to Brahman's Glory. Nor can such a doctrine assist one in knowing Brahman. On the other hand such a doctrine indirectly teaches Scepticism. The doctrine of Māyā results only in destroying any faith in Scripture teaching the real Glory of Brahman. Samkara can be free from all this reproach if he were to accept pure Brahman to be the cause of the Universe, but his own doctrine teaches quite the reverse. Sve. VI, 8 etc. do not at all teach that Brahman is inactive, but on the other hand they reject the similarity of Brahman to ordinary workers and emphasise that Brahman unlike ordinary workers, is by itself able to emanate the whole universe out of itself without extra assistance, Scripture therefore teaches its innate knowledge, power and work (स्वाभाविकी ज्ञानबलक्रिया च). Thus the activity of Brahman is not merely phenomenal but *natural* (स्वाभाविकी). The 'Cha' in the B. S. I, 4, 14 implies that it is not only *the cause* but the *extraordinary* cause. The Variety too adds to the Glory of Brahman. To emanate not in one way only but in numerous ways is its highest Glory. We admire one who does something in a variety of ways.

1. मूलेहविस्फुलिगाद्यैः सृष्टिर्वा चोदितान्यथा । उपायः सवेताराय नास्ति भेदः, कथञ्चन ।

The Vedas teach the कर्तृत्व of Brahman in ¹six ways. Samkara understands by the term Samākarsha the connection with the preceding sections. The word 'Samākarsha' however means drawing out a decisive sense, आकृष्यते स्वस्थानाच्छ्रयाव्यत इत्याकर्षः समीचीनो निश्चायनार्थ आकर्षः समाकर्षः ॥ Thus Nonbeing should not mean lifeless void, but Brahman by this 'Samākarsha.' All² words primarily mean Brahman and Nonbeing too therefore means Brahman. From a certain aspect Brahman may be called ³Nonbeing, because everything is possible in Omnipotent Brahman. It is but so Glorious. It lends Itself to any aspect of Its own accord. Nothing can reach Brahman, yet It can reach anything. - Chhâ. VI, 2, 1 clearly teaches that the Cosmos is a *form* of Brahman. तद्वत्क आहुः etc. teaches that Brahman is quite unlike the Universe. Words like Tamas etc. mean that the Universe was once undeveloped. Even Karman is an aspect of Brahman and hence it is that Pûrva Mimânsâ teaches creation out of Karman. Sometimes therefore the creation is like and sometimes even unlike Brahman. None but Brahman, Glorious Brahman, is able to design like and unlike creation. When all the ⁴Scriptural passages can thus be satisfactorily explained to mean the Glory of Brahman, it is but an absurd presumption of Samkara to refute the very activity

1. एवं कदाचिद्भगवान् साक्षात् सर्वं करोत्यजः ।
कदाचित् सर्वमात्मैव भवताह जनार्दनः ॥
2. सर्वे वेदा यत्पदमानन्ति । सर्वत्र प्रसिद्धोपदेशात् etc.
3. Vide R. V. S. X, 129, 5-6, Tait. II, 4, 1 etc.

4. महेन्द्रजालवत्* सर्वं कदाचिन्मायया सृजत् ।
तदा ज्ञानादयः सर्वे वार्तामात्रं न वस्तुतः ॥
वियदादि जगत् सृष्ट्वा तदाविद्य द्विरूपतः ।
जीवान्तर्यामिभेदेन क्रीडति स्म हरिः क्वचित् ॥
अचिन्त्यानन्तशक्तेस्तद्यदेतदुपपद्यते ।

अत एव श्रुता भेदाः सृष्टेरुक्ता ह्यनेकधा ॥

यथाकथञ्चिन्माहात्म्यं तस्य सर्वत्र वर्ण्यते ।

भजनस्यैव सिद्धयर्थं तत्त्वमस्यादिकं तथा ॥

माहात्म्यज्ञानपूर्वस्तु सुदृढः सर्वतोधिकः ।

स्नेहो भक्तिरिति प्रोक्तस्तथा मुक्तिर्न चान्यथा ॥

*Not as in Samkara's Mâyāvâda, for Mâyâ really means ब्रह्मणः सर्वगजनसामर्थ्यम्

of Brahman, observing that energy appears through Nescience only. Samkara is only timidly shirking to face the momentous problem of the origin of the Universe by thus bringing in his unwarranted Mâyâ.

Samkara now supposes that he has disproved the claim of the Sâmkhyas on the Vedas. He therefore now represents them as urging that the Vedas should be interpreted in the light of the Sâmkhya Smṛiti. Other Smṛitis teaching religious rites etc may be useful in other ways but the Sâmkhya Smṛiti teaches deliverance alone, and if it is not admitted even as a Moksha Sâstra, it will go quite useless. Again, Kapila the author of the Sâmkhya Smṛiti enjoys Vedic reputation.

Samkara answers that such Smṛitis alone as are in harmony with the Vedic teachings can be accepted. Manu, enjoying Vedic reputation, preaches the causality of Īśvara. Even if Kapila was a Siddha, siddhi itself depends on religious performance enjoined by the Vedas. Transcendental matters should be left to the Vedas for final decision. The Smṛitis are self-evident, while Kapila Smṛiti is not so. Again, Kapila enjoying Vedic reputation is not the author of the Sâmkhya Smṛiti. Further, Mahat etc. taught in Kapila Smṛiti are never observed in the Universe.

Let us now examine these arguments advanced by Samkara. He slightly distorts the case. The Sâmkhyas would not stoop to beg Samkara's favour for the recognition of the Sâmkhya Smṛiti. They would on the other hand urge against Samkara that there are passages in the Vedas which unmistakeably teach the Sâmkhya tenets, that Kapila Smṛiti is based on such clear Vedic texts, and that the doubtful passages in the Vedas themselves should therefore be interpreted in the light of the Sâmkhya Smṛiti. They would even say that Manu is clearly teaching in असीदिदं तमोभूतं etc. the doctrine of Prakṛiti and that the whole Manusmṛiti, if at all it was to be recognised as an authority, should be construed on the line of the Sâmkhya tenets. They would even add that it is only begging the question to say that Manu teaches the Mâyāvâda. Even the passage cited by Samkara (Manu, XII, 91) teaches something else than the doctrine of Mâyâ. Coming to the question of the

mention of Kapila, they would actually demand from Samkara reasons to show that Kapila who enjoyed Vedic reputation was entirely different from the Author of the Sāṃkhya Smṛiti.

We may now watch how the Sūtrakāra would meet the Sāṃkhyas. He has really disproved their claim on the Vedas, and it is natural that he may therefore represent them as making their stand on the Sāṃkhya Smṛiti, and as begging his favour to recognise the claims of that Smṛiti at least. Smṛityanavakāśadoshaprasaṅgāt becomes a legitimate request to the victorious Sūtrakāra, but such a request from the Sāṃkhyas to Samkara, as he represents the case, is *absurd*. They would on the other hand challenge Samkara to prove his own claim on the Vedas in the first place. Similarly, Anyasmṛityanavakāśadoshaprasaṅgāt is quite natural and legitimate in the mouth of the Sūtrakāra, but not at all of Samkara, his doctrine of Māyā being quite the reverse of the teachings of the Māṇusmṛiti¹, the Bhagavadgītā, and similar works. Other Smṛitis sanctioned by the Sūtrakāra on the other hand teach the doctrine of Brāhman and not of Māyā. It may here be added that the passages cited by Samkara himself in his B. S. S. B. II, 1, 1; obviously teach the doctrine of Brahman and not at all of Māyā.

We may now come to a more important question about the mention of Kapila. Let us see what answer the Sūtrakāra would give to the Sāṃkhyas. Sve. V, 2. has troubled almost all the commentators. In the Bhāṣya on B. S. II, 1, 1. Madhva and Vallabha² are practically silent on the point. Samkara asserts that the Vedic Kapila is different from the Author of the Sāṃkhya Smṛiti. Nimbārka himself is silent, but his commentator, Kaustubhakāra, observes that Kapila in the Vedas is Hiranyagarbha, remarks that Kapila, the Author of a heterodox Smṛiti of the same order as Kanāda etc, is quite different from Divine Vāsudeva Kapila, and adds a few verses from the Padma Purāṇa in support. The

1. Cf Manu. XII, -91, B. G. X, 8, etc.

2. Vallabha's purely Vedic remarks on this question in I, 4, 8. may not be very valuable from the standpoint of 'Historical Method.'

Vedānta Kaustubha Prabhākāra adds to these a verse from the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. Bhāskara manages to translate 'Kapila' by 'tawny like gold' or 'kanakakapisa' and refers it to Hiranyagarbha on the evidence of a Sruti and a Paurāṇic passage¹. Rāmānuja recognises Kapila to be an āpta but not āptatama. His commentator observes that Kapila may be called a great sage, because he may be a seer of Mantras or because he may be perceiving things beyond the senses, but that does not mean that whatever he perceived was *always absolutely correct*. Rāmānuja however does not, at any rate, appear to believe that Kapila enjoying Vedic reputation was distinct from the Smṛitikāra. This collection of opinions of the various schools of the Vedānta Philosophy shows that there is an amount of diversity among the Vedāntins themselves for the solution of that question. It is clear again from these that Samkara's statement about another Kapila cannot be supported from any ancient Smṛiti or Purāṇa. To admit two Kapilas on the questionable evidence of the Padma and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas is to give too much weight to Purāṇa literature. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1, 3, 16. on the other hand says nothing about two Kapilas but suggests that the Sāṃkhya Philosophy is a very old Philosophy, but that it had been neglected, in course of time and that Kapila taught it to Āsuri and saved it from further destruction. From the standpoint of the Sūtrakāra, it may fairly be said that he would not construe the Sruti in question as Samkara does, but he would, on the other hand, emphatically assert like Rāmānuja that Kapila is an āpta in *some* places only and hence of a lower rank than Manu. He cannot be called āptatama. It need not be added that the sectarian character of the Svetāśvatara Upanishad suggests that it is not one of the older Upanishads,² and there should consequently be a limit to its importance, although it must be admitted that that Upanishad is prior to BrahmaSūtras.

Samkara's last argument was that Mahat etc. taught by the Sāṃkhys, are not to be observed in the Universe. The following³ Srutis will show that Samkara is wrong. Smṛitis

1. दिव्यगर्भे जन्मयामास पूर्वमादित्यसंघः कपिलोमजोऽग्निः etc.

2. Cf. Max Muller, Telang Jacob etc.

3. तत्त्वानि भूतादीः विलीयन्ते, भूतादिर्महति लीयते, महानग्नौ लीयते, अग्नौ लीयते, अग्नौ तमसि विदीयते ॥ बुद्धिरात्मनो गेह्यम्, etc.

like 'Yat tat karanamavyaktam,' 'Trividhoyamahankārah' show the *fulsity* of Sankara's statement. If Sankara were to say here that Mahat etc. may have been taught in the Vedas but that that Mahat is nothing but Brahmātmaka Mahat, and therefore the Sāṃkhya A-Brahmātmaka Mahat etc. cannot be said to be taught there, he may in that case be answered that even 'A-Brahmātmikā sadasati Prakriti or Māyā too is nowhere taught in the Vedas. Sankara's statement that 'Pradhānāt Itareshām Loke Vede Cha Anupalabdheh' is therefore objectionable.

We saw in the foregoing pages that (1) the Sāṃkhyas brought forth a number of Scriptural passages (2) that Sankara's interpretations of these passages were in no way less objectionable than those from his adversaries, and (3) that finally the interpretations of the Theist Sūtrakāra and a few of his faithful followers were decidedly better than Sankara's or his opponents'.

Let us now see whether Sankara has been able to refute the Sāṃkhyas even on purely speculative grounds.

He represents the Sāṃkhyas arguing as follows.—

Jars, dishes etc. consist of clay and therefore their material cause is clay in general, similarly effects consist of pleasure, pain and dulness in general. These pleasure, pain, and dulness constitute Prakriti. This *inanimate* and *independent* Prakriti evolves itself like clay into multiform modifications for the sake of Purusha. The existence of Pradhāna is to be inferred from (1) homogeneity (2) evolution due to energy, (3) finiteness, and (4) separation and reunion of cause and effect¹.

Sankara then begins refuting the Sāṃkhyas with the well-known argument of *design*. Nothing that is unconscious is ever found to independently design effects for the use of an intelligent being. The Universe so artistically devised cannot be the outcome of Prakriti. Clay etc. are worked upon by potters. Homogeneity etc., he adds, are not proved. External and internal effects are

1. Vide Sāṃkhya Karika No. 15 and Sāṃkhya Pravachana Sūtras I. 129 etc.

not endowed with happiness etc. Happiness is inward, but their causes are not so. The argument of 'limitation' too is not proved, because if everything depending on a conjunction of several things is limited, the three constituents of Prakṛiti will also be finite. Further, causality is not proved, for that is possible only if some intelligent Principle presides. Sāṃkara then attempts to show that activity cannot be explained in inanimate Prakṛiti, and after an unnecessary long inquiry, he opines that activity results from an intelligent Principle.

The Sāṃkhyas use the celebrated argument of *design* to show the existence of Prakṛiti for the sake of the Souls. Sūtrakāra, on the other hand, argues that *design* proves the *Designer*. This argument goes against Sāṃkara too, for Sāṃkara's own Nirguṇa Brahman is exactly like the Sāṃkhya Puruṣa. If he accepts a real Designer, he will have to give up his own doctrine of Brahman being *without any attribute whatsoever*. If however design is *unreal*, he fails to get any ascendancy over the Sāṃkhyas. The Sūtrakāra undoubtedly gave this argument, to support the *real* glory of Brahman. Sāṃkara ought to have shown that unconscious emanation and design are two *distinct* things. The very fact that the Universe is a design shows that it is *not an unconscious emanation*. Nay, design and unconscious emanation are even *contrary* to each other. The Sāṃkhyas therefore ought to have thus been compelled to give up *either the idea of design or of unconscious emanation*. In the argument of *activity*, Sāṃkara ought to have rather shown that activity and its cessation cannot be demonstrated to an adversary by illustrations of a cow¹ and a dancing girl, for they are both *looked upon as animate* in ordinary Vyavahāra. Further, Sāṃkara ought to have well refrained from making unnecessary statements beginning from 'Pravṛtṭih Kasya Dharmah' etc. down to the end of B. S. S. B. II. 2, 2, since the body is *looked upon in ordinary life as animate*, and that illustration was quite sufficient to serve his purpose. Sāṃkara's habit of entering into unnecessary details has many a time spoiled his own case. The doctrine of an intelligent creator *does* gain a clear advantage against

1. Vide Sāṃkhya Kārikā No. 59.

the Sāṃkhyas, but as soon as Sāṃkara brings in his Nirguna Brahman, Brahman without attributes and Brahman without real activity, and takes the analogy of a magnet moving iron to show that a thing though *itself* devoid of motion may nevertheless *cause* motion, the argument turns against himself. The Sāṃkhyas may take their stand on the same analogy and say that for the activity in inanimate Prakṛiti mere vicinity of the Puruṣa which is admitted by them is quite enough, and that no motive power in the Puruṣa is therefore necessary. Rāmanuja here observes that both the arguments are not really distinct and that they had better been included in one Sūtra.

Sāṃkara then represents the Sāṃkhyas as illustrating from milk¹ and water their theory that Prakṛiti may by its very nature evolve itself for the sake of Puruṣa. He then proceeds to rebut the Sāṃkhyas. These illustrations are not admissible, because they do not conclusively bear out their theory. Scripture² teaches that the Deity presides over water. Every one observes that in the case of milk activity is due to the *animate* cow. Even water requires a low level. Here is no contradiction of statements with those in B. S. S. II, 1, 24, for there is stated ordinary human experience only.

Sāṃkara has not *at all* understood the Sūtra. It was shown in the last two Sūtras that design and activity are both impossible in dull Prakṛiti. It is therefore natural that the Sāṃkhyas would maintain their design and activity by illustrations of milk and water respectively. They would point out that design is possible in inanimate Prakṛiti as various designs of foam in inanimate milk. Independent activity is similarly possible in inanimate Prakṛiti as in inanimate water of rivers etc., and hence the third Sūtra begins with 'Pañcambuvat.' If mere activity was to be maintained, the Sāṃkhyas would have quoted S. P. S. III, 39, but they wanted to maintain activity and design *both*, and therefore selected milk and water as their illustrations. Again, if the motive of Prakṛiti

1. Vide Sāṃkhya Kārikā No. 57.

2. Brih. III 7, 4 and III 8, 9 etc.

was to be refuted here, the Sūtrakāra ought to have said 'Annāmbuvat.' The argument in this Sūtra therefore is quite different from what Samkara uses. Samkara refutes activity and motive whereas the Sūtrakāra simply supports his last two Sūtras, refuting the illustrations again brought forth by the Sāmkhyas. Samkara should not in the least be afraid that since their argument in S. P. S. III. 59 is not refuted, they will again take their stand on it and urge another objection, for they cannot use that illustration after they learn that the flow of milk is due to an *animate* cause. Again, the argument of a "low level" was not at all wanted. Samkara gains nothing out of it, since he wants to show that the flow of water is due to an intelligent cause. Samkara had better avoided his confusion of ordinary experience (Lokadrishiti) and Scriptural experience (Sāstradrishiti). He ought to have only said that in B. S. I, 4, 24 was meant nothing further than the simple negation of any sort of help from visible means.

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Samkara now urges that, no external thing can impel or restrain the activity of Prakṛiti. Prakṛiti stands related to none and occasional motion (Kādāचित्ki Pravṛitti) is not possible in inanimate Prakṛiti. The instrumentality of an intelligent being is thus a necessary inference and without it the evolution of the Universe is an impossibility.

So far Samkara is indeed correct. But when he observes that the activity and nonactivity of Īśvara are not contrary to Śruti on account of his omnipotence and omniscience, and his (Īśvara's) being connected with the power of illusion, he spoils the whole case. His Īśvara being a victim of Māyā is no better than a hen-pecked husband. The Sāmkhyas may amply attack him on this exceedingly weak point of Māyā. If the system of Samkara be introduced, no superiority over the adversaries can be claimed and the advantage gained on account of the theory of an intelligent designer would cease to be a *real* advantage. The Sūtrakāra would only say that Brahman is really all-powerful and has full control over all powers subordinate to and dependent on it.

Samkara then represents the Sāmkhyas as urging that "grass

etc. emanate by their very nature without any external operative instrumentality, and answers that natural emanation (Svābhāvika Parināma) is objectionable. There is an instrumentality actually existing, because milk does not exist elsewhere than in the female animal.

Samkara is here right. His interpretation would have however been a little more humorous and forcible had he translated Anyatrābhāvāt as 'Sringādaṁ' and observed that if milk is a natural emanation from grass etc, it can even be had in horns etc. The 'Cha' in the Sūtra suggests that even in the emanation from grass etc. the *animate* cow etc. are at work.

Samkara now proceeds to refute the argument of purpose in Prakṛiti. When no extra operative instrumentality is needed, why accept 'purpose'? Prakṛiti is nonintelligent and certainly there cannot be any *motive*¹ in its development. It cannot work for the enjoyment of Puruṣa, because (1) in him no quality of pleasure or pain can be added, and (2) there will be no occasion for emancipation (anirmokṣhaprasaṅgaḥ) in that case. If the operation of Prakṛiti has for its aim the emancipation of Puruṣa, the operation is out of place, because (1) before it is even commenced he is already free and (2) there will again be no enjoyment (Bhogābhāvah) in that case. Desire cannot be the purpose of development, because neither Prakṛiti nor Puruṣa can have desire. The operation cannot be explained on the ground that the perception (Dṛikṣakti) of Puruṣa and the power of creation (Sargaśakti) in Prakṛiti would otherwise go for nothing. Puruṣa cannot be said to move Prakṛiti as a lame man moves a blind man² or as a magnet moves iron. A lame man directs a blind man by word etc, but the Soul, to which belong neither qualities nor activity, cannot manifest a moving power in any way. Nor can Puruṣa be said to move Prakṛiti by its vicinity, because vicinity always remaining unaltered in the case of Puruṣa, operation would always be the consequence. Again in the case

1. Madhwa takes this Adhikāraṇa as a refutation of the Chārvākas.

2. Vide Sāmkhya Kārikās 20-21.

of a magnet, vicinity is a function (Vyāpāra) of the magnet and is not permanent. There is also a necessity of placing it in a straight line. In this Sūtra is considered Prakṛiti as *dependent* on Puruṣa while independent Prakṛiti was considered in the preceding Sūtra, and in both there is a want of motive. Saṃkara then proceeds to show that Prakṛiti cannot be active, since the relation of principal and subordinate is impossible in the three Guṇas. The Guṇas themselves may perhaps lose their own characteristics. There is again no external principle to stir up Prakṛiti. The Sāṃkhyas are now represented as saying that the Guṇas are capable of being unsteady. Prakṛiti is however not intelligent and the Sāṃkhyas cannot free themselves from the aforementioned faults. If intelligence is accepted in Prakṛiti, the Sāṃkhyas will have to give up their own theory and endorse Māyāvāda. Again without extra agency, the Guṇas cannot evolve, or else emanation will continue for ever.

Now the case put by the Sāṃkhyas is similar and it is remarkable that Saṃkara has availed himself of this analogy. The Sūtrakāra simply says that the analogy is not appropriate and does not allow his opponents to make use of it. Though Saṃkara uses it to support his position—that a thing may itself be without motion and it may nevertheless cause motion—he does not however allow his opponents to have a recourse to it. The argument of motive also goes against Saṃkara. How is 'jada' set in motion? Saṃkara answers that Pāramātmā causes it to move. For what purpose does He do so? When the Supreme Soul is Aptakāma and has no desire, with what object does he evolve this world? Saṃkara's answer is 'Because, He is associated with the power of illusion' According to him, Māyā-environed Īśvara manifests this world of phenomena. Nescience *naturally* tends towards creation, and is in need of *no* purpose. The Sāṃkhyas might as well say the same thing, putting Prakṛiti for Nescience or Māyā. Saṃkara is thus not free from the charges brought against the Sāṃkhyas, and his answer does not therefore seem to be the answer intended by the Sūtrakāra, when the Sāṃkhyas have wellnigh said the same thing. The Sūtrakāra would

rather say 'Lokavat tu Lilākaivalyam.' This is a commonsense Vaidika reply and is not at all open to the objection brought against the Sāṃkhyas, viz. the absence of a satisfactory motive in the cause. Sāṃkara is decidedly weak here. He observes that Māyā is possessed of Guṇas (Guṇamayi) and yet maintains against the Sāṃkhyas that the relation of subordinate and principal-Angāṅgibhāva-is not possible in Guṇas. Sāṃkara's indifferent Īwara cannot be active, since the Guṇas possessed by Māyā having no relation of subordinate and principal will always remain in equilibrium. If Māyā be called Sattwapradhānā, it may be urged against Sāṃkara that Māyā at best would give rise to knowledge but never to activity, because activity is not a property of Sattwa, and in spite of Māyā possessing the three Guṇas, activity becomes yet impossible for the simple reason that Angāṅgibhāva is not admitted.

Rāmānuja here observes that Brahman consisting of mere thought without any attribute whatsoever cannot be the motive power in Māyāvāda too, and Sāṃkara's statement that 'nonactivity is due to Brahman's own very nature and at the same time motive power is due to Māyā etc.' (स्वप्रकृत्यप्राप्तमोक्षोद्यं मायाप्रकृत्यप्राप्तं प्रवर्तकत्वम्) is absurd. If in spite of Brahman's inherent inactivity Māyā is able enough to be thoroughly and independently active, Prakṛiti can as well be active similarly. If Māyā has to depend on Īwara, there is the fallacy of mutual dependence (Anyonyāraya), because the activity of Māyā is the cause of superimposition on Īwara and the superimposition on Brahman is the cause of activity in Māyā. Again if Māyā can be a creator, Prakṛiti can as well be so, for the superimposition of its properties on Puruṣa is equally beginningless. Again, just as the continuity of creation was shown by him against the Sāṃkhyas because of proximity of Prakṛiti and Puruṣa, the same proximity of Īwara and Nescience being present in Māyāvāda, Sāṃkara's doctrine is equally open to the same fault (Nityasargāpattiḥ). Again, if he were anxious to rebut that fault by arguing that the Will of the enviroined Īwara will control everything, Sāṃkara cannot succeed even there, for just as the Will of the Individual Soul cannot control Karman, that of Īwara cannot control Māyā. It is

therefore clear that the advantage claimed against the Sāmkhyas on account of the theory of an intelligent creator, is not a *real* advantage if Sāmkara's view is at all adopted.

Samkara finally takes up the last Sūtra¹ and points out contradictions in the Sāmkhya tenets, as if his doctrine is entirely free from them. This Sūtra is excellently interpreted by Rāmānuja and Nimbārka. Rāmānuja after pointing out contradictions in the Sāmkhya tenets observes that Māyāvāda is open to similar objections for the unchangeable Brahman cannot preside over Nescience and superimposition etc. are an utter absurdity. The Sāmkhyas are a whit better than their adversary, since they accept a multiplicity of real Souls, but Samkara does not even admit that, and the settled order of laws of birth, death etc. is set at naught by him. If Samkara were to draw a difference of reality and unreality of Prakṛiti and establish his superiority over the Sāmkhyas, he should observe that neither his Nirguna Brahman nor Sāmkhya Purusha can ever preside over something different from itself. So far the Sāmkhyas and Samkara are equally wrong, but Samkara is indeed more so, because he calls Prakṛiti *unreal*. The contradiction in his case is *greater*, for Brahman essentially and inherently of an opposite character has to preside over Māyā or Nescience.

We may now see how Samkara refutes the Prakṛitiparināmavāda of the Sāmkhyas and establishes his own Brahmovivartavāda and Māyāparināmavāda, and weigh how far he is correct in doing so.

It is well known that the Sāmkhyas infer the causality² of real Prakṛiti from the compatibility of threefold existence and support their inference by a Śruti³ 'Pradhānāt jagat jāyate.' Further they say that the effects are not unreal (Asat) but real (Sat), and observe (1) that there must be some material cause for every

1. Bhikshu directs the whole Adhikaraṇa against the Svabhāvavādin Bauddhas.

2. Vide Sāmkhya Pravachana Sūtra 1, 113.

3. Vide Sāmkhya Pravachana Sūtra 1, 17.

product, (2) that all is not produced at all times and at all places, (3) that only the competent produces the possible, and (4) that the product¹ is identical with the cause. They add that the Universe is real, because it is not the result of a faulty cause² and because there is no confutation (Bādhaka): The product existed in Prakṛiti from time immemorial, its production and destruction therefore mean its manifestation from and solution into the original identical³ cause.

The Māyāvaadin accepts the Sāṃkhya doctrine essentially with the only difference that Prakṛiti is real, but that Māyā is unreal. The product may be real so far as the phenomenal state is concerned, but really speaking the product is a figment. The product only appears to exist on account of the beginningless Nescience, which every one experiences in the form of "I am ignorant". The Māyāvaadin supports his view from Srutis-like 'Indro māyābhih Pururūpa iyate.'

The Sāṃkhyas rebut this view saying that the Universe does not proceed from nothing and that it is not unreal because there is no confutation⁴ and because it is not the result of a faulty cause. If the cause be an entity, the product ought to be an entity, on account of its union or identity therewith, but if the cause be a nonentity the product must be much more so. Something unreal⁵ as a hare's horn has no existence whatsoever.

Samkara is certainly going against the Sūtrakāra, for the latter emphatically asserts the reality of Cause and Effect. Products cannot proceed from nonentity, for otherwise they will come out of a hare's horn etc. If Samkara's doctrine be accepted, there would follow an accomplishment of ends in the case of nonactive lazy people as well. The Sūtrakāra declares that the nonexistence of things cannot be maintained, since we are *actually* conscious of

1. Vide Sāṃkhya Pravachana Sūtras I. 115-118 and Sāṃkhya Kārikā No. 9.

2. Vide Sāṃkhya Pravachana Sūtra VI. 52.

3. Vide Sāṃkhya Pravachana Sūtra I. 120-121.

4. Vide Sāṃkhya Pravachana Sūtra I. 78-80.

5. Vide Sāṃkhya Pravachana Sūtra I. 114.

them. The Universe is not a dream etc., because there is a difference in the two. The things of which we are conscious in a dream are negated by our waking consciousness; not so the Universe. Again, if the Universe be unreal, efforts for deliverance are impossible. If *Samkara* were to hold that the Universe is cognised simply because of mental impression, he is entirely wrong, for mental impressions are themselves impossible without a real Universe.¹ If he were to observe that cognition of the Universe and mental impressions are going on from time immemorial and that they are therefore beginningless, he is simply evading a momentous question seeking shelter in an *Andhaparamparā*. Mental impressions are an impossibility without a real external entity, and external entities are cognised even without mental impressions. The Universe therefore is not an unreality but a *positive reality*. So far the *Sāmkhyas* are entirely correct. *Samkara* utilises these very *Brahmasūtras*² to refute the *Kṣhanikavādin* and *Vijnānavādin* *Bauddhas*, though they go equally against him.

We may now consider whether the *Śrutis* that he frequently quotes can assist him in any way against the *Sāmkhyas*. The passage of vital importance in this connection is 'Vāchārambhanam vikāro Nāmadheyam' etc. (*Chhān.* VI, 1, 1). The *Sūtrakāra* himself teaches that the word *Arambhanam* does not mean 'unreality' (*Mithyātva*) but 'reality and nonduality' (*Ananyatva*). If unreality of products were the meaning, the passage would have been *Vāchārambhanam Vikāro* 'x' x 'x' x *Mrīṭikā Satyā*, but the Mantra runs 'Vāchārambhanam x' x 'x' x *Mrīṭikā iti eva satyam*. The meaning therefore is that nameable effects are various names and forms of the cause and that they are nondifferent from it, just as nameable effects like pots etc. are real and nondifferent, because they are nothing but clay (the word 'Iti' meaning 'because'). Effects are real and nondifferent, for the very reason that they are nothing but Brahman. If however the effects are unreal, there comes a summary end to the Causality of Brahman, for real Brahman cannot really be the material cause of unreal products. If 'Vāchārambhanam' means

'unreality,' the knowledge of all by means of that of One becomes an impossibility likewise. The Sūtrakāra teaches that the Universe is real, for a thing is perceived only if it really and actually exists. A nonentity is never perceived. The word 'Cha' in the Sūtra shows the connection of this Sūtra with 'Mr̥tika iti eva satyam' and signifies that the effect is real, because it is a form of the cause. Again, if Sankara were to say that an effect may be a mere unreal name and yet perceived, he is certainly wrong for in that case a pot must be actually perceived (even if it be not really existing) on the nominal assertion of some one that "there is a pot". As a matter of fact, he has utterly failed to understand this Sūtra and has therefore contrived to read it 'Bhāvāt cha upalabdheh' a reading not to be found in any of the hitherto published eight Bhāshyas. The Sūtrakāra emphatically declares in the next Sūtra on the evidence of Chhān, VI, 2, 1 and 'Yadidam Kincha tat satyam' etc; that the Universe really exists. And if anybody were to doubt the existence of the Effect before its manifestation, (Chhān, III, 19, 1. Tait. II, 7, 1), the Sūtrakāra answers that from the supplementary passage (Vākyāśeṣa) it is certain that the Effect existed in a subtle form even before its manifestation. The word 'Āsit' in the Śruti corroborates this very view. The arguments advanced by the Sāṃkhya in S. K. No. 9. show conclusively that the Universe is real and the Sūtrakāra adds one more argument of his own that the effect is inherently (Samavāyena) connected with the cause and that it is brought out by the skill of the Artist of artists. This Inherence is possible only, if both the forms of Cause and Effect are real and eternal. If this Inherence is not accepted, there would be no Niyāmaka, and the Effect would then be an unreality. The word 'Ātmānam' in 'Ātmānam svayam akuruta' clearly proves that the Universe is a real form of Brahman. The Sūtrakāra in the next two Sūtras proceeds to show by illustrations how an existing effect is sometimes manifest and at other times not so. Just as a folded piece of cloth is not distinctly manifest, but when it is unfolded it is clearly perceived, the Universe when involved in Brahman is not manifest, but when it is evolved it is distinctly manifest.

Just as the various positions of the vital Prâna do not at all imply that the Prânas are different or that they are nonexistent, the Universe too is neither different nor nonexistent. The whole of this Adhikarana goes strongly against Samkara, for it distinctly teaches that the Universe is not only *real* but *nondifferent* from Brahman. 'Vâchârambhanam vikâro Nâmadheyam' etc is to be interpreted in the light of this Adhikarana, and it is manifest from this Adhikarana that 'Vâchârambhanam' etc. does not teach unreality but on the other hand emphasises the *reality* and *nondifference* of the Universe from Brahman.

The second passage which Samkara resorts to is 'Indro Mâyâbhih pururûpa iyate,' (Brih. II, 5, 18). The passage reads 'iyate' and not 'Bhavati.' Brahman's becoming multiform is not therefore unreal (Mâyika) but real and volitional. The cognition of products as something different from Brahman is certainly due to Mâyâ, that is to say, *a defect in the function of Buddhi.* Brahman *did* become many and everything is therefore a form of Brahman and as such quite real. But the cognition that this is a distinct jar and not a form of Brahman is certainly due to the Nescience affecting the Individual Soul. If Samkara were correct, the word Mâyâ would have been present in 'Rûpam Rûpam Prâtirûpo Babbhûva' and the passage would have then been 'Rûpam Rûpam Mâyayâ Prâtirûpo Babbhûva' and not merely 'Rûpam Rûpam' as we have it actually. The very absence of 'Mâyayâ' in 'Rûpam' etc is enough to show that Brahman's being multiform is not unreal, but *real*.

The passage 'Mâyâm tu Prakritim Vidyât' (Sve. IV, 10) teaches that Mâyâ is Prakriti or real causal form of Brahman¹. The Sruti 'Purusham Brahmâyonim' etc. goes contrary to the view that Prakriti is unreal Mâyâ, and Maheswara unreal Îswara. The passages like 'Atonyadârtam' etc. do not teach that the Universe is unreal but teach that Brahman is really ânanda infinite and manifest, whereas the effects are Duhkhins since the ânanda portion is not manifest but concealed in Jada and Jiva.

1. Compare प्रकृतिस्त्वोपादानमात्रः दुरवः परः। अनेमित्येवम् वाच्ये प्रकृतिः सत्यम् ॥ श्रीमद्भगवत्पुराणम् ।

The passages 'Nedam yad upāsate'. (Tal. 4) etc. and 'Ta etc satyāh kāmā Anritāpidhānāh' (Chhīn. VII, 3, 1) etc. can similarly be demonstrated¹ as failing to support the doctrine of Māyā.

And if Sankara were yet to persist in his Māyāvāda on the evidence of a passage² from Gaudapādavārtika, he should be answered that the illustrations in the Srutis are quite distinct from those resorted to by Gaudapāda. Nay, those that consider the Universe as unreal are looked upon as Asuras by Krishna in His Bhagavadgītā XVI, 8. There are numerous passages like 'Purusha eva idam sarvam' in support of the Doctrine of Brahman.

People perceive Māyāvāda in the Srutis for want of necessary concentration. When Kapila cannot be recognised as Āptatama, Gaudapāda will hardly be looked upon even as an āpta. Brahman is rightly understood and realised only through Bhaktiyoga by Bādarāyana, Suka etc, on whom God has passed His special Grace. It cannot be known by the haphazard³ yoga as of Gaudapāda. It is therefore unfair to twist the various Srutis to fit in the doctrine of Māyā.

Again if Gaudapāda's view be for a time admitted, it would follow from the analogy of magicians that just as they possess a *real* power of exhibition, Brahman will have to be admitted as one having a *real* power, and it will then be 'savishesha.' Moreover, even if we accept अज्ञानं नष्टवद् नष्टं कारणं वाङ्मयेन च । जीवात्मनं मग्नशोभं जगौ वाचस्पतिस्तथा⁴, it would, from the analogy of a dream, follow that Brahman, the looker-on of the Universe and of the Individual Souls, gets the final release, and not the Individual Soul, for the *person* perceiving objects, and *not* the *objects* perceived in the dream, later on finds out his own mistake after waking. The efforts of the Soul for deliverance would thus be entirely out of place. As for Vāchaspati's view, it is decidedly against

1. Vide Purushottamaji's Upaśishad Dipikās, especially Nrisinhaśāpini Dipikā.

2. स्वप्नमादेव यथा ह्ये तन्मूर्तयाम् यथा । तथा विभक्तं हं देहान्नेष्टु शिवयुगेः ।

3. विष्णुकण्ठय मुहुः कुपेतिताम् । जीवद्वात्मनम् ।

4. Vide वाचस्पति

common sense. Nobody would create anything, if he himself is to be unpleasantly fettered by that creation of his own. The Srutis like 'सूर्यचन्द्रमसौ धाता यथापूर्वमकल्पयत्' 'ते ध्यानयोगानुगताः' etc. are undoubtedly against this doctrine of Avidyā. Again, when the whole Universe is simply an imagination of the Soul, Scripture, the teacher, and the taught are all a figment, and efforts for deliverance quite imaginary. Even if we take Panchadasi's¹ view, the Srutis like कथमसतः सज्जायेत and Sūtras like ईदृतेन शब्दम् etc. run counter against this doctrine. Moreover, if Nescience has no beginning, it should have no end, for whatever has no beginning has no end. If ignorance is thus eternal, even knowledge can never put a stop to it. The analogy of a rope and a snake implies that there is a *real* rope having a *real* form, that there has been a *real* snake of a similar shape, and that there is a *real* person who is deluded in *real* darkness because of a *similarity* of form in a rope and a snake. It would therefore follow from this analogy that Brahman has a *form*, that the Universe is *real* and has a *similar form*, that the Individual Soul is not a mere reflection but a *real witnessing entity*, and finally that that real Soul is deluded by *real* Nescience. This certainly goes against Samkara, who accepts Brahman to be formless, the Universe to be unreal and so on. Even the Sūtra मायामात्रं तु कास्त्वेन etc. (B. S. III, 2, 3.) cannot bear out Samkara's doctrine. The Sūtrakāra there teaches that the creations of the *dreaming* Soul are *not* at all *real*, because they do not present the nature of real objects. The Author of the Sūtras therefore makes a distinction between the objects seen by the *dreaming* Soul and the objects by which the *waking* Soul is surrounded, and declares the former to be an *illusion*. Had the Sūtrakāra desired to say that all this Universe is an illusion, he could have distinctly said so here. He however means that the objects seen by the *dreaming* Soul are *false*, but that those by a *waking* person are *real*. It is here remarkable that Samkara's

1. मायां विम्बो वशीकृत्य तां स्यात् सर्वज्ञ ईश्वरः । अविद्यावशंगत्स्वयस्तद्वैविध्यादनेकधा ॥
सा कारणशरीरं स्यात् प्राज्ञस्तन्नामिमानवान् । तमप्रधानप्रकृतेस्तद्वैविध्यादेवराज्या ॥ विपराजित-
तेजोऽमुमुषो भूतानि जज्ञिरे ॥

own interpretation of this Sūtra goes directly against him. Sāṃkara's observations against the Sāṃkhyas in the Prakriyādhikaraṇa also turn against himself. The promissory statement (Pratijñā) and the illustrative instances (Dṛṣṭāntās) cannot be satisfactorily reconciled in the Vivarta doctrine, because implication (Lakṣhaṇā) will have then to be resorted to. The original moon is indeed *not* the material cause of the appearance of a duality or multiplicity of moons. Again, if Brahman be the material cause (in Sāṃkara's sense) of the Universe, the body will be the material cause of Atman, because of the superimposition of Atman on the body. Nor can Sāṃkara gainsay the superimposition of the Soul on the body after once admitting it in his Adhyāsabhāṣya. As a matter of fact, the body is only the substratum (Adhiṣṭhānam) and not the material cause (Upādānam) of that error. Moreover the illustrations of clay etc. in the Vedas and of a ringlet etc. in the Smritis are against him, for they do not at all teach the *unreality* of the Universe. Further, when unreality is thus not expressed in Scripture, he ought not to have said 'Yatheti' as if it were quite *expressed*, because to Svetīketu jars etc. are not at all *unreal*. And finally, if he were to say that *unreality* is yet to be established, he is still wrong, for his weak arguments can never succeed¹ there.

Again, if the effect be a figment, everything becomes topsyturvy. The activity (kartritvam) of the deluded person with reference to the error of perceiving silver in stead of mother-of-pearl is *unreal*. Nor can a mere looker-on be called a *doer*, because the looker-on is without Will. Brahman *actually* thought "Let me be many" and "Let me emanate names and forms". This is certainly *not* a delusion, for no sane man ever says "Let me be deluded, let me see silver instead of mother-of-pearl". Again, the looking on in an error is never preceded by Thought. Further, Brahman does not delude others as a magician, because the objects being delusive Brahman itself will be deluded on seeing them. Again, superimposed omniscience is *unreal* and Sāṃkara's

troubles to prove Brahman's omniscience go quite fruitless. Again, thoughtful activity is not possible in a magician. Even admitting the same in him for the sake of an argument, God being Paramâpta, will never say 'Karavani' without *real* Kartritvam. And still further, not only the illustrations are all in favour of Parinâma Vâda but they are quite inappropriate in the case of Vivarta, for silver and a snake are not known by knowing mother-of-pearl and rope respectively.

But while the Brahmaparinânavâdins are thus engaged in refuting the Vivarta doctrine, the defenders of the Sâmkhya system urge that the promissory statement and illustrative instances do not conclusively show that Brahman is the material cause. They further assert that emanation from Brahman has not a sound basis. Finally, they maintain that the Fourth Pâda of the First Adhyâya is not devoted by the Sûtrakâra to the refutation of Prakṛiti being the material cause of the Universe, for there are no direct Sûtras to that effect, and that when Prakṛiti is thus a material cause, there is no need of going to the length of calling Brahman to be the material cause of the Universe.

Let us see how the Sûtrakâra meets these grave objections. Promissory statement and illustrative instances consistently refer to Chh. VI. 1, III. 4 and there is no need to run to other unknown Sṛutis for them. A vast majority of commentators viz. Saṃkara, Rāmānuja, Bhāskara, Nimbārka and Vallabha refer them to these very passages. The Sûtrakâra specially uses the word Prakṛiti to retort the Sâmkhyas, who *boldly* take the Brahman of the Upanishads to mean their own Prakṛiti. The Sûtrakâra undoubtedly takes Prakṛiti in the *etymological* sense of the *material* cause and not in the Rûdhi sense, and emphasises that Brahman is Prakṛiti or the material cause, and not that Prakṛiti is Brahman or Great. The emanation of Brahman is therefore based on the most *solid* basis of clear and distinct Sṛutis like 'स आत्मानं स्वयमुकुरुत' 'तस्मात् तत् सुकृतमुच्यते', 'सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म', 'स आत्मानं द्वेषापातयत्', 'हन्ताहं मदेव मन्मात्रम्', 'आकाश ओतय प्रोतय' etc. and Smṛitis like 'विश्वं वै ब्रह्म तन्मात्रम्', 'नैतच्छिन्नं भगवति', 'ओतप्रोतमिदं यास्मिन्', 'स्वयम्प्र आसीत्' etc. which can never be satisfactorily explained, if the emanation of Brahman is

not accepted. Further, the Sūtrakāra has from the beginning of the First Pāda of the First Adhyāya down to the end of the Fourth Pāda of that Adhyāya repeatedly shown in various forms that nothing but Brahman is primarily the material cause. There is no harm, if the Sāṃkhya Prakṛiti be accepted as an intermediate (Avāntara) material cause. But nothing but Brahman, not even sarira, sakti, etc. is the *primary* material cause, because the inquiry is about *Brahman* itself and the second Sūtra जन्मादस्य यतः शास्त्रेणित्वात् defines *Brahman*, and neither Prakṛiti, nor Māyā-environed Isvara, nor imputation, nor the body, nor the power of Brahman. Brahman alone is therefore primarily the material cause of the Universe, for then alone everything being an emanation of Brahman, the knowledge of Brahman can satisfactorily convey a knowledge of Its own non-different forms. The passage यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते (Tait. III, 1) interpreted by the aid of Pāṇini I, 4, 30 clearly teaches that Brahman Itself and nothing else is the *material* cause. The Śruti purposely reads 'yatah' in stead of 'yasmāt' implying that Brahman is so *glorious* that everything really emanates from It and that It yet remains unchangeable (Avyayam) like the celestial Cow (Kāmadhenuh), heavenly Tree (Kālpadrumah) or the divine Gem (Chintāmanih). Reflection (Abhidyānam) is itself impossible in any other entity but Brahman. The Texts teach that Brahman is the source etc. of all, B. G. X. 8. Śrutis distinctly teach that the Universe is evolved out of and dissolved into Brahman. Brahman therefore is not simply a mere Nimitta Kāraṇam but the essential and *material* cause of the Universe. Again, Brahman Itself is the Subject,¹ the Object etc. There is thus not the slightest necessity to run to real or unreal Prakṛiti. The same Śruti further on sings the Glory of Brahman calling the emanation of the Universe out of Brahman to be a Sukṛitam. It is worthwhile to observe here that there is no mention at all of real or unreal Prakṛiti when an important question of the material cause is discussed in the Upanishads. The 'Yoni' too is nothing

1. स आत्मानं स्वयमकुर्वत् ॥ यत्र येन यतो यस्य यस्यै यद्यथा यदा । स्वादिदं भगवान् साक्षात् प्रधानपुरोषधरः ॥

because all Souls are within all bodies. Again, it is impossible to maintain the Sāṃkhya tenet, as there are no parallel instances, because Samkara would not accept Ether to be all-pervading, since it is a so-called *product* of Brahman.

Now all this is a heap of inconsistencies. We shall presently see that the faults pointed out against the Sāṃkhyas are not due to multiplicity but rather to the all-pervading character (Vyāpakatvam) of the Soul, and Samkara himself, accepting the Soul to be all-pervading, is equally open to similar charges. He accepts Adrishṭam as the cause of series of imputations (Upādhiparamparā), now this Adrishṭam rests in Brahman (Brahmasvarūpāsritam) and cannot therefore partition Brahman, and hence cannot limit the experiences of each particular Soul. The same confusion therefore arises in the case of Samkara's Ātman too as in the case of the Sāṃkhya Puruṣa. Again, if Brahman becomes connected with Imputation or Adrishṭam, Brahman would itself lose its own characteristic (Svarūpam). And if he were to take shelter in Abhisandhyā etc. and say that they are the cause of Adrishṭam, even such a supposition cannot assist him, because localities cannot be partitioned, they being Brahman. And if Saṃkara would go to the length of accepting parts even in Brahman, and say that the locality of imputation-environed Brahman differs from that of Brahman not-environed by imputation, he cannot free himself from the fault, because all localities are still included in all imputations and the confusion remains the same as before. Against Samkara the Sāṃkhyas would very satisfactorily urge the multiplicity of Puruṣas from the several allotment of birth etc.¹ And if the Māyāvādin were to say that there being a difference in its investments (Upādhi), multiplicity attaches seemingly to *One* Soul, as is the case with space on account of jars etc., the Sāṃkhyas would rightly answer that investment is then different but not *that* to which it belongs, and the absurd consequences of such an opinion are obvious. The death of one individual would in that case imply that of another. Again, bondage and liberation cannot simultaneously belong to one. Again,

1. S. P. S. I, 149 and VI, 45 etc.

but Brahman. Hereby are refuted—are refuted¹—all the doctrines concerning the origin of the world which are opposed to Brahmanvâda².

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The Prameya Section.

(b) PURUSHA.



Samkara and the Sâmkhyas both agree in calling Purusha to be intelligence (Chit), all-pervading (Vyâpakah), disembodied (Kevalah), indifferent (Madhyasthah) and inactive (Akartî). They essentially differ only in one point. The Sâmkhyas accept an infinite multitude of Purushas. To Samkara accepting the unity of the Soul, such a multiplicity is a figment. He attempts to explain the plurality of Souls by his usual recourse to Nescience. The Individual Soul is really nothing but Brahman, but appears many on account of Ignorance. He observes that if many pervading Souls be accepted, a confusion of actions and their results would be the consequence, e.g. if one Soul is connected with pleasure, all Souls would in that case be so connected. Again, the Principle of unseen (Adrishtam) is not inherent in Purusha but abides in Prakriti, and cannot limit the experience of pleasure and pain for each individual Purusha, because Prakriti is the same for all Purushas. Nor can Resolutions (Abhisandhyâ) etc. furnish a reason for limitation, for they are formed through the general connection of Purusha and the inner organ (Antahkaranam), in proximity to all Purushas. Even if a difference of locality were assumed, that is not possible,

1 एतेन सर्वे व्याख्याताः व्याख्याताः । त्र. सू. १, ४. २८.

2 साकारं सर्वशक्त्येकं सर्वज्ञं सर्वकर्तृ च । सच्चिदानन्दरूपं हि ब्रह्म तस्मादिदं जगत् ॥

जडजीवान्तःस्थितानां यथाक्रमश उद्गमः ॥ अग्नेर्यथा विस्फुलिङ्गास्तथा जीवोद्गमः स्फुटः ॥

विसर्पिगुणचतन्योर्जीवोशो हरेः स्मृतः । जडे चिदानन्दयोस्तु चित्तानन्दस्य सर्वशः ॥

तिरोधानं हरीच्छातः x x x x x x । आविर्भावे तु सर्वं हि ब्रह्मैवेति न संशयः ॥

रमणार्थमिदं सर्वं ब्रह्मैव स्वेच्छयामवत् । यथा सर्पः स्वेच्छया हि कुण्डलाकारतां गतः ॥

न विकारि तथा ब्रह्म-व्यासैः सूत्रे निरूपितम् । सुवर्णस्याविकारित्वं कामधेनोर्मणेरपि ॥

आविर्भावतिरोभावौ पदार्थानां यतस्ततः । आविर्भावे तु कार्यं हि यथा, यदि घटादयः ॥

श्रगभावादयो नाङ्गीकार्या आभ्यां यतोऽखिलम् ॥ शुद्धद्वैतमार्तण्डः ॥

because all Souls are within all bodies. Again, it is impossible to maintain the Sāmkhya tenet, as there are no parallel instances, because Samkara would not accept Ether to be all-pervading, since it is a so-called *product* of Brahman.

Now all this is a heap of inconsistencies. We shall presently see that the faults pointed out against the Sāmkhyas are not due to multiplicity but rather to the all-pervading character (Vyāpakatvam) of the Soul, and Samkara himself, accepting the Soul to be all-pervading, is equally open to similar charges. He accepts Adrishtam as the cause of series of imputations (Upādhiparamparā), now this Adrishtam rests in Brahman (Brahmasvarūpāsritam) and cannot therefore partition Brahman, and hence cannot limit the experiences of each particular Soul. The same confusion therefore arises in the case of Samkara's Ātman too as in the case of the Sāmkhya Purusha. Again, if Brahman becomes connected with Imputation or Adrishtam, Brahman would itself lose its own characteristic (Svarūpam). And if he were to take shelter in Abhisandhyā etc. and say that they are the cause of Adrishtam, even such a supposition cannot assist him, because localities cannot be partitioned, they being Brahman. And if Sankara would go to the length of accepting parts even in Brahman, and say that the locality of imputation-environed Brahman differs from that of Brahman not-environed by imputation, he cannot free himself from the fault, because all localities are still included in all imputations and the confusion remains the same as before. Against Samkara the Sāmkhyas would very satisfactorily urge the multiplicity of Purushas from the several allotment of birth etc.¹ And if the Māyāvādin were to say that there being a difference in its investments (Upādhi), multiplicity attaches seemingly to One Soul, as is the case with space on account of jars etc., the Sāmkhyas would rightly answer that investment is then different but not *that* to which it belongs, and the absurd consequences of such an opinion are obvious. The death of one individual would in that case imply that of another. Again, bondage and liberation cannot simultaneously belong to one. Again,

1. S. P. S. I, 149 and VI, 45 etc.

the conjunction and non-conjunction of the sky with smoke are not contradictory, for conjunction is not pervasion, and the Mâyâvâdin gains nothing by that illustration. The Sâmkhyas are certainly free from the charge of such an absurdity in this case at any rate. There is no imputation of incompatible conditions (bondage etc.) to a Soul existing everywhere throughout all, as one, i. e. as a *monad*. Though the attribute of another be ascribed to the Soul, its real existence in the Soul does not follow from the imputation, because the Soul is unconnected. And as for Srutis teaching non-duality, they speak of it generically. From the separate allotment of birth, death, organs, and the diversity of occupations at the same time, and also from the different modifications of the three Gunas, plurality of Souls is an ascertained fact.¹

Again, the Sûtrakâra himself would attack Samkara on his weak point of Pratibimbavâda. Reflection (Pratibimba) is impossible because (1) Brahman is formless, (2) because the reflection would require some intervention (Vyavadhânam), and in the present case Mâyâ etc. alone can be the intervention, now when Brahman is thus Mâyâ-intervened It cannot be reflected, for otherwise the reflection of even a curtain-intervened being would be possible, (3) because the locality of the reflection itself cannot be the same as of the substance (Bimba) that is reflected, (4) because Bimba and Pratibimba should be exactly alike, but in the present case Bimba is inactive while Pratibimba is active, and therefore the Text 'Dvâ suparnâ etc.' goes against Samkara, (5) because the Sûtra 'Guhâm pravishtau' (B. S. I, 2, 11) clearly ascertains that difference in locality (Desabhedah) of Brahman and Jiva is impossible, (6) because Krishna teaches that the Soul is an Amsa and not a Pratibimba (B. G. XV, 7), (7) because emancipation in that case would be nothing but the loss of Self (Jivahâni) and Moksha would cease to be the greatest achievement (Pâramapurushârthah) nay, Moksha itself would be something unreal, and lastly (8) because if reflection be admitted, liberation in lifetime (Jivanimukti) cannot be accounted for, since the subtle (lingam) sarira would continue to exist. Reflection is possible neither in the inner organ (Antah-

karanam) nor in Nescience, because both of them are impure and unclean. Even granting that reflection is possible, the Soul would experience worldly existence, so long as the subtle body continues, and there will come off the *final* release when the subtle is off, any how Jivan-mukthi cannot be accounted for by the Mâyâvâdin. Mere existence of the body may at best be accepted as in Sushupti, but not at all its activity.¹ For the same reasons reflection in Nescience is also impossible. If Nescience rests in Brahman, Brahman becoming the substratum would itself be possessed of attributes (Savishesham). Nay Brahman itself will then be ignorant² (Ajñānin). The passages एकधा दशधा चैव दृश्यते जलचन्द्रवत् etc. do not illustrate the Prati-bimba doctrine. They explain how Brahman in spite of Its being one assumes many forms³. The above arguments are excellently summarised in the following Kārikās of the Tattvādīpanibhāṇḍa⁴.

आभासप्रतिबिम्बत्वमेव तस्य न चान्यथा । आनन्दोदातिरोधानात् तद्वत् तेन भासते ॥

मायाजनिकाच्छन्नं नान्यथा प्रतिबिम्बते । तत्र दृष्टेर्द्राक्षुर्णधुतेरपि विदृश्यते ॥

गुह्यमप्रविष्टावित्युक्तेर्भगवद्वचनादपि । जीवहानिस्तदा मुक्तिर्जीवन्मुक्तिर्विरुध्यते ॥

लिङ्गस्य विद्यमानत्वादविद्यायां ततोपि हि । अङ्घ्रिष्ठातुर्विनष्टत्वात्तदेहः स्पन्दितुं क्षमः ॥

Samkara however persists in these absurdities in spite of the Sūtra-kīra's distinct teaching that the Soul is an Amsa (B.S. II, 3, 43 to 53). The word 'Ābhāsaḥ' there cannot assist him, because it may mean a हेत्वाभास, as Ramanuja takes it. That Vaishnava Achārya shows that the arguments of Samkara are fallacious. It may also mean that the Soul is an Ābhāsaḥ, because the prominence of Ānanda is not developed in the Soul. This interpretation would not necessitate a change of the reading 'Ābāsa eva cha' into 'Ābhāsaḥ eva cha' in B. S. II, 3, 50. At any rate it is certain that the word 'Ābhāsaḥ' there is not at all used in Samkara's sense. When the Soul is perceived only as the Sadamsaḥ of Brahman, it is called Ābhāsaḥ,

1. Vidvanmtandanam.

2. Suddhādvaitamārtandah.

3. तेनेकं त्रैलोक्यं नानाहं चन्द्रवत् दृष्टान्तेनाच्यते, एकस्य नानात्वमेव दृष्टान्तार्थः न प्रतिबिम्बम्.

4. For a detailed scholarly refutation of the six different sections of the Samkara school on this point, consult the Āvaranabhaṅgah.

and when it is perceived as Sadamsah and Chidamsah both it is Pratibimbam.

A few more arguments are to be supplemented to these. If Sāṃkara obstinately persists in maintaining his doctrine, he will have to accept the reflection of wind in a log of wood, for Brahman is as formless as wind, and Avidyā etc. as incapable of reflection as a log of wood. Again, just as the Jñānarūpa Brahman is reflected in the form of the Soul, the Sadrūpa and Anandarūpa should also be reflected, and there should be corresponding reflections to these two also. Further, the Soul will be Sarvajña for it is one and it is a looker-on of all imputations, and the Kinchijñatva of the Soul would be hard to account for. And when the Soul by its very constitution is thus Sarvajña, the senses (jñ'endriyāni) would be purposeless. And finally, when the Soul itself is a mere reflection, why should Krishna teach its immortality on the evidence of Śrutis and why should the Sūtrakāra say 'Nātmā Snter-nityatvāchcha tābhyah' in his B. S. II, 3, 17, since a reflection is by no means eternal and immortal? Sāṃkara's doctrine is therefore against Aryan Theology.

As for passages teaching Non-duality, they teach it neither in Sāṃkara's nor in Kapila's sense. 'Tattvamasi' and similar passages simply mean that just as rings etc. being forms and portions of gold, are nothing but gold essentially, the Universe and the Souls both being forms and portions of impartible Brahman are not different from It.¹

The following verse is both interesting and instructive on this point:—

केचित्² तत्त्वमसीतेवाक्यविषये तत्त्वम्पदे लक्षणां
केचित्³ तत्र दसो लुक् विदधते भाष्यं⁴ तु केचिज्जगुः ।
केचिदिद्विषयादेर्भेदमपरे⁵ छिन्दन्त्यतत्त्वं पदं
सिद्धान्ते⁷ तु सुवर्णवज्जगदिदं ब्रह्मैव जीवस्तथा ॥ १ ॥

1. सुवर्णस्य च ये खण्डाः कटका मुद्रिकादयः । सुवर्णत्वेन गृह्णाति तथा ब्रह्मविदाम्मतिः ॥

2. अङ्करादयः । 3. रामानुजमन्त्रशैवाः । 4. केचन रामानुजीयाः । 5. निम्बाकादयः ।

6. माध्वाः । 7. श्रीव्यासपादानाम् ।

It is unnecessary to add that the whole of the Second Pāda of the First Adhyāya, the Bhūmādhikarāṇa, the Ikṣhatikarmādhikarāṇa, the Daharādhikarāṇa, the Anukṛityādhikarāṇa, the Pramityādhikarāṇa, the Kampanādhikarāṇa, the Jyotirādhikarāṇa and a large number of similar Adhikarāṇas are completely against the Māyāvādin in this matter.

Let us now turn our attention to the Sāṃkhyas. The Sūtrakāra would not for a moment tolerate that the Soul is merely Chidrūpa¹. The Sūtrakāra would certainly oppose them when they say 'Nirgunatwāṇna chiddharmā²', and observe against them 'Jnota eva'cha³. The Soul is not only Chidrūpa, but it is as well Chidguna in spite of its being Nirguna. The Sūtrakāra takes 'Nirguna' only as without ordinary attributes.⁴ Samkara is therefore wrong in siding with the Sāṃkhyas and endorsing their view that Brahman is out-and-out Nirguna.

Again, the Sūtrakāra would not let the Sāṃkhyas go without criticism, when they say that Purusha is All-pervading. He elaborately maintains the *atomic size* of Purusha and this accounts for the unusual length of the Utkrāntigatyādhikarāṇa, and Dr. Thibaut is entirely correct in observing that *there can be no doubt that Samkara's interpretation of B. S. II. 3. 29 is exceedingly forced*. The Soul is atomic (Anuparimāṇāḥ), otherwise in passing out, mentioned in Kau. Up. III 3, its going (Kau. I, 2) and its returning (Bṛih. IV, 4, 6), cannot be accounted for. Going and returning are connected with the Soul⁵. Scripture teaching pervasion refers to Brahman⁶. Mundaka, III, 1, 9, Sve. V, 9 etc. make a direct statement that the Soul is atomic. Sensation can extend over the whole body in spite of the Soul's being Atomic, just as the coolness of sandal ointment applied on a part spreads on the whole skin. The Soul too has a special abode⁷. Intelligence is a quality of Jiva, and just as odour

1. S. P. S. VI, 50. 2. S. P. S. I, 146. 3. B. S. II, 3, 18. 4. प्रकृतैतावत्त्वं हि प्रतिषेधति ततो ब्रवीति च मूढः । B. S. III, 2, 22. 5. Bṛih. IV, 4, 1, IV, 4, 2, IV, 3, 17. 6. Bṛih. IV, 2, 20, IV, 2, 22, and Tait. II, 1. 7. Pra. IV. 6, Chhān VIII, 3, 3, and Bṛih. IV, 3, 7.

extends beyond the odorous substance, intelligence extends beyond the Soul. This is corroborated by Scripture in Kan. IV, 4, 20 and Brih. I, 4, 7. Samkara presumes to call this Siddhanta view to be a mere pūrva-pakṣa and observes that the Soul is called Atomic having for its essence the qualities of Buddhi. This is a grave objection. The Soul is nothing but Brahman to Samkara, and the Soul has for its essence the qualities of Brahman, if at all Brahman is admitted by him to have any qualities. It is a *blasphemy* to say that the Soul has for its essence the qualities of Buddhi, for in that case the Soul being principally alike Buddhi, Samkara attributes his own jadvāditva even to Scripture. Samkara is entirely ignorant of the meaning of this and the following three Sūtras. After establishing the Anutva of the Soul, the Sūtra-kāra corroborates it, refuting an anticipated argument that the Soul is Brahman and therefore all-prevading as Brahman on the evidence of 'Tattwamasi' etc. The Sūtra-kāra answers that the Soul is called Brahman, because the Soul essentially possesses the quality of Chaitanya, its Ananda portion being as yet involved. The following observations in the Anubhāshya may be read with advantage in this connection:—

इदमत्र वक्तव्यम् । सर्वोपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मज्ञानं पुरुषार्थसाधनमिति तन्निर्णयार्थं भगवान् व्यासः
सूत्राणि चकार । तत्र ब्रह्मसूत्रे विचारं प्रतिज्ञाय 'समन्वयनिरूपणे जीववाक्यानि दूरीकृत्याविरो-
धेपि' ऐक्येपि हिताकरणादिदोषमाशङ्क्याधिकन्तु भेदनिर्देशादिति परिहृत्य जीवस्याणुत्वमुपचाराद्ब्रह्मत्वम-
शङ्कं पराधीनकर्तृत्वादिकं प्रतिपाद्य तस्यैव दक्षिणमार्गे पुनरावृत्तिमुक्त्वा^१ ससाधनेन ब्रह्मज्ञानेनार्चि-
रादिद्वारा ब्रह्मप्राप्तिमुक्त्वा 'न स पुनरावर्तते'^२ इत्यावृत्तिं वदन् शास्त्रपर्यवसानेन सर्वान् वेदान्तान-
व्याकुलतया योजितवान् । तत्र 'कथितद्वयपदेशेन प्रोक्तानि तत्त्वमस्यादिवाक्यानि स्वाकृत्य तदतिरिक्त-
स्य सर्वस्य कारणांशकार्यरूपस्य मिथ्यात्वं परिकल्प्य तद्वैधक्यभ्रुतीनामर्थवादत्वेन 'मिथ्यात्वं स्वाकृत्य
सुषुप्तिस्मरणयोर्मगवता प्रकटोक्तमानन्दरूपत्वं तत्प्रातिपादकवाक्यानां सद्योमुक्तिरूपफलवाचकत्वमुक्त्वा
क्रममुक्तिमुपासनापरत्वेन योजयित्वा वेदसूत्राणि व्याकुलीचकार । तद् वेदान्तानां ब्रह्मपरत्वं वा जीव-
परत्वं वेति यदत्र युक्तं तत् सद्भिरनुसन्धेयम् ॥

Nor is this designation of the Soul as Brahman in 'Tattwamasi' and similar passages groundless, for it is observed in Scripture that after the Soul gets emancipation from the worldly existence,

१. समन्वयनिरूपणार्थं प्रथमेऽध्याये । २. आविरोधाख्ये द्वितीयेऽध्याये । ३. साधना-
भिधे तृतीयेऽध्याये । ४. फलाध्याये तृतीये ।

he continues to be Âtman, for eternity and his Ânanda portion is then permanently developed. The Soul is like a Prince, just as a Prince is a Would-be King, so is the Individual Soul Would-be Brahman. Even in the worldly condition, the designation in 'Tattwamasi' is appropriate, because just as virile power potentially exists in a child, Ânanda too potentially exists in the Soul. By means of devotion¹ the potential Ânanda in the Soul becomes actually manifest. In the worldly state therefore only the Sadamsa and the Chaitanyamsa are manifest, while in the Sampatti state even the Ânanda portion will become manifest. If this is not accepted and the Soul is looked upon as Ânandâmsa even in this condition, the Soul would have his Ânandâ manifest even now, and his worldly state would then be impossible to account for. If on the other hand Jiva is not accepted as Ânandâmsa at all, his Ânanda in the Sampatti state will in that case be impossible to account for. If a limitation be set that the Soul is only Sachchit and that Brahman is Ânanda, there will be a contradiction of Srutis like "Brahmaiva san, Brahma Apyeti" etc. It is therefore reasonable to accept that the Soul is potentially Ânandâmsa. The Soul is therefore atomic only so long as his Ânandâmsa is not developed in him. Samkara is thus decidedly wrong in connecting the Soul essentially with Buddhi and confounding the normal atomicity of the Soul with the essential pervasion of Brahman in which the Ânandâmsa is fully and permanently manifest. It is interesting to read the Anubhâshya III, 2, 5 in this connection.

Again, the Sûtrakâra would not but refute the Sâmkhya tenet that the Soul is not active. Samkara is certainly wrong here in siding with the Sâmkhyas. The Sûtrakâra shows that the Soul is active on account of Scripture teaching his activity as well as his wandering about (Brih. II, 1, 18, and IV, 3, 12). Scripture speaks of his taking the instruments (Karanani) in Brih. II, 1, 17 and 18. The Soul is an *agent* because it is designated as such (Tait. II, 5) with regard to actions and there would be a change of the designation if the Soul were not so. If the Sâmkhyas were to say that the Soul should always do what is pleasant provided he is an independent agent, the Sûtrakâra answers that just as the Sâmkhya Purusha is indepen-

1. As taught by Sanatkumâra to Nârada in Chhând. VII.

dent regarding enjoyment and in spite of this just as that Purusha has to experience unpleasant things the Soul may be independent as an agent and yet he may have to do unpleasant things. Nor is the Soul exactly like Brahman that he may always do pleasant things, for his powers are not only limited but reversed. Again, the powers of work and knowledge are fully developed after concentration, in the absence of which the Soul does pleasant and unpleasant things, since its mind is wavering, though the Soul is itself an agent. There is certainly no harm in calling Buddhi to be a *karana*. The *Sûtrakîra* then adds that the doer and enjoyer are not different as the *Sâmkhyas* hold, but that they are identical. The Soul is a doer and therefore an enjoyer also, and not that *Prakriti* is the doer and Purusha the enjoyer. *Samkara* is entirely wrong here and he is excellently set right by Râmânujâ. The *Sûtrakîra* finally adds that really speaking the Soul derives activity from Brahman Itself. *Samkara* is thus absolutely wrong in corroborating the *Sâmkhya* tenet that the Soul is thought itself, all-pervading and inactive. The *Sâmkhyas* are certainly better than *Samkara* in as much as they accept a multiplicity of Souls.

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The Prameya Section.

(c) ISWARA.

We now proceed to examine the replies of *Samkara* to the argument of the *Sâmkhyas* against the theory of an intelligent creator.

The *Sâmkhyas* believe that the existence of God cannot be proved, because he is neither bound nor liberated. Either way, He cannot be the creator of this real Universe. The text 'Omniscient' etc. are simply the glorification of the liberated Soul or of him who has attained supernatural powers by devotion¹. The *Sâmkhyas* do accept God, the *emergent*, who had been absorbed into *Prakriti*² but the existence of God, the *eternal*, is not proved. The effectuation of fruits does not prove the existence of God, for that can

1. S. P. S. I, 92 to 95. 2. S. P. S. III, 57.

be accomplished by work. Government of the Universe fails to prove His existence, for God would then be selfish. Selfish God is like a mundane superior. And if the existence of God is to be inferred from the Universe, He is none but the Soul emerged at the commencement of the creation. Eternal God is an impossibility, for there is a contradiction between mundane character and the having of an *unobstructed* will. His Governorship cannot be established without passions in Him, and then He could not be eternally free. From the connection of the Soul with properties of Prakriti it would follow that he is affected by its properties, and if mere proximity with Prakriti means Godhood, every one would be called God. God's existence is not established, for there is no evidence whatsoever. Perception cannot obviously prove His existence. There is no inferential proof since there is no concommittance, and there is no Text to prove His existence positively¹.

Samkara's Nirguna Brahman exactly corresponds to the Sâmkhya Purusha in the disembodied condition. Brahman and Purusha are both intelligence (not intelligent), all-prevading, disembodied indifferent and nonactive. Samkara's Brahman therefore by itself is incapable of creating or ruling the Universe. Samkara's Iswara is something *unreal*. There are six different views about Him. (1) Iswara is a reflection of Brahman in Mâyâ which is beginningless and inexpressible Prakriti conjoined with mere intelligence (Chinmâtrasambandhinî). Mâyâ differs from Nescience (Avidyâ) for the latter is conjoined with obscuring (Âvarana) and distracting (Vikshepa) powers and gives rise to the reflection of the Soul. (2) Mâyâ is nothing but the Suddhasattwaprâdhâna aspect of Prakriti possessed of three Gunas and the reflection of Brahman in this Mâyâ is Iswara, the Soul being that in Avidyâ which is malinasattwaprâdhâna. (3) Mâyâ principally possesses Vikshepa and the reflection in it is Iswara, the Soul being that in Avidyâ principally possessing Âvarana. (4) Iswara is a reflection of Chit in Avidyâ, the Soul being that in the inner organ. (5) Iswara is a reflection in the cosmic Buddhi, the Soul being that in an individual Buddhi. These five views recognise Iswara as a *reflection*. (6) Iswara is not a reflection but the Bimba environed by imputation or the inner organ.

Against, all this the Sāṃkhyas say that indifferent God cannot be connected with Ignorance, and if Saṃkāra were to say that the conjunction of Ignorance is simply through the force of Ignorance and that there is therefore no real association, this is a vicious circle (Anyonyāśrayaḥ) for the existence of this alleged Ignorance is established only on the ground of its pretended conjunction. Further, the Universe is not without a beginning like a seed and its sprout. Soul and knowledge are not identical. Knowledge not excluding Ignorance would be resultless. If Ignorance is dispelled by Knowledge the world too would be disproved by Knowledge. Saṃkāra's theory is therefore inconsistent, for if Ignorance be dispelled by Knowledge, and Ignorance have an end, it must as well have a beginning¹.

Further, the first view is wrong, because reflection in an absolutely pure Māyā is impossible. The second view is untenable for Māyā and Avidyā both being all-pervading, they cannot be distinguished. For the same reason the third view is faulty. The fourth view is inconsistent, because Nescience and Buddhi are never pure. The fifth view is impossible, for Māyā-intervening Buddhi is compact. The sixth view is not sound, because Īśvara environed by imputation cannot be Binba. Saṃkāra's position is therefore no better than that of the Sāṃkhyas. The only difference is that the Sāṃkhyas say that the evidence for the positive existence of God is not sufficient, whereas Saṃkāra goes a step further and says that Īśvara Himself is an *unreality*. Even the Deistic ideal of God of the Yogins is much better than the atheistic conception of Saṃkāra. Udayanāchārya in his Kūsumāñjali adduces nine proofs for the existence of God in his celebrated Kārikā कार्यायोजनभूत्यादिः पदात् प्रत्ययतःश्रुतेः । वाक्यात् सद्द्वयाविरोधाच्च साध्यो विश्वविद्वयः ॥

With necessary changes they may all be directed not only against

Sāṃkhya Puruṣa and to the Individual Soul. In stead of adopting such a straightforward method, Saṃkara insists on his doctrine of *Mayā* -confoinding *īśvara*, Brahman and Jiva all into a hopeless jumble.

After this prelude we may now review Saṃkara's replies. The first argument advanced is the argument of difference (*Vai-lakshnyam*). The Sāṃkhyas point out that pure and intelligent Brahman cannot be the material cause of impure and inanimate Universe. Two animate entities cannot oblige each other. There is no authority to show that this inanimate Universe is animate. The distinction of inanimate and animate entities is quite perceptible. The Pantheist may perhaps assert that the Universe is really animate, but that intelligence is not perceived as in sleep and explain away the apparent non-intelligence, but he cannot similarly succeed in explaining away the impurity of the Universe. As a matter of fact intelligence of the Universe is not perceived but only to be *inferred* from Scripture, which however draws a clear difference between animate and inanimate entities.¹ As for the Elements and the Sense Organs being called animate, that can be accounted for, if we take into consideration the fact that the distinction of animate and inanimate entities has been clearly established in the Vedas and that the Elements etc. are sometimes taken to be connected (*Anugata*) with their superintending deities.

After thus representing the Sāṃkhyas, Saṃkara proceeds to answer that from men etc. known as animate, spring up inanimate hair etc. and that on the other hand from inanimate dung etc. rise up animate scorpions etc. If the Sāṃkhyas were to say that the body of men is inanimate, and from inanimate body inanimate hair etc. may well spring, and that from inanimate dung the inanimate body etc. of the scorpions may as well arise, Saṃkara observes that there is a difference of character in inanimate things themselves and that some inanimate matter is the abode of an Intelligent Principle while some is not. This partial 'difference' therefore serves his purpose. Again, there is an amount of difference between a man and his hair etc. and between dung and a

1. Tait. II, 6.

scorpion etc. If both the Cause and the Effect are exactly alike, there is an end to Causation. If the Sāmkhyas were to urge that there is the quality of being of an earthly nature (Pārthivatvam) which is common to man and his hair, Sāmkara replies that there is then Existence (Sattī) common to Brahman and the Universe as well. Again, if the Sāmkhyas mean by 'difference' the non-occurrence in the Universe of the entire complex of the characteristics of Brahman, Cause and Effect will not be distinguished. If by 'difference' they mean non-occurrence of some or other characteristic, that is running counter to what we daily observe, for Existence of Brahman is *seen* in the Universe. And if 'difference' means non-occurrence of Intelligence, the requisite proving instance is wanting. As for the contradiction of Scripture, that is a great flaw with the Sāmkhyas, for it distinctly teaches Intelligent Brahman to be the cause of the Universe. He moreover, who would merely on the ground of the sacred *tradition* about the Intelligent Cause assume this entire Universe to be of an *intelligent* nature, could succeed in explaining distinction of intellect and non-intellect by resorting to manifestation and non-manifestation, but the Sāmkhyas themselves cannot account for the difference of animate and inanimate forms, for if Brahman cannot become non-intelligent Universe, non-intelligent Prakriti cannot pass-over into what is intelligent. But the Sāmkhya mania of Prakriti has been sufficiently refuted and the Intelligent Cause can safely be accepted in agreement with Scripture.

This is a piece of perversions of the grossest kind on the part of Sāmkara. After knowing that Sāmkara accepts Māyā-environed life to be the Cause and Avidyā-environed life to be the Product, the reasonable Sāmkhyas would not bring in the argument of 'difference' against the Māyāvādin. The argument of difference can be advanced against *those* who sincerely believe that the Cause and Effect are both *real* and yet *indentical*. The argument of the Sāmkhyas is therefore against the Sūtrakāra and his sincere followers. Sāmkara here confounds the Sūtrakāra's Brahmvāda with his own Māyāvāda. Māyā-environed Isvara is impure (Asuddha) and the argument of 'difference' regarding *purity* and *impurity* is not brought against Sāmkara who has to accept both

the Cause and the Effect as *impure*. Further, the argument of 'difference' regarding intelligence and non-intelligence too is not directed against *Saṃkāra* to whom both the Cause and the Effect are lifeless, for reflections can never be admitted even for a moment to possess *Chaitanya*. Both the arguments are advanced against the *Sūtrakāra* who admits that *pure intelligent* Brahman is the *material* cause of the Universe. Further, the *Sāṃkhyas* already admit that the Pantheist *Sūtrakāra* may perhaps explain the difficulty of intelligence and non-intelligence by bringing in his manifestation and non-manifestation, but they are really anxious to observe how he could explain the difference of *purity* and *impurity*. The *Sāṃkhyas* impel the *Sūtrakāra* to resort to *reason* rather than to *Scripture*; but *Saṃkāra* misrepresents all this and as it were patronises the *Sūtrakāra* by observing 'योपि चेतनकारणध्वनयलेनैव समस्तस्य जगत्चेतनतामुल्लेखेत तस्यापि x x x x x चेतना-चेतनविभागध्वनं विभावनाविभावनाभ्यां चैतन्यस्य शक्यत एव योजयितुम्' etc. *Saṃkāra* is again wrong, when he says "just as *Pārthivatva* is common in man and his hair etc., so is *Existence* common to both Brahman and the Universe." If the Universe has the same existence as Brahman, the Universe ceases to be *Sadasāt* and becomes *Sāt*, and *Saṃkāra* will then have to give up his own doctrine of the unreality of the Universe. The *Sāṃkhyas* only challenge the *Sūtrakāra* to prove his *Brahmavāda* argumentatively. All those therefore who do not accept *pure intelligent* Brahman to be the *material* cause of the Universe only manage to soil and spoil the beauty of this interesting *Adhikāraṇa*.

The *Sūtrakāra* answers the difficulty of the *Sāṃkhyas* in "*Drīsyate tu*" and shows that not only *Scripture* but *even perception* is in his favour, for from an *animate* human body proceed *inanimate* hair etc. If by 'similarity' (*Sārāpyam*) the *Sāṃkhyas* mean that the Cause

1. Madhva reads '*Drīsyate tu*' twice, once before and once after the *Abhimānivyapadesa Sūtra* and attempts to show the self-evidence of the Vedas. Bhikshu uses '*Drīsyate tu*' to show that *Prakṛiti* or the *Dehopādhi* of Brahman is the material cause. Nimbārka and Rāṣṭakara offer no very remarkable observations on this *Adhikāraṇa*.

and the Effect should both be identically and essentially one,' there is an end to all distinction of Cause and Effect. Nay the equilibrium of the three Gunas of Prakriti, which are the Cause of all Products, is not observed in these Products, and Prakriti therefore ceases to be the Cause, and further, for this very reason Brahman will have to be admitted to be the Cause of the Universe. The argument directed against the Brahmvādins turns therefore against the Sāmkhyas themselves. If by 'similarity' the Sāmkhyas mean 'likeness of some one or other characteristic,' the Sāmkhyas should observe that Sat, Chit, and Ananda of Brahman are each individually inherited by the Universe, the Soul and the Antaryāmin respectively, and the reason advanced by the Sāmkhyas is itself unreal or not existing (Svarūpāsiddhah), and if the Sāmkhyas were to say that 'similarity' means 'likeness to that characteristic which excludes the Cause from other entities,' the human body and dung cannot be the cause of hair and scorpions, for the characteristic, which excludes the body and dung from other entities, does not exist in hair and scorpions. Nay the human body is *animate* and from *animate human body* proceeds *inanimate* hair, nails, etc, and from *inanimate* dung proceed *animate* scorpions, and the argument advanced by the Sāmkhyas is astray and indeterminate (Sādhāranah). Even if the Sāmkhyas were to persist that the living human body is *inanimate* and run counter to Perception; they cannot gain anything, for their reason has already been shown to be unreal and not existing (Svarūpāsiddhah). Hence the reason advanced by the Sāmkhyas is incompetent to dislodge the solid Brahmvāda of the Upanishads taught by the Sūtrakāra.

The Sāmkhyas are now supposed to observe that if pure intelligent Brahman is the Cause of impure inanimate Universe, the Effect will have to be admitted to be non-existent before its origination.

Sankara answers that this is a mere negation (Pratishedhah) without an object. It is not however competent enough to negative the existence of the Effect before origination. The Effect was existent even before origination as at present. The Effect has not a

separate existence apart from its Cause now or before. Sāṃkara finally quotes a *Sruti* to support his view.

Sāṃkara here implies that the Effect has no real existence and suggests that it is unreal now as before. This import is objectionable, for the *Sūtrakāra* really means that the Effect is a real entity and that it existed unmanifested in the Cause even before its manifestation. The *Sūtra* means that the Effect is taught to be nonexistent, simply because such a view is to be refuted later on. Such a nonexistence is mentioned to teach the Causality of Brahman. Sāṃkara is therefore wrong in unjustly twisting the *Sūtra* to suit his own *Māyāvāda*.

The Sāṃkhyas urge that the Effect is gross, consisting of parts, inanimate, limited, and impure, Brahman will therefore be affected by these qualities of the Effect at the time of dissolution. Again, there will be no special cause for a new beginning of the Universe, there will besides be no distinction of enjoying Souls and objects to be enjoyed etc. Even if a new beginning is assumed, there will be nothing to prevent the appearance of the released Souls in the new world. Further, if the Universe remained distinct at the time of dissolution, dissolution itself becomes a fiction.

Sāṃkara answers that there are parallel instances in clay, gold etc. to show that the Cause is not affected by the qualities of the Effect. The faults ascribed turn against the Sāṃkhyas themselves, since there are no illustrations that would free them from these faults. If the Products of *Prakṛiti* retain their own characteristics, dissolution is not a fact. The Cause and the Effect are not distinct, and the Cause is not affected by the Effect and its qualities, for they are but fallacious superimpositions of Nescience. Again, the illustration of a magician is favourable to this view. Brahman is not affected by the three states just as the Individual Soul is not affected by the illusory visions of a dream. Sāṃkara here quotes a *Kārikā* from *Gauḍapāda* in support. Further, false knowledge is not overcome and the old state of distinctions will satisfactorily be established. The released will not reappear, for their false knowledge has been entirely discarded by perfect

that this feeling is a mere appearance and thus unreal, he is wrong, for the objects seen in a dream may later on be known as non-existing, but the effect they produce are not felt so even later on after waking. Again, the Sāmkhyas in a sense are better than Sāmkara. They accept a multiplicity of distinct Souls and they can explain the order (Vyavasthā) of enjoying Souls in the next creation even after every substance is merged into Prakṛiti at the time of dissolution. Sāmkara accepting the duality of the Soul to be imaginary cannot free himself from the charge of disorderliness of the enjoying Souls. Sāmkara's multiplicity of Souls is nothing but a difference of Inner Organs. After these Inner Organs are merged there is no distinction of Souls, and any Soul may take up any Adṛishṭa at the time of fresh creation, there being no order (Niyama). If the Inner Organ is admitted to remain distinct even at the time dissolution, it will have to be looked upon as beginningless, and it will then cease to be an Effect of Brahman. The case of the Sāmkhyas is stronger, for the Inner Organ may merge into Prakṛiti and the distinct actions of each Individual Soul will settle everything. Again, the attack against the Sāmkhyas that the released Souls will have to reappear is ill-founded. As for the Soul, whose actions are uprooted by sound discrimination, there is nothing which will lead it to assume bodies again, while as for those whose actions are not overcome by discrimination, they may well reappear again. The multiplicity of Souls is a rational and satisfactory argument in their favour. The absurdity urged against the Sāmkhyas exists on the other hand in the doctrine of Māyā. Ātman is only one, Nescience is only one, Nescience exists even now, and none has in consequence yet been released. If Sāmkara were to maintain that some Soul is released, the Soul being non-different, the same Soul is experiencing bondage now. Further, the present Nescience will have a beginning in that case. Sāmkara's Māyāvāda is therefore worse than the Sāmkhya tenet.

The Sāmkhyas now urge that if Brahman were the cause of the Universe, division of enjoying souls (Bhōktṛaḥ) and the objects of enjoyment (Bhogyam) cannot be accounted for, since both are Brahman.

Ether in a jar and Universal Ether, and Māyā to which the illusory difference is due, cannot at all be read in the Sūtras. Samkara is rather refuting the Sūtrakāra than his own opponents, when he brings in his own Theory of Māyā and observes that the explanation of the Sūtra is true only so far as the usual supposed duality remains unobstructed. The last Sūtra of this Adhikarana is decidedly against Samkara. The Sāṃkhyas now raise an objection on the ground of the observation of the employment of instrumentality. They are however wrong, because Brahman emanates Itself without any *extra* instrumentality. This Adhikarana not only goes against Samkara but against all others, who hesitate to accept the *direct* emanation from Brahman Itself. For Its emanation, neither Māyā nor Avidyā nor Prakṛiti nor Upādhi nor Sarīra nor Śakti is required by It, It being Itself *all-embracing*. It is the highest Glory of Brahman that It requires no material, beyond Its own Self for the emanation into manifold forms. The same topic goes on down to B. S. II, 1, 29, in the two sūtras just preceding which it has been said that the Supreme Brahman unfolds Itself and for this purpose It requires no extra material. The Sāṃkhyas are supposed to bring forward two alternative objections, each of which is by them meant to be equally conclusive against the Sūtrakāra. Intelligent Brahman develops or unfolds Itself either wholly or in part, if the first alternative is accepted, no part of It is left in Its original form, and Brahman therefore remains entirely in the form of the Effect, Its original form being wholly transformed, and so the advice of Śruti becomes meaningless, since in the form of the Effect It is being seen without any effort whatsoever, if the latter alternative is accepted, the Śruti passages which proclaim that the Prime Cause is without parts are violated. The Sūtrakāra finds his way out of this dilemma by having recourse to Śruti as usual. He says that the first alternative is not at all possible, because Śruti declares that Brahman continues to exist in Its *original-unaltered form* even after It has voluntarily assumed multiplicity of forms. There are Śrutis that clearly show this *formal-difference* between Brahman and Its Effects. The second alternative also, he continues, is not possible, because there are Texts declaring Brahman to be *without parts*. The Sūtrakāra's view is that upon the

Samkara answers that such a division can be accounted for from ordinary experience. The two sets, of Bhoktâ and Bhogyam can practically be held apart just as in ordinary life we hold apart and distinguish as separate individual substances like waves, ripples, foam etc. although as a matter of fact waves etc. are all of them indetical as being neither more nor less than Water. The division can then be accounted for by Imputation.

This is again objectionable. Samkara accepts Imputation to be Bhogyam, and the imputation-environed Soul to be the Bhoktâ, but in the illustration of waves etc. they are all Bhogya. Samkara does not accept voluntary transformation (Aicchhika Parinimāḥ) of Brahman into Universe and Souls. If the Sūtrakāra really meant to explain that that this difference was due to Illusion, he would have said so distinctly in the Sūtras. If he had to expound the doctrine of Māyā, he would have said "And so there is an identity in reality though they appear to be different on account of Māyā." The wording of the Sūtra is more favourable to the doctrine that the Universe and the Individual Souls are the forms of Brahman than to the other doctrine that propounds the transformation of the *Body* of Brahman, while it is entirely against the doctrine of Māyā.

The question raised in the Itaravyapadesa Adhikarana is that it is declared in Scripture that the Individual Soul is identical with the Supreme Soul and that therefore if the latter is the Material Cause of the Universe, the charges of not doing what is good to oneself can be brought against It. The answer given by the Sūtrakāra is that the Supreme Brahman is higher (Adhikam) than the Individual Soul, and that therefore the charges based upon their supposed absolute identity are groundless. The Sūtrakāra says that the Supreme Brahman is Sat, Chit, and infinite Ânanda, while the Individual Soul is only Sat and Chit, its Ânanda being concealed, and that such a difference of *form* is declared by Srutis. According to the Sūtrakāra the objection on the ground of not doing what is good to oneself may be valid only if the Individual Soul were regarded as the Creator. Thus the Sūtrakāra admits this *formal* difference. Samkara's absolute identity of the two in reality as.

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free from Nescience. The words "Really free from Nescience" give rise to various alternatives. If Brahman is *partly* free from Nescience, Brahman will have to be admitted to have parts. If Brahman is *entirely* free from Nescience, It cannot be the Cause of the Universe. If Samkara says that Brahman is not free from Nescience but that It is at the same time not connected with Nescience, if the *unreal* connection with Nescience is *partial*, Brahman will again have to be admitted to have parts. If the unreal connection is *total*, Brahman in Its totality will have to be admitted to undergo the change. Any how Brahman is not then free from Nescience. Further, the word 'Avidyākālpitarūpa' is not clear. If Brahman is characterised by Nescience, the qualifying and the qualified *both* will have parts. If Brahman is merely Upalakshitam by Nescience, the *qualified alone* will have parts. If Nescience is Prakriti, Prakriti having parts will emanate the Universe, and Brahman then ceases to be the Cause. If Prakriti is supposed to be *dependent* on Brahman, why not give up the doctrine of Mâyâ and fully subscribe to the Sūtrakāra's doctrine?

A few more objections may here be supplemented to Samkara's refinement in adding his own view to B. S. II, 1, 27. Where was the necessity of his refinement? Did he know that his own first interpretation was not proper? Did he want to display his own cleverness? Did he want to bring out a better sense of Śrūtis? Or of the Sūtras? Not of the Sūtras, because the Sūtrakāra himself depends on Śruti alone. Not of Śruti, because there is an inconsistency in his own statement. He once observes that there is no 'Phalam' in understanding the Śrūtis teaching emanation but after a time admits that the 'Phalam' exists in *establishing* the identity of Brahman with everything. Nor can he say that that phalam is not *principal*. The Śrūtis like 'Sa Ātmānam svayamakuruta' etc. refer to the emanation aspect of Brahman. The words 'Aniruktam' etc. teach that Brahman is the substrate of all and even of opposite characteristics (Viruddhadharmāśrayam). Śrūtis like 'Satyam Jñānam Anantam Brahma' etc. teach that the *acquisition* of the Supreme Brahman (Paraprāptih) is the Phalam for those who know that Brahman is the Material

authority of these Texts Brahman's being without parts (Niravayavatvam) must be admitted, because the *real* character of Brahman cannot be conceived without the aid of Śrutis. The real difficulty is how Brahman—which is admittedly the Material Cause of the Universe and which is at the same time declared to be without parts—can yet be different in form from and superior to the Universe. How can there be a break in Its own *real* and uniform character? The straightforward and the commonsense view of the Sūtrakāra is that this is so, and must be accepted as so, upon the supreme authority of Śrutis. Samkara first interprets B. S. II, 1, 27 in support of the Sūtrakāra's doctrine, but while going to refine it by his own additional reply, *he spoils the whole case*. Samkara says that the inconsistency or break in the nature of Brahman is only apparent, it being a product of Māyā, and consequently an Illusion. The very fact that the Sūtrakāra does attempt his own straightforward reply conclusively shows that Samkara is wrong. The Sūtrakāra observes that the two propositions appear inconsistent and yet says that they must be admitted, because they rest on Śruti. The next Sūtra teaches that Brahman contains wonders in Its own Self and expects nothing extra. The Sūtrakāra concludes this Adhikarana, observing that the faults imputed against him turn against the Sāmkhyas themselves, since they depend *more on arguments than on Scripture*. Sudarsana observes here that Samkara goes against the Sāstra, as he contrives to interpret Sabdamūlatva as suiting his own doctrine, in spite of there being *no* such passages. When Samkara tries to explain parts in Brahman resorting as usual to Nescience, he will have to answer whether Nescience resides in a part or the whole of Brahman. If it resides in a portion of Brahman, Brahman is then admitted to have parts, and if it resides in the whole of Brahman, Brahman Itself is not free from it, and Samkara's statement that the dreaming person is united with Brahman becomes inappropriate, for the union then is not with the Unchangeable but with Changeable Brahman. Further, Brahman then loses Its own superiority. Scripture, teaching that Brahman is beyond the senses and that we should yet attempt to behold It, becomes meaningless. Again, Samkara says that the same Brahman which is imagined to be the Cause is really

free from Nescience. The words "Really free from Nescience" give rise to various alternatives. If Brahman is *partly* free from Nescience, Brahman will have to be admitted to have parts. If Brahman is *entirely* free from Nescience, It cannot be the Cause of the Universe. If Samkara says that Brahman is not free from Nescience but that It is at the same time not connected with Nescience, if the *unreal* connection with Nescience is *partial*, Brahman will again have to be admitted to have parts. If the unreal connection is *total*, Brahman in Its totality will have to be admitted to undergo the change. Any how Brahman is not then free from Nescience. Further, the word 'Avidyākālpitarūpa' is not clear. If Brahman is characterised by Nescience, the qualifying and the qualified *both* will have parts. If Brahman is merely Upalakshitam by Nescience, the *qualified alone* will have parts. If Nescience is Prakriti, Prakriti having parts will emanate the Universe, and Brahman then ceases to be the Cause. If Prakriti is supposed to be *dependent* on Brahman, why not give up the doctrine of Māya and fully subscribe to the Sūtrakāra's doctrine?

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cause of all. Again, if Nescience has a Cause, that cause is nothing but Brahman. If Nescience is beginningless, a break in nonduality would be the consequence. There is therefore manifestly no display of cleverness, for even that display is mere Nescience, that is to say Ignorance. And finally, Samkara cannot say that the first interpretation is not proper, after observing लौकिकानामपि मणिमन्त्रो-
धपिप्रभृतीनां × × × शक्तयो विरुद्धानाकार्या दृश्यन्ते × × × तस्माच्छब्दमूल एवाती-
न्द्रियाधात्वावगमः । The additional refinement results therefore in an altogether meaningless jumble.

We now proceed to the last Sarvopetâdhikarana. It teaches that Brahman is naturally possessed of *all* real powers and *all* real attributes. Here it is quite clear that the Sûtrakâra did not at all mean that Brahman only *appears* to be Savisesham on account of Mâyâ or Avidyâ. Samkara is throughout making a rape on the prominent Sûtras of this Pâda by making unnecessary and additional refinements like 'Avidyâtmakopâdhiparichchhedâpeksham' etc. In the next Sûtra the Sâmkhyas are supposed to have urged an objection that Brahman being without bodily organs cannot create this Universe. The Sûtrakâra's answer is straightforward and reasonable. He says that the Supreme Soul, though without bodily organs is possessed of *all* powers and can emanate the Universe, because Scripture teaches so. The nature of Brahman, he says, can be learnt from Scripture alone. As usual, Samkara adds another unnecessary reply of his own that Creation is an Illusion and does not really exist, and that Brahman does *not* create. The Sâmkhyas then bring in the question of *motive*. Brahman can have no motive in creating this Universe and so cannot be its Cause. The answer of the Sûtrakâra is a simple and reasonable one. Emanation is a mere Sport or Play¹ (Lîlâ) of Brahman. But Samkara is not satisfied with this clear reply and again brings in his doctrine to say that the Universe is only an Illusion. Samkara is not free from attacks² here also. The Sâmkhyas

1. पञ्चात्मकः स भगवान् द्विपञ्चालकोभूत् पञ्चद्वयीशतसहस्रपरामितश्च । एकः समोप्य-
खिलदोषसमुज्जितोऽपि सर्वत्रपूर्णगुणकोऽपि बहुपमोभूत् ॥ निर्दोषपूर्णगुणविग्रहआत्मतन्त्रो निधेतनात्मक-
शरीरगुणैश्च हीनः । आनन्दमात्ररूपादमुखोदरादिः सर्वत्र च त्रिविधभेदविवर्जितात्मा ॥ तत्त्वदीपनिबन्धः ॥

2. Read Sudarsana's remarks.

would say that the Universe-business (Jagadvyāpārah) of Brahman cannot be without a *motive*, and the proper answer to it should be that it is a *sport*. But now, if the Universe is a *figment*, Samkara will have to admit that there is no underlying end in the work of the deluded. If Samkara were to say that a sport is possible in the deluded, he may be answered that some freaks in a deluded person *may* appear like a sport, but striking the head etc. cannot for a moment be called a *sport*, as a matter of fact they are exactly the freaks that distinguish between a *sport* and the *idiocy* of the deluded. Further, Brahman creates the Universe after Its *resolution* taught in Srutis like 'Bāhu syām' etc., while no deluded person has sense to resolve. Again, if Īswara is omniscient, He should not call the Universe-business a sport, when it is troublesome to Himself. If Brahman is ignorant, goodbye to Its omniscience. If Samkara were to say that It creates the Universe with a *view* to put an end to miseries, such a motive cannot be called Līlā, for there is no Līlā in a sick person's taking medicine. Īswara is the Author of the Rīgveda etc. and has more knowledge than Scripture itself, and He can then acquire neither discrimination nor knowledge by Creation. Even admitting for a moment that He creates the Universe with a view to put a stop to His bondage, He should create such objects as would result in the cessation of that bondage and not such as strengthen the same. But what is this Līlā? Is it the cause of delusion or the effect of delusion or delusion itself? It is not the *cause* of delusion, for none would like to be so deluded sportively. It cannot be called the *effect* of delusion, for in that case Brahman's first resolution will not be called Līlā. The delusion can well exist *without sport* as its cause or effect. Līlā is not delusion itself for nobody calls the sight of two moons to be a Līlā. Īswara however deludes others, Himself remaining free from delusion. Samkara is still inconsistent, for duality is not according to him perceived without delusion. Again, Brahman is absolutely Nirviśham and cannot have a Līlā. It cannot be a Līlā of Īswara, for He knows everything and therefore the miseries of the world and his own identity with Souls too, and yet gives out the Universe replete with miseries!

The Sâmkhyas now charge the Creator of inequality and cruelty. Samkara refers them to His regard of merit and demerit of the individual Souls. Where lies however the necessity for Samkara's answer to the criticism of the Sâmkhyas, for inequality and cruelty cannot be for a moment called faults in a deluded person, and these do not at all exist, when they are but imputed? Besides, these Sûtras would be meaningless in that case. They are useful only to the Brahmvâdin, who has to answer the criticism of the Sâmkhyas, since he accepts the Universe to be a *real entity*.

The last Sûtra in this Adhikarana corroborates in another form the Sûtrakâra's doctrine that *Brahman is really possessed of all powers and of all attributes*. The propriety of all *real attributes in Brahman* cannot certainly be reconciled in Samkara's absolutely Nirvisesha Brahman. He will therefore have to admit that they are simply a *figment*, and thus *run counter to Scripture*. In this *whole* Pâda the Sûtrakâra has thoroughly answered *all* the arguments advanced by the Sâmkhyas and conclusively shown that *Brahman is possessed of all—even wonderfully opposite—attributes and that nothing is equal to or higher than Nirdosha Pârnaguna Brahman*. The summary of this whole Pâda may well be given in the following interesting verses of the Tattvadipinibandha.

सच्चिदानन्दरूपं तु ब्रह्म व्यापकमव्ययम् ।
 सर्वशक्ति स्वतन्त्रं च सर्वज्ञं गुणवर्जितम् ॥
 सजातीयविजातीयस्वगतद्वैतवर्जितम् ।
 सत्यादिगुणसाहचैर्युक्तमौत्पत्तिकैः सदा ॥
 सर्वाधारं वक्ष्यमायमानन्दाकारमुत्तमम् ।
 प्रापञ्चिकपदार्थानां सर्वेषां तद् विलक्षणम् ॥
 जगतः समवायि स्यात् तदेव च निमित्तकम् ।
 कदाचिद्रमते स्वस्मिन् प्रपञ्चेऽपि क्वचित् सुखम्

- १ सत्त्वं शौचं दया क्षान्तिस्त्राणः सन्तोष आर्जवम् ।
 शमो दमस्तपः साम्यं तितिक्षोपरतिः श्रुतम् ॥
 ज्ञानं विरक्तिरैश्वर्यं शौर्यं तेजो बलं सृष्टिः ।
 स्वातन्त्र्यं कौशलं शान्तिर्धैर्यं मार्दवमेव च ॥
 प्रागल्भ्यं प्रभयः शीलं सह ओजो बलं भगः ।
 गाम्भीर्यं स्थैर्यमास्तिक्यं कीर्तिर्मानोऽहङ्कृतिः ॥ श्रीमद्भागवतम् १-१६.

यत्र येन यतो यस्य यसै यद्यथा यदा ।
 स्यादिदं भगवान् साक्षात् प्रधानपुरुषेश्वरः ॥
 यः सर्वत्रैव सन्तिष्ठन्नन्तरः संस्पृशेन्न तत् ।
 शरीरं तन्न वेदेत्यं योनुविश्य प्रकाशते ॥
 सर्ववादानवसरं नानावादानुरोधि तत् ।
 अनन्तमूर्तिं तद् ब्रह्म कूटस्थं चलमेव च ॥
 विरुद्धसर्वधर्माणामाश्रयं युक्त्यगोचरम् ॥

x x x x x x

आविर्भावतिरौभावैर्मोहनं बहुरूपतः ।
 इन्द्रियाणां तु सामर्थ्याददृश्यं स्वेच्छया तु तत् ॥
 आनन्दरूपे शुद्धस्य सत्त्वस्य फलनं यदा ।
 तदा मरकतश्याममाविर्भावे प्रकाशते ॥

x x x x x x

x x x x x x

x x x x x x

आत्मसृष्टेर्न वैषम्यं नैर्घृण्यं चापि विद्यते ।
 पक्षान्तरेपि कर्म स्यान्नियतं तत् पुनर्ब्रह्म ॥
 स एव हि जगत्कर्ता तथापि सगुणो^१ न हि ।
 गुणामिमानिनो ये वै तदंशाः सगुणाः स्मृताः ।
 कर्ता स्वतन्त्र एव स्यात् सगुणत्वे विरुध्यते ॥

GENERAL REMARKS.

We may now recapitulate the result of the discussion in these pages. We observed that the Sāṃkhya^१ bring in a number of Scriptural passages to establish their claim on the Vedas and that the interpretations of these passages given by Sāṃkhya are not their real meaning. In two respects viz. (1) that the Universe is a real entity, and that it must therefore have a real cause, and (2) that the existence of an infinite multitude of Individual Souls, the Sāṃkhya gain a clear superiority over the Māyāvādin. As for those who feel inclined to look down slightly from an absolutely monistic point of view upon a dualistic conception of the Universe, the following words of E. Roer will be instructive:—
 “Though a higher development may destroy the distinction be-

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is the greatest of the Prescriptive expositors of the Vedānta Sūtras. Rāmānuja clearly observes that his Sribhāṣya has been based on a very old Vṛtti by 'Baudhāyana.' The Vṛttikāra was undoubtedly well-known to Saṃkāra, as would appear from his Gītā Bhāṣya and Brahmasūtrabhāṣya. The orthodox adherents of Rāmānuja trace their system from Lakṣmi¹. Mādḥva and Nimbārka trace their systems from Brahmā and Sanaka etc. Vallabha traces his system *direct*² from Puruṣhottama, and not from Rudra as some suppose. Even Bhikṣu, the latest of all Bhāṣyakāras, designates all these Āchāryas as 'Adhunikāḥ' or 'moderns'. Pandit Chandrakānta Tārkālakāra infers in his preface to the Nyāyakusumanjālī that Saṃkāra flourished after the Parināmavādin Bhāṣkara³. सोयम्वद्वपरिणामवादिः शाङ्करमाख्ये खण्डितो वर्तते इति शाङ्कराचार्यो भास्करात् पराचीन इत्यनुमीयते x x x x x The argument of Amīyāpāramparā, under these circumstances, fails to support Principal Gough. The doctrine of Māyā is not at all present in Rīgveda, X, 129. Principal Gough is here misled by Sāyana, a strong adherent of Saṃkāra. It is clear from the hymn that the bard is wonderstruck at the transcendental Glory of the Creator displayed in the Universe, and rightly declares in his wonder of wonders that the nature of the Creator of this marvellous Universe cannot be exactly scrutinised. Human sense is certainly too feeble to make out the *real* nature of the Creator. The whole Sūkta nowhere teaches that the wonderful Universe is a figment, the hymn is, on the other hand, replete with words clearly favourable to the doctrine that this marvellous Universe points to the Glory of Brahman. One sees in the Nāsadiya Sūkta Saṃkāra's doctrine of Māyā only after one is prejudiced by books like modern Panchadasi, Yogavāsisṭha, Ātmapurāṇa, etc. Principal Gough observes further on "that it is presumably already plain enough that the Upanishads teach the

1. रामानुजानां सरणी रमातो गौरीपतेर्विष्णुमतानुगानाम् ।

निम्बार्कानां सनकादितश्च मध्वानुगानां परमेशितः सा ॥ पद्मपुराणम् ॥

2. श्रावणास्वामले पक्ष एकादश्याम्महानिरिति ।

साक्षाद्गवता प्रोक्तन्तदक्षरश उच्यते ॥ तिदान्तरहस्यम् ॥

3. Though this view is not correct literally, some Parināmavāda was undoubtedly known to Saṃkāra.

tween Soul and Matter, i. e. may recognise matter or what is perceived as matter, as the same with the Soul, it is nevertheless certain that no true knowledge of the Soul is possible without first drawing a most decided line of demarcation between the phenomena of Matter and of the Soul." This sharp line of demarcation between the two domains was drawn by Kapila. The knowledge of the difference between the Body and the Soul is one condition and it is an indispensable condition of arriving at a true monism as of our Sūtrakāra. Every view of the Universe which confounds this difference can supply at best a one-sided henism, be it a spiritualism or an equally onesided materialism¹. We may however for a time direct our attention to what the defenders of Samkara have to say. Principal Gough has attempted "to prove that the unreality of the world, as an emanation of the self-feigning world fiction, is part and parcel of the philosophy of the Upanishads." Colebrooke is correct, so far as he said that the notion—that the versatile world is an illusion and that all that passes to the apprehension of the waking individual is but a phantasy presented to his imagination and every seeming thing is unreal and all is visionary—does not appear to be the doctrine of the text of the Vedānta. He is literally right when he has remarked nothing which countenances it in the Sūtras of Bādarāyana Vyāsa, but he is undoubtedly wrong when he continues that he has remarked nothing which countenances it in the gloss of Samkāra. It is very creditable to Principal Cowell to correct by way of a note this part of his statement. Colebrook's statement is not then false from first to last, but is wrong only with regard to Samkara. Principal Gough has failed to make out anything of the Upanishads, if he has come to the conclusion that Māyā is a vital element of the primitive Indian cosmical conception. Even admitting that the Sūtras are obscure, (and they are certainly so for those who commence to read them without critically studying the four Vedas and the six Vedāṅgas) Principal Gough is not correct when he asks us to note, on the ground of Âchāryaparamparā or Āmnāyaparamparā that Samkara

is the greatest of the Prescriptive expositors of the Vedānta Sūtras. Rāmānuja clearly observes that his Śribhāṣya has been based on a very old Vṛtti by Baudhāyana. The Vṛttikāra was undoubtedly well-known to Saṃkāra, as would appear from his Gītā Bhāṣya and Brahmasūtrabhāṣya. The orthodox adherents of Rāmānuja trace their system from Lakṣhmi¹. Madhva and Nimbārka trace their systems from Brahmā and Sanaka etc. Vallabha traces his system *direct*² from Puruṣhottama, and not from Rudra as some suppose. Even Bhikṣu, the latest of all Bhāṣyakāras, designates all these Āchāryas as "Adhunikāh" or "moderns". Pandit Chandrakānta Tarkālamkāra infers in his preface to the Nyāyakusumūnjali that Saṃkāra flourished after the Parināmavādin Bhīṣaka³. मोयम्ब्रह्मपरिणामवादिः शाङ्करभाष्ये स्पष्टितो वर्तते इति शाङ्कराचार्यो मास्करात् पराचीन इत्यनुमीयते x x x x x The argument of Anuāyaparamparā, under these circumstances, fails to support Principal Gough. The doctrine of Māyā is not at all present in Rīgveda, X, 129. Principal Gough is here misled by Sāyana, a strong adherent of Saṃkāra. It is clear from the hymn that the bard is wonderstruck at the transcendental Glory of the Creator displayed in the Universe, and rightly declares in his wonder of wonders that the nature of the Creator of this marvellous Universe cannot be exactly scrutinised. Human sense is certainly too feeble to make out the *real* nature of the Creator. The whole Śūkta nowhere teaches that the wonderful Universe is a figment, the hymn is, on the other hand, replete with words clearly favourable to the doctrine that this marvellous Universe points to the Glory of Brahman. One sees in the Nāsadiya Śūkta Saṃkāra's doctrine of Māyā only after one is prejudiced by books like modern Panchadasi, Yogavāsishtā, Ātmapurāṇa, etc. Principal Gough observes further on "that it is presumably already plain enough that the Upanishads teach the

1. रामानुजानो सरणी रमातो गौरीपतेर्विष्णुनतालुगनानाम् ।

निम्बार्कानां सनकादितश्च मध्वालुगानां परमेष्ठिनः सा ॥ पञ्चपुराणम् ॥

2. आश्वलास्यामले पक्ष एकादशसंमहानिदि ।

साक्षाद्भवता प्रोक्तन्तदक्षरश उच्यते ॥ सिद्धान्तरहस्यम् ॥

3. Though this view is not correct literally, some Parināmavāda was undoubtedly known to Saṃkāra.

fictitious and unreal nature of the world. The fictitious character of the world of semblances is everywhere implied in the doctrine of the sole existence of the Impersonal Self". A statement false from first to last. The Upanishads do not merely imply but expressly teach that the Universe is *not* unreal, but a *real and volitional form of Brahman*. Impartial comparative and critical study of the available Upanishadbhāshyas side by side with Brahmasūtra-bhāshyas teaches quite the reverse of what Principal Gough asks us to *presume*. The real sense of the passage "Indro Māyābhiḥ Pururūpa īyate" has already been discussed. The passage "Katama Atmeti" (Brih. IV, 3, 6) refers to the Soul in his deep sleep, it is a Sushuptivākya, and the unreal creation taught later on refers to the creation of the *dreaming* Soul¹. Principal Gough is therefore wrong in seeing here the *unreality* of the *creation* of *Brahman*. He has in this and similar passages *confounded* the creation of the dreaming Soul with that of Brahman. The Upanishads teach that the *creation* of the *dreaming* Soul is *unreal*, but that the creation of the Universe being a *real work of Brahman* is not to be looked upon as entirely distinct from its Cause. This accounts for the condemnation of the cognition of duality in Upanishads. It is not *duality* that is condemned but it is the *cognition of duality* that has been so condemned. Even the passages that refer to the undifferentenced state of the Universe show that the Universe being the Sat form of Brahman existed potentially in It, Chit and Ānanda being involved, and that therefore the Universe can in no way be looked upon as unreal. The words "Avyākṛita" etc. therefore do not teach the unreality of the Universe, but on the other hand teach the reality of the undifferentenced Universe *existing potentially in Brahman*. The meanings of words like "Tamas" etc. have already been given. "Yatra hi Dwaitamiva bhavati" (Brih. IV, 5, 15) teaches that notwithstanding the fact that the Universe and the Soul are all *forms* of Brahman, the Individual Soul by his own limitation and reversion of divine powers looks upon himself and his surroundings as entirely and essentially distinct and becomes a victim of Nescience,

1. Vide Brahmasūtras III, 2, 3.

addicting himself to sensuous appetites. This does not at all mean that the Universe is unreal. The passage in Chhândogya Upanishad translated by Principal Gough (Page 245) has already been discussed and shown to teach the reality and non-duality of the Universe. The passages from Katha translated by Principal Gough (page 217) have also been already treated in detail and Avyakta has been shown to be nothing else than Brahman. The passages from Mundaka Upanishad translated by Principal Gough teach clearly that the relation of the Supreme Brahman to the Individual Soul is that of fire and a spark (Amsamsibhâvah). The Upanishads then do not teach Mâyāvāda, but they emphatically preach that *there exists really one Brahman and that everything is a real and volitionally designed emanation of that one and only one Brahman*. The Unreality of the Universe is nowhere taught in the Brahmasûtras. They literally countenance Brahmaparinirvāda¹ amplified later on by Vallabha. The Aphorisms do not at all testify to the unreality of the Universe. In the Third (not fourth as Principal Gough says) Section of the First Pada of the Second Adhyāya of the Brahmasûtras, we do read about the various objections raised against the doctrine that Brahman is at once the real basis (Upādānam) underlying the world, but we do not at all read there any trace of Sankara's Mâyāvāda. The meaning of Vāchārambhanya is by the Sûtrakāra taught to be *non-duality of Cause and Effect, and not unreality*. The 23rd Sûtra of the same Pada does not teach that the Universe is a dream. The view that the Universe is a dream has been unquestionably *condemned* by the Author of the Sûtras in II, 2, 29 in the clearest possible terms. The Sûtra II, 1, 28 teaches that Brahman Itself is *inwardly possessed of real marvellous powers*. The prima facie evidence afforded by the very fact of there being numerous commentators of various schools goes against the view that the Sûtras countenance the unreality of the Universe. The definition of Brahman in B. S. I, 1, 2, having no reference to the *twofold* Brahman of Sankara, allows no room for Sankara's doctrine in the Sûtras. The argument of Vailakshanya in B. S. II, 1, 1 and the next Sûtras goes against the view that the Sûtrakāra implies Mâyāvāda.

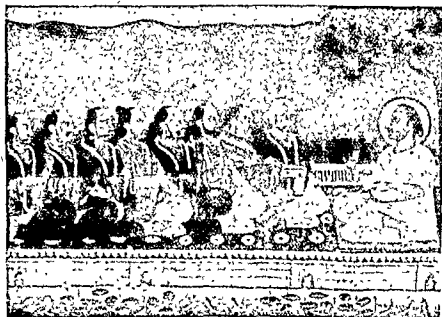
of a later time, when the worship of Siva and Sakti had gained ground, it was composed not very long before the time of Samkara¹. This weakens the force of the evidence supplied by the *Sāmkhyas* and *Samkara* both. The older *Upanishads* then have no room for *Māyāvāda* or *Prakritivāda*. We saw in the foregoing pages that the *Sāmkhyas* gained a real superiority over *Samkara* in as much as they accept the existence of a *plurality of souls*. Both are indeed wrong in calling the Soul to be merely all-pervading, disembodied, indifferent, and inactive thought. Davies correctly observes that the grandeur of the Soul in *Kapila's* system is *unreal and useless*. It has no *real* elevation, it knows nothing of *virtue and vice* as connected with itself. It has no *purpose* beyond itself. It never *condescends* to work either for itself or for others. Its highest state is one of perfect *abstraction* from matter and from all other Souls, a *self-contained life* wherein *no breath of emotion ever breaks in on the placid surface*. The system of *Kapila* then tends in a sense to *destroy morality* as an active agency against evil, nay more, it levels so nearly the barrier between virtue and vice, that the difference becomes unimportant except as a matter of sensation. There is in the system of *Kapila* *no place for duty* or *a sense of sin* in failing to fulfil it. These are impossible except in connection with a *law* which proceeds from a *source* higher than man, and which he is *bound* to obey. In his *Rational Refutation* Rev. Gorelli rightly calls this "*a momentous defect*". The same remarks are applicable to *Samkara's* theory as well. The *Sītrakāra* is indeed free from all these faults, since he teaches the Soul to be *chidgūṇa*, *Anu*, *Kartā*, and an *Amsa* of the Supreme Brahman.

We saw that *Samkara's* replies to the arguments of the *Sāmkhyas* against the theory of the intelligent Creator were not at all satisfactory, but that the *Sītrakāra's* answers were fully straightforward and consistent. The difference of intelligence and intelligence

non-manifestation taught not only by Scripture but by *perception* as well. The confusion of enjoyers and enjoyment is obviated by honestly admitting a *formal* and *volitional* difference by *involution* and *evolution*. The difficulty of 'hitākaranam' is solved by holding that Brahman is supreme and neither the Soul nor Jada (matter) can equal It (Na tatsamāśchābhyadhikascha driśhyate). The Sūtrakāra shows that Brahman being all-embracing, emits the Universe from Its own substance without any extra matter or operation. Brahman is taught by him to be emanating the Universe and still unchangeable on the evidence of *Śruti*. The Sūtrakāra concludes finally that Brahman is possessed of every attribute and that there is neither inequality nor cruelty in Its Līlā. Sankara accepting Brahman, exactly alike the Sāṃkhya Puruṣa and an unreal Jīvara cannot claim any superiority over his rational adversaries. Taking a firm stand on the Sūtrakāra we may attempt an easy refutation of the arguments against the existence of God in the theistic sense of that word. God is ever liberated and emanates the Real Universe. He is like fire essentially too pure to be affected by the impurities of the Effect. 'Omniscience' etc. manifest the glory of Brahman alone and not of the Soul, because unobstructed infinite omniscience etc. are impossible in anything but Brahman. Karman being itself inanimate, without the Anupravēśa of Brahman, cannot be inferred or perceived to accomplish effectuation of fruits. Their effectuation therefore positively argues His existence.¹ His unmolested and unobstructed Moral and affectionate Government conclusively proves His existence. Selfishness is impossible in Āptakāma and disinterested God, ever working to satisfy our own righteous desires. This absolutely just and yet gracious nature of God precludes the possibility of His being compared to a selfish imbecile mundane superior. This *sportively designed emanation of the Universe*, itself a Puruṣa², cannot be attributed to an emergent Soul, for the Soul itself is a part of the emanation of Brahman, as a spark of fire. The magnificent design of the Universe cannot be looked upon as mundane and His unobstructed Will and Power therefore argue His ad and their eternity. God in Indian Theology is the Moral ruler without malign passions. It has been repeatedly shown that God or Brahman is neither affected by Prakṛiti nor by the Soul, both being His own forms. Not mere proximity, but an *infinite way*, over Prakṛiti and

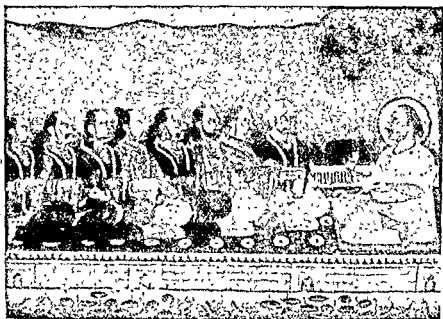
1 Vide एतद्वा उच्यते: B. S. III. 2. 38 and various Bhāṣhyas thereon. 2 Vide Bhagavadgītā XV 15-16.

Souls, constitutes the *essence* of moral and loving God-hood. *Srutis* positively declare His existence. The nine independent arguments supplied by Udayana may slightly be modified and used against the Sāmkhyas. If the Sāmkhyas like Bhikshu remain silent about this *theistic* aspect, we have hardly anything to say against them, but if they were to advance arguments with a view to refute the existence of Paramâtman or Bhagavân—that is to say of Brahman—we may point out that they actually admit the existence of Prakṛiti in spite of insufficient evidence¹. The evidence in Sāmkhya Kārikā No. 17 for the existence of the Soul is equally insufficient. It may at best prove the existence of Ahankāra but not of Purusha. The Vedic arguments in favour of the existence of God are indeed more convincing than those advanced by them to prove the existence of Prakṛiti or Purusha. The Sāmkhyas themselves cannot succeed in accounting for their own involution and evolution against the Naiyāyikas, unless they admit that they are but *powers of God*². Even the disorderliness of their inanimate Prakṛiti and a boundless multiplicity of Individual Souls necessitate the admission of one eternal controller in the form of God. Their theory therefore remains *unphilosophical in the absence of the essential substrate in the form of all-embracing lovely and loving Brahman*.



1. Vide Sāmkhya Kārikās 7 and 8.
2. आर्वाभावतिरोभावी शक्ती नै सुवैरिणः । Vishnu Purāna.

Souls, constitutes the *essence* of moral and loving God-hood. Srutis positively declare His existence. The nine independent arguments supplied by Udayana may slightly be modified and used against the Sāmkhyas. If the Sāmkhyas like Bhikshu remain silent about this *theistic* aspect, we have hardly anything to say against them, but if they were to advance arguments with a view to refute the existence of Paramâtman or Bhagavân—that is to say of Brahman—we may point out that they actually admit the existence of Prakriti in spite of insufficient evidence¹. The evidence in Sāmkhya Kārikâ No. 17 for the existence of the Soul is equally insufficient. It may at best prove the existence of Ahankâra but not of Purusha. The Vedic arguments in favour of the existence of God are indeed more convincing than those advanced by them to prove the existence of Prakriti or Purusha. The Sāmkhyas themselves cannot succeed in accounting for their own involution and evolution against the Naiyāyikas, unless they admit that they are but *powers of God*². Even the disorderliness of their inanimate Prakriti and a boundless multiplicity of Individual Souls necessitate the admission of one eternal controller in the form of God. Their theory therefore remains *unphilosophical in the absence of the essential substrate in the form of all-embracing lovely and loving Brahman*.



1. Vide Sāmkhya Kārikās 7. and 8.

2. आदिर्भावलिरोभावी शक्तेर्वै सुखैरिणः । Vishnu Purāna.

EPIC STUDIES.

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I. SOME ASPECTS OF THE MAHABHARATA CANON.

THE PROBLEM of the Mahābhārata textual criticism is a problem *sui generis*. Here the principles of textual reconstruction must first be evolved from an intensive study of the manuscript material and the manuscript tradition.¹ They can be finally considered and settled only after prolonged and considerable discussion and exchange of ideas and opinions.

The vulgate text of the Mbh. is fairly readable and appears, in places, to be even "better" than the critical text, because the former has been purged by the continuous emendations of scholars for centuries. The reader is consequently apt to prefer, at first sight, the readings of the vulgate text, but a thorough and sympathetic study of the author's language and thought and a critical evaluation of the variants would show him that the constituted text is sound.

Of the many reviews of the first fascicule of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata that have appeared during the past year there are two that deserve my special attention: the review by Dr. Hermann Weller in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* (vol. 6, pp. 166ff.), and that by Professor Edgerton in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (vol. 18, pp. 186-190). Both reviews are evidently products of a very close study of the text and the critical apparatus. Particularly valuable is the review by Prof. Edgerton, who can appreciate the difficulties of the problem I have had to confront perhaps better than most scholars, since he has had to struggle with problems of a like nature in his valuable work on the Pāñcatantra and the Vikramacarita.

In the succeeding pages I have endeavoured to set forth my reasons for adopting in the text the readings that have commended

¹ Valuable hints are to be found especially in the writings of Prof. Loder.

themselves to me, in those cases which have been discussed by Weller and Edgerton in the reviews mentioned above. They concern the readings of l. l. 19, 42, 49, 62, 201, and of the identification of the hundred sub-parvans of the Mbh. enumerated in the second adhyāya of the Ādiparvan, that is, in the Parvasaṃgrahaparvan.²

* * * *

1. 1. 19 :

vedaīḥ caturbhiḥ saṃmitām (v. 1. *saṃmitām*).^{*}

Weller suggests an emendation—in fact, two alternative emendations. He first proposes to read *saṃmitām* for my *samitām*. The former variant is found only in one MS. which besides transposes the first two words of the pāda. His alternative suggestion is more radical. Seeing that the variant preferred by him yields a pāda metrically defective, he proposes to mend matters by recasting the pāda thus : *caturbhiḥ saṃmitām vedaīḥ*. This pāthya, he thinks, must have been the original reading of the pāda. The only reason Weller has adduced for rejecting the text reading is the supposed intrinsic fitness of the alternate ; it suits the context much better, he believes. K₃, the solitary MS. which contains the reading preferred by Weller, stands sixth on my list of K MSS., whose relative value diminishes in the order there given ; it is full of clerical mistakes, due probably to the difficulty experienced by the copyist (either of this MS. or of one of its ancestors) in deciphering the (? Śāradā) exemplar. I consider it an inferior codex. With Weller's reading we get a prior pāda with the scansion — — — — / ' — — — —. Hopkins' statistical study of the relative frequency of the different forms of the pādas (*Great Epic*, p. 236) shows that this is a "rare" combination. Even Weller realizes that the line does not read smoothly and calls therefore the length of the sixth syllable a "metrical archaism." Now *samitām* (of the text,

² As most of the references in these studies will be to the Mahābhārata, all numbers without alphabetical prefix refer to the *critical edition* of the epic. When a reference is made to other editions of the epic, I have prefixed to the references an indicative letter enclosed within parentheses : thus (C.) denotes the Calcutta edition, (B.) the Bombay edition, and (K.) the Kumbhakonam edition.

without the anusvāra) recurs in a similar context, also at the end of a prior pāda, and apparently in the same sense in (B.) 1. 95. 90 : *idam hi vedaiḥ samitām*. It also occurs, in a different context, in Suśruta 2. 346. 3 : *angusthaparvasamitam*. If we read *sammitām* in the passage under discussion, we should have *pari passu* to read it in the two latter passages also, both of which then would be metrically defective; the scansion of the first would be nearly the same as that of the pāda in question, the second would end with three consecutive iambs. Are these all instances of "metrical archaisms" ? For that, it seems to me, the documental probability of the reading preferred by Weller is not strong enough. The text reading, which is mentioned by Nilakaṇṭha as a variant, is supported indirectly by K₂ (*samatām*) and directly by K_{o.3.4.6} M_{1.3.4}. On the other hand, Weller's reading, as has already been remarked, is found only in one inferior MS. Worthy of note is Nilakaṇṭha's gloss : *samitām iti pāthe tulyām ity arthaḥ*. The initial mistake of Weller lies in supposing that *sammitām* suits the context better than *samitām*, whereas, in point of fact, *sammitām* is nothing more than a doublet of the other word. Weller does not realize that his attempt to substitute an "easier reading" has been anticipated by the scribe of K₂, who likewise finding the emended line (metrically) unreadable has transposed the words of the pāda, reaching a new combination : *caturbhir vedaiḥ sammitām*, which according to Hopkins (*loc. cit.*) is of "very rare, sporadic" occurrence. The word *samita* has been perfectly correctly explained in PW. : *samita* (*sa+mīta*) = *sammita*, "gleiches Maas habend, gleich". The relation between the two words is clearly revealed by the more familiar doublets *satata* : *samtata*, *sahita* : *samhita* and so on, *sa-* and *sam-* being the unaccented and accented forms of one and the same prefix. When the accentual factor became inoperative, the choice was conditioned solely by metrical considerations. The identification in the case of *samita* may have been helped by contamination with *sam+ita* (= *samgata*), "conformable to, in harmony with" (a meaning not unsuitable even here), or by its supposed connection with *sama*, "equal" (cf. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.* II, 1. § 30 bβ). The semantic values of the words in question being the same, the combined

force of documental probability and metrical preference decides the question of choice incontestably in favour of the adopted text.

The text reading really needs some further justification. Weller's misunderstanding of the text is, in my opinion, a direct confirmation of my remark in the Foreword (p. vi) that it is a *lectio difficilior*. The word was, I suppose, early misunderstood. To judge by the character of the variants, it was commonly, though erroneously, interpreted as *sam+ita*, "united, combined with". In this sense, in course of time, it must have been ousted by its easier synonyms *saṁyukta* (substituted for it in V, B D) and *sahita* (mainly in T and G). Both these readings are inadequate. Nīlakaṇṭha's explanation *caturvedārtharatīm* is inadmissible; the phrase can at best mean *caturvedaratīm* ("possessing the four Vedas"), which is of course sheer nonsense. Roy's "comprehendeth the sense of the four Vedas" and Dutt's "contains the sense of the four Vedas" are equally inaccurate paraphrases (based upon the explanation furnished by the scholiast), because the passage in the vulgate cannot bear the meaning here forced upon it. On the other hand, the *literal* meaning of *saṁyukta* or *sahita* is, as already remarked, wholly unsuitable. For what could the assembled sages mean by saying that they wished to hear the Mahābhārata) Saṁhitā "combined with the four Vedas"?

To return to the manuscript evidence. The K group is partly corrupt and indecisive though the majority has the text reading: K_{1,2,3,4,6} as in text; K₅, *sahitām*; K₇, *samatām*; K₈, *saṁmitām*. All these stand resolutely against *saṁyuktām* of the vulgate; but, from the point of view of transcriptional probability, none of them is wholly incompatible with *saṁitām* of the text. Three out of the four Malayālam MSS. have also preserved the true reading; the remaining Malayālam MS. has *sahitām*, the reading of the TG group. With this data I should explain the genesis of the variants thus. The text reading is a *lectio difficilior*, preserved in the majority of K intact, and in the remaining MSS. of the K version in a corrupt condition. The K reading being partly supported by M, there is a partial agreement between two more or less independent versions, a condition almost wholly absent in the case of the rejected variants. Being a difficult and unfamiliar word, it was

early misunderstood and finally dropped—independently in certain groups of the Southern and Northern recensions—in favour of such words as were thought to be its equivalents in sense but which do not fit the context and are wholly inadequate.

After what has been said above, it is hardly necessary to consider the alternative proposed by Weller. But in passing it may be pointed out that it is methodologically wrong to expect to find the original reading by picking out a stray variant which appears to give a better meaning, and shuffling the words of the pāda until the pathyā form turns up. For one thing, it is by no means certain that the original must be a pathyā; the MS. evidence, so far as I have examined it, is all in favour of the hypothesis that originally the vipulās were far more numerous than what one is led to suppose from the study of the vulgate text, which has modernized many of the archaic lines of the original and successfully covered up the traces of the metamorphosis.

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1. 1. 42 :

daśajyotiḥ śatajyotiḥ sahasrajyotir ātmavān (v. 1. *eva ca*.)

Here the situation is much clearer. According to Weller the variant *eva ca* is not quite wrong ("abwegig"). Quite true. But about the text reading, I think we can say much more than that. In point of grammar, metre or even sense, there is not much to choose between the variants. But in point of documental probability, their values are totally different. *eva ca* is the variant offered by Ko., Da Dn Dr D₁₋₁₂; the text, on the other hand, is documented by a much stronger group, K_{1-5,6} V, B Da, (marg.) D₄ S. It is further attested by another good MS. of a different category, I have since compared: a Nepālī MS. belonging to the Benares Sanskrit College Manuscripts Library. The text reading figures also in Goldstücker's collations from European codices, of which I have photo copies.³ The position then, is this. On the

³ The photographs were kindly presented to the Bhandarkar Institute by the University of Strassburg, through the kind offices of the late Prof. Emile Senart. I take this opportunity to thank the University publicly for this service.

one hand the K version is indecisive, agreeing partly with D, which is the main witness for the rejected variant; on the other hand BS (probably together with the Nepālī-Maithilī version) form a solid group in favour of the text, further attested by three K MSS. including the important India Office codex K₁. It will be seen that the documental authority is almost wholly on the side of the text. For a contamination between Devanāgarī transcripts of Kāśmīrī MSS. and Devanāgarī MSS. must be postulated to be far more likely than a contamination between the entire Bangālī version and the entire Southern recension. The different Indian scripts being all but unintelligible outside the provinces where they were developed, there is already a *prima facie* reason for assuming the independence of B and S. This principle was long ago recognized and enunciated by Prof. Luders, than whom no scholar has a profounder acquaintance with and a clearer insight in the problem of Mahābhārata textual criticism. In *Die Grantha-recension des Mahābhārata* (Berlin 1901), Prof. Luders has said: "Das beweist, dass die Grantha-handschriften nicht etwa auf Bengali-Handschriften zurückgehen,—etwa, was von vornherein nicht gerade wahrscheinlich ist,—sondern dass in den Fällen wo B und G zusammengehen, ihre Lesarten als alt zu sehen sind". Now what is true of the consensus of B and G is *a fortiori* true of the consensus of B and S. This presumptive independence is wholly confirmed by my intensive study of the first 3,000 stanzas of the Ādiparvan from the extensive collations at my disposal, during which study I have not been able to detect the slightest trace of "secondary interrelationship" between the Bangālī version *as a whole* and the Southern recension *as a whole*. Equally fundamental in character is the agreement between K and S, the only difference between K and B being that K is comparatively purer and freer from interpolation than the other. The canon of Mbh. textual criticism, in its simplest form, may therefore be said to be the fundamental character of the consensus of K and S on the one hand, and of B and S on the other, provided of course the concordant reading is of such a nature that it could not be the result of a fortuitous coincidence.

Doubt can, and frequently, does arise when K B (then generally

with D; in other words the whole of N) stands against S. Here each case must be judged and decided on its own merits. It may sometimes be possible to adduce evidence of a decisive character, on one side or the other. Such evidence may be intrinsic; one reading may be intrinsically better than the other. Or it may be extrinsic; when it is possible to supplement the evidence of MSS. from other ancient and independent sources. But as a rule, when there is a conflict between N and S, the evidence is so nicely balanced that no definite decision is possible.

To return to the instance under consideration. The agreement between B and S raises such a strong presumption in favour of the text reading that its evidence cannot be rebutted by the possibility conceived by Weller that *ātmanvān* might have crept into the text secondarily, under the influence of *ātmanah* and *ātmanāḥ* in the following lines.

In this particular instance, I think, intrinsic probability is, to some extent, also on the side of the text. It is a feature of epic technique that out of three consecutive proper names occurring in the same hemistich, the last name is very frequently accompanied by a qualifying adjective. Scores of illustrations may be produced; here are thirteen selected at random.

1. 31. 14 : *Virajāś ca Subāhuś ca Śālīpiṇḍaś ca vīryavān.*
- (K.) 1. 88. 9 : *Rēcyr atha Kakṣeyuḥ Kṛkaṇeyuś ca vīryavān*
Sthaṇḍīleyur Vaneyuś ca Jaleyuś ca Mahāyaśāḥ.
- (K.) 6. 25. 4-5 : *Yuyudhāno Virāṭaś ca Drupadaś ca mahārathaḥ*
Dhṛṣṭaketuś Cekilānaḥ Kāśirājaś ca vīryavān
Puruḣit Kuntibhojaś ca Śaībyaś ca narapuniḡavaḥ
17 : *Dhṛṣṭadyumno Virāṭaś ca Sātyakiś ca parājītaḥ*
- (K.) 8. 83. 9 : *Kṛpaś ca Kṛtavarmā ca Drauṇīś caiva mahārathaḥ*
- (K.) 9. 2. 17 : *Aśvatthāmā ca Bhojaś ca Māgadhaś ca mahābalaḥ*
Bṛhadbalaś ca Krāthaś ca Śakuniś cāpi Saubalaḥ
- (K.) 9. 3. 12 : *hate Bhīṣme ca Droṇe ca Karṇe caiva mahārathe*
- (K.) 9. 5. 2 : *Śalyaś ca Cītrasenaś ca Śakuniś ca mahārathaḥ*
- (K.) 9. 24. 40 : *Aśvatthāmā Kṛpaś caiva Kṛtavarmā ca sātvalaḥ.*

The practice being the outcome of a natural desire to avoid the monotony of a bald enumeration of names, it is not surprising to find that even the Homeric epics furnish ample illustrations of it; here is one with the trick repeated in consecutive hemistiches (Iliad, 24. 250-1) :

Πάμμονά τ', Ἀντίφονόν τε, βοὴν ἀγαθόν τε Πολίτην,
Δηϊφροβόν τε, καὶ Ἴππόθοον, καὶ Δίων ἀγανον.

After having proved that the text reading is not only better documented but in itself very plausible, we may proceed to consider whether any reason can be suggested how the variant *etia ca* may have arisen. Two explanations—both mere possibilities—occur to me. It is for one thing possible that the original *ātmaiaṇ* may have been deliberately suppressed in order to avoid the monotonous reiteration of *ātma* at the end of three consecutive verses. A more likely reason for the suppression may have been the lack of a copula in the original line, which had been crowded out by the succession of three unusually long names (two of four syllables each, and the third one of not less than five), taking up by themselves 13 syllables out of an aggregate of 16 of the śloka line.

* * * *

1.1.49 :

vistiryaitan mahaj jñānam ṛṣiḥ saṁkṣepam abravīt
(v.l. *saṁkṣepato 'bravīt*).

The two rejected variants are: *saṁkṣepato 'bravīt* K V, B₁m D₁, and *saṁkṣipyā cābravīt* B Da Dn Dr D₁, S (except G₁, M₃). Weller finds *saṁkṣepato* satisfactory ("befriedigend"). As a matter of fact, of the rejected variants, the reading *saṁkṣipyā cābravīt* is far superior to the other. In it the sense is clear; grammatically it is correct, metrically flawless. It is moreover the reading indicated by the principle of agreement between independent versions, being supported by the Bangālī and Devānāgarī versions on the one hand and by one section of the Southern recension on the other. But the compelling power of this agreement is weakened by the circumstance that one Malayālam MS. and three (out of the seven) Grantha MSS. are outside the group. Had the whole of B agreed with the whole of S, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for reasons explained in the previous section,

to reject the concordant reading. The weak point of this variant lies in the fact that it does not at all explain, as far as I can judge, how the other readings may have arisen. There is the same flaw in the other rejected variant, though not in the same degree. The text reading, though weakly supported by MSS, serves admirably, in my opinion, to account for the existence of the variants, especially if *saṁkṣepam* is taken as an adverbial gerund in *-am* (Pāṇini's *ṇamul*), as I think it should be; cf. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 995. For there would then be an inherent tendency to substitute for it simpler readings. *saṁkṣipyā ca* and *saṁkṣepataḥ* would be very neat paraphrases of the awkward adverbial gerund: the second (*saṁkṣepataḥ*) preserving nearly intact the original akṣaras, the first (*saṁkṣipyā*) involving a more radical change from the view-point of form, but closely following the original in sense. The latter may, moreover, have been directly suggested by *vistīrya* in the first pāda which it nicely balances. I assume, of course, that *saṁkṣipyā* was introduced independently in B D on the one hand and S on the other. In other words, I think that the concordance between certain sections of the Northern and the Southern recensions is purely accidental, and it is unquestionable that it *could* be that. I must frankly admit, however, that there is a strong element of subjectivity in this choice, which can in no way be said to be compelling. I prefer the text reading, fully realizing that others may prefer either of the other two readings; but that is precisely why a wavy line has been printed in the text below *saṁkṣepam*. I doubt very much whether any compelling reason can be advanced to prove the absolute superiority of any one of the variants over the others.

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1. 1. 62:

anukramaṇim adhyāyam (v.l. *anukramaṇikādhyaṃyam*)

This again is a somewhat difficult and complicated case. The text reading is perhaps less than certain, as has been indicated by the use of the wavy line; but it can, I think, claim for itself greater certitude than the reading in the preceding case. The apparatus contains five variants for this pāda. They are:

Kc. 1-6 V, B, D₂ Dn Dr D₁₋₄ 6-12-14 G, *anukramaṇikādhyaṃyam*
 K₁ *°kramāṇimādhyā°*

T, G . 57	°krāmiṇam adhyā°
T,	°krāmikam a°
G _{2,3}	°kramaṇam a°
B _{1, 2-4} D ₅	as in text

Along with this passage, we must consider 1.1.199, where the pāda recurs and where again there are five variants, in part different from those of the passage under discussion. The second set of variants is :

K _c . 2-4-6 V, Dn Dr D _{1,2,4,6-12,14}	<i>anukramaṇikādhyaṇyam</i>	
T G ₄₋₆ M _{1,2,4}	(S Recension)	°krāmiṇam a°
G ₁		°krāmaṇam a°
G _{2,7} M ₁		°krāmaṇam a°
G ₃		°kramaṇam a°
K _{1,2} , B Da D _{3,5}		as in text.

We have here very remarkable vascillation for a perfectly simple pāda. Every textual variation presupposes a cause. Therefore that reading is best which best explains how the various different readings may have arisen. The variant preferred by Weller, which is also the reading of the vulgate text, though perfectly satisfactory in itself, fails wholly to explain why there are so many variants. What is wrong with *anukramaṇikādhyaṇyam* ? Nothing apparently, if taken by itself. But let us have a closer look at the variants and try to understand the cause of the variation. We shall first consider the variants at 1. 1. 199, where the situation is slightly clearer. The text reading is supported by K_{1,2}, B Da D_{3,5}; that is, two of the K MSS. (including the important K₁) together with the whole of Bangālī and Arjunamiśra and two Devanāgarī MSS., a combination not to be despised. The rejected variants fall into two natural groups; on the one hand we have the majority of K and Devanāgarī (with the notable exception of Arjunamiśra MSS., which, as remarked in the Foreword, p. v, frequently side with Bangālī) having *anukramaṇikādhyaṇyam*; on the other hand we have the Southern MSS., which show *anukramaṇam adhyāṇyam*, with some unimportant variations. The case is somewhat similar at 1.1.62, the difference being that the manuscript support for the text reading is slightly weaker. The two sets of variants, it may be remarked, have this noteworthy feature

in common that in both places there is partial agreement between K B on the one hand and S on the other, in so far that they both have as the first part of the pāda, a word uncompounded with *adhyāyam*. The explanation of this chaos is, I think, furnished by 1.2.34, where the name of the adhyāya (or rather of the parvan) is found to be *anukramaṇī* (and not *anukramaṇikā*):⁴

parvānukramaṇī pūrvam.

Here the reading is certain, the variants (mainly in G) being negligible. All printed editions of the text without exception have the same reading, an indication that the large majority of all reliable MSS. hitherto examined read the name of the adhyāya as in text. The name in this form occurs at 1. 1. 200:

anukramaṇyā yāvat syād ahaṇā rātryā ca saṁcūtam,

where again the variants, though numerous, do not concern us since they are also mainly restricted to a single version, the Grantha.

As remarked already there is partial agreement between K B Da and S in so far that they break up the compound of the vulgate text into two words, one standing in epithetical or appositional relation to the other. A little reflection will show that, used by a writer familiar with the older name of the adhyāya, the first word *uncompounded* with adhyāya could be no other than *anukramaṇīm*. With this word, however, we should get the awkward prior pāda — — — — —, which, according to Hopkins (*op. cit.* p. 236), is a "very rare, sporadic" combination. Now it is well known that, in the epic, grammatical accuracy is often sacrificed to the observance of preferred vipulā forms. The awkwardness of the pāda was removed by the (anomalous) shortening of the troublesome long ī in the final syllable of the word. Examples of shortening metri causā, cited from the epics by Hopkins (*op. cit.* p. 246) are: *svadhā ca svadhabhojinam*, Rām. 7. 23. 23 (again in the fifth syllable); *apakramat*, (B.) 9. 11. 62; *sakhigaṇāvṛtā*, Nala 1. 24; *na śrīr jahati vai tanuḥ*, (B.) 11. 25. 5. The examples, as is well known, can be very easily multiplied.

⁴ Accordingly I have called the parvan *Anukramaṇī-parvan*, differing from the Calcutta, Bombay and Kumbhakonam editions, in which it is called *Anukramaṇikā-parvan*.

The assumption of an original *anukramaṇim adhyāyam* could, as far as I can judge, satisfactorily explain all the different variants of this pāda. It accounts for the neat bifurcation of the manuscript evidence into the vulgate text (with partial reflexes in the K version) and the Southern group. The vulgate text may be seen to have successfully overcome the difficulty of the anomalous shortening by substituting in the lame foot a form with a legitimate short vowel where required by the (later) stringent rule: *pañcamam laghu sarvatra*; it had to sacrifice the original appositional construction and substitute for it a compound. The Southern editors, on the other hand, adhered firmly to the appositional construction, and eked out a tolerable pāda with various synonyms having a short vowel in the fifth syllable such as: *krāmiṇam*, *°kramikam*, *°krāmaṇam*, *°krāmaṇim*.

It may be argued that even *anukramaṇikādhyaṇyam* as the original reading might likewise furnish reasons for the growth of this singular crop of various readings, because the name *anukramaṇikā* here given to the adhyāya was felt to be inappropriate, the correct name being *anukramaṇi* as given in 1. 2. 34. But such an interpretation would not be valid, because the original postulated here would at best serve to explain only one variant, namely, *anukramaṇim adhyāyam*; it fails wholly to account for the vascillations of the entire Southern recension, since nothing would have been gained by substituting *anukramiṇam*, *°kramikam* and so forth, which all equally fall short of reproducing the original name of the adhyāya. So at least it seems to me must the variants be interpreted. I consider the text reading all but certain. A comparison of the extant manuscript material should show that, clerical errors and occasional anomalies apart, the Bangālī MSS. uniformly, Arjunamiśra (? together with Devabodha) MSS. frequently, and K MSS. sporadically will have the text reading; MSS. of the vulgate text and other MSS. contaminated from this source will have the compound; while MSS. of the Southern recension will mostly have synonyms of *anukramaṇim* such as *°kramaṇam*, *°kramikam* and so on.

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1. 1. 201 :

bhārataṣya vapur hy etat satyam cāmṛtam (v. 1. cāmṛtam)
eva ca.

Edgerton discusses at some length the variation *amṛtam* : *amṛtam* and decides emphatically in favour of *amṛtam*. Edgerton's arguments are briefly these : first and foremost, the text reading does not do justice to the emphatic particle *eva* in the same line, which is a "crucial word;" secondly, *amṛtam* is intrinsically far superior to the innocuous *amṛtam*, which has been substituted for the original *lectio difficilior* by ignorant copyists who, missing the 'paradox' intended, "naturally gagged at attributing 'falseness' to the epic." In the first place I differ from Edgerton radically as to the value and importance of the word *eva* in the sentence. It is unquestionably true that *eva* does emphasize the preceding word or words, but this is neither necessarily nor universally true. Very frequently, especially in the epics and the Purāṇas, the emphasis is so slight that it is almost negligible, and the word is nothing more than an expletive. My experience fully corroborates P. W., which has the following note s. v. *eva* : "Nicht selten, namentlich nach einigen Partikeln, ist die Bedeutung von *eva* abgeschwächt, dass wir auch den Nachdruck aufgeben." But the best answer to Edgerton's contention as to the value of *eva* is to show that it figures very frequently at the end of the pāda, in long enumerations of names and attributes where no emphasis could be intended whatsoever. Here are some examples chosen at random :

(K.) 1. 68. 95 : *Durmarsaṇo Durmukhaś ca Duṣkarmāḥ Karmā eva ca*

(B.) 2. 100. 2 : *Droṇam Kṛpam nrpāṁś cānyān Atvathīmānam*
eva ca

(B.) 13. 254. 17 : *argayah jaruṣaḥ sālśi kṣetrājño 'kṣara eva ca*

120 : *yajñāntakṛd yajñaguhyam annam annāda eva ca*

Brahma Pur. 182. 7 : *tram svāhā tram svadhā vidyā rudhā tram*
jyotiḥ eva ca

Bhaviṣya Pur. 10. 8. 38 : *jyotiḥ calram jalam tejo nalkastān*
vidyud eva ca

It would be clearly preposterous to see in these *eva ca* "emphatic particles" or "crucial words" emphasizing paradoxes ;

they are nothing more than copulative expletives. My impression is that the epic "poets" use the conjunctions *ca*, *caiva* or *etā ca* according as they require one, two or three syllables to fill their line! This, I hope, will suffice to dispose of the alleged necessity of looking for and finding any striking paradox in this line.

But I think Edgerton is making another and a graver mistake. His remark that "the panegyrist of the *epic* [italics mine] starts out to claim that it contains everything" makes me suspect that Edgerton has possibly misunderstood the hemistich in question. Here the subject matter of glorification is not the *epic* at all, but merely the first *adhyāya* thereof. The hemistich occurs in a passage at the end of the first *adhyāya*, and the passage is evidently of the nature of a *phalāśruti*. The hemistich says: "This is the body of the (Mahā-) Bhārata." Here "this" refers not to the whole epic but merely to the *Anukramaṇī* chapter mentioned in the previous stanzas. The whole line is a subordinate (*hi*) clause depending upon the main clause contained in the immediately preceding stanza. "(201) He who repeats (in an undertone, even) a little of the *Anukramaṇī* at both twilights is freed immediately from as much sin as has been accumulated during the day and the night; (201) for, this is the body of the (Mahā-) Bhārata (that is) Truth and also Immortality!" It is owing to its partaking of the qualities of (or, as the panegyrist of the *adhyāya* will have it, owing to its being) Truth and Immortality that it is able to absolve the devout reciter of the *adhyāya* immediately from sin. The emphasis, if any, is on *hi* ("for"), not on *etā*. Objection may be taken to the neuter gender of *etat*, since it is made to refer the *Anukramaṇī* (f.) chapter as I do here. The gender may be explained either as a case of attraction by the gender of the predicate (*vapus*, n.) or as referring indiscriminately to *anukramaṇī* (f.) or *adhyāya* (m.). But if Edgerton does not like that, I have no great objection to his translating: "For this form of the (Mahā-) Bhārata is Truth and Immortality." According to this interpretation, the variant *anṛtam* is wholly inappropriate and inadmissible; and in fact on second thoughts I am inclined even to dispense with the wavy line under *anṛtam*.

The paradox conceived by Edgerton might apply fitly to the whole epic, which may be said to mirror all phases of life, "Truth,—yes, and Falsehood too!", but it is clearly unreasonable and even impossible to say that the Anukramaṇī chapter by itself could be "Truth,—yes and Falsehood too." Furthermore, even if this wonderful chapter be the Truth as well as Falsehood, I fail to see how it should follow that such a chapter could on that account be able to give absolution to a sinner. If one bears in mind that the subject matter of the panegyric is the Anukramaṇī chapter (and not the epic), one cannot, I think, come to any other conclusion than that the true reading is *amṛtam*.

It may be added that Edgerton's mistake is quite natural and is caused primarily by the misleading division of the passage (stanzas 200-202) into distiches, which suggests that the subject matter of the praśasti is the Mahābhārata. The first half of stanza 201 is logically and grammatically connected with the preceding stanza (200); on the other hand the second half is part and parcel of the following stanza (202). The first half clearly refers to the Anukramaṇī chapter; the second half equally clearly to the epic as a whole. Could I have foreseen the confusion it is apt to cause, I would certainly have joined the first half of stanza 201 to 200 and the second half to stanza 202, notwithstanding that this arrangement yields two consecutive three-line stanzas. In such cases I have mostly made three distiches, sometimes, I fear, as in this instance, clouding the sense.

There remains now only one point to be considered. By saying that *amṛtam* is a *lectio difficilior*, Edgerton implies that the change from *amṛtam* into *amṛtam* is ordinarily inconceivable, since any copyist would have fought shy of attributing falsehood to the epic. Such a view would, in my opinion, be entirely incorrect. The distinguishing feature of scribes' emendations is that it is superficial. The scribe does not stop to think very deeply about the consequences of the change. Here, I fancy, the variant has arisen merely because, in entirely different contexts, *satyam* and *amṛtam* are found frequently combined into a phrase, sometimes even combined into the compound *satyāmṛta* (e.g. *satyāmṛte yo vicitralle* - *loke*, 1.3.152; *satyāmṛte avapasyaṇ janānām* RV.7.49.3). I

therefore hold that the substitutions of *anytam* for *amṣtam* is wholly within the range of probability and even quite natural for an Indian scribe.

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1. 2. 70 :

etat parvaśataṁ pūrṇaṁ Vyāsenoktaṁ maharṣiṇā.

Although it is perfectly true that all previous efforts to make the text of the Mbh. agree with the numerical data of its extent and size have ended in dismal failures, Edgerton is needlessly nervous about my attempt to reduce the number of the (sub-) parvans exactly to one hundred. Edgerton's view is that the traditional hundred should be regarded as an approximate or "round" number. This is the explanation given also by C. V. Vaidya in his *Epic India* (p. 189) when he is faced with the anomaly that his list of "hundred parvans" contains 107 titles. In support of the view, one might cite the use of the word *śataka* in titles of anthologies like the *Śṛṅgāraśataka*, which frequently, if not uniformly, contain more than 100 stanzas. The parallelism would, in my opinion, be not quite exact, because, I think, here the suffix *ka* (miscalled *svārthe* by Indian grammarians) probably suggests, if it does not actually connote, the approximate character of the denomination. Less convincing still is the analogy (mentioned by C. V. Vaidya, *loc. cit.*) of the appellation *śatasāhasrī* of the Mbh. This expression is admittedly not intended to mean exactly one hundred thousand, whatever else it may mean. But the latitude implicitly allowed in the use of the expression *śata-sahasra* in stating the number of stanzas which are approximately a lakh cannot, it seems to me, be claimed by a person giving the number of chapters which are approximately only one hundred. That question apart, when the old experts of the Great Epic (*bhāratacintaka*, 1. 2. 172) had calculated and stated the exact number of adhyāyas and ślokas, parvan by parvan for all the eighteen parvans, apparently correct to the last digit, would it not be exceedingly strange if the number of the chapter-groups alone, given in the very same adhyāya, in the same context, were to be only approximate? A few stanzas more or less in an aggregate of several thousand stanzas, or a few adhyāyas more or less

in an aggregate of several hundred adhyāyas would not have mattered very much one way or the other; but a few parvans more or less when the total was only in the neighbourhood of hundred! So careless I suppose even the careless custodians of the fifth Veda were not. Their calculations may have been wrong, but their intention is perfectly clear. They say and mean that the number was exactly one hundred: notice the *pūrṇam* in the first pāda of the hemistich. In fact, the amazing difference in the lengths and characters of these chapter-groups—there are some containing only 1 adhyāya and less than 70 stanzas, there are others which contain more than 70 adhyāyas and considerably more than 3,000 stanzas!—could, I think, only have been the result of an over-mastering desire on the part of some old editor or editors to reach, by hook or crook, some such predetermined “round” number.

Edgerton is perfectly right when he says that the attempt to reconstruct the original text of this passage presents some very serious textual difficulties. Whether my text will finally prove correct in every respect or not remains of course to be seen. I hope it will fit the constituted text of the whole epic; but I shall not be greatly shocked if it does not. The texts of the present editions, Calcutta, Bombay or Kumbhakonam, do not conform to the details given in the “Table of Contents.” There are all kinds of discrepancies between them: the śloka numbers do not agree; the same is true of the adhyāya and the parvan number. These discrepancies cannot be helped,—so long as we do not know who had done the counting and when it was done. As for the constituted text of the passage in question, I will only say that I have formed it rigidly on the principles of textual criticism worked out by me and followed elsewhere in the course of my work on the edition. These principles have been applied independently of the question of the past, present or future form and divisions of the epic. The constituted text is based mainly on documental and intrinsic probability. It is more than likely that it contains some slight errors; the different versions are interwoven in such an intricate manner that to disentangle them with complete assurance or to one’s complete satisfaction is not yet possible, or perhaps is no longer possible. I honestly believe that the discrepancies between the constituted

text and the present "Table of Contents," will be very considerably diminished. But about one thing I feel perfectly confident and that is that the number is intended to be exactly one hundred. Edgerton himself would probably have been less sceptical had he known that both Arjunamiśra and Nilakaṇṭha have left behind them in their scholia mnemonic stanzas, stating the exact number of (sub-)parvans in each of the eighteen (major) parvans. In both cases the total is exactly one hundred; besides that, the individual figures tally exactly in the two lists.

Here are the stanzas themselves.

Arjunamiśra⁵ towards the end of the second adhyāya (Da, fol. 45)

ekonaviṁśati tu parvabhīr *Ādiparva*

lhyātam, Sabhā navabhīr, aṣṭabhīr aṣṭayuktaiḥ

Āraṇyakam, nanu Virāṭakathā caturbhīr,

ekādhikair daśabhīr *Udyaman āmananti* || 1 ||

Bhaisman ca pañcabhīr, *atho Gurur* aṣṭasamkhyair

ekena *Karṇam, atha Madrakathā* caturbhīḥ

Sauptam tribhis, *tad anu* pañcabhīr *Āṅganāṇām*

Śāntis caturbhīr, *Anuśāsanam* ekakena || 2 ||

dvābhyām *uṣanti Hayamedham, ath-Āśramākhyaṃ*

āhus tribhīr, *Musalaparva* tathāikakena

ekaikaśo *gamana-Nālagatī, ubhābhyām*

Vamśo Harer, iti lṛtā śata parvasamkhyā || 3 ||

Nilakaṇṭha (ad 1. 2. 396) :

Ādi-dhyāna-Sabhā-dhanam Vana-cayam Vairāṭa-bhūdyoga-yuk,

Bhīṣma Droṇa-majam ca Karṇa-ku tathā Śalye-bha Sauṣupta-
gam

Stri-sam Śānti-bha Dānadharma-ku Hayejyā-r-Āśramāvāsa-gam

kaṃ kaṃ Mausala-Yānayor Dyugati-kaṃ Vamśe-kham etac
chatam ||

5 The *a priori* attempt of Brockhaus (ZDMG. 6. 528-532) to identify the hundred parvans from these stanzas of Arjunamiśra was premature and doomed to fail.

According to my list the various sub-parvans are distributed among the eighteen major parvans as under :

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| I. Ādi (19) : | 1 Anukramanī. ⁶ 2 Parvasaṁgraha. 3 Pausya. 4 Pauloma. 5 Āstika. 6 Ādivaṁśāvatarāṇa. 7 Saṁbhava. 8 Jatugṛhadāha. 9 Haidimba. 10 Bakavadha. 11 Caitraratha. 12 Svayaṁvara. 13 Vaivāhika. 14 Vidurāgamana. 15 Rājyalambha. 16 Arjunavanāsa. 17 Subhadraharāṇa. 18 Haraṇahārīka. 19 Khāṇḍavadāha. |
| II. Sabhā (9) : | 20 Sabhā. 21 Mantra. 22 Jarāsaṁdhavadha. 23 Digvijaya. 24 Rājasūyika. 25 Arghābharāṇa. 26 Śiśupālavadha. 27 Dyūta. 28 Anudyūta. |
| III. Āraṇyaka ⁷ (16) : | 29 Āraṇyaka. 30 Kirmīravadha. 31 Kairāta. 32 Indralokābhigamana. 33 Tīrthayātrā. 34 Jaṭāsūravadha. 35 Yakṣayuddha. 36 Ājagara. 37 Mārkaṇḍeysamasyā. 38 Draupadī Satyabhāmāsaṁvāda. 39. Ghoṣayātrā. 40 Mṛgasvapnabhaya. 41 Vṛthidraupika. 42 Draupadīharāṇa. 43 Kuṇḍalāharāṇa. 44 Āraṇeya. |
| IV. Virāṭa (4) : | 45 Vairāṭa. 46 Kīcakavadha. 47 Gograhāṇa. 48 Vaivāhika. |

⁶ This is the correct name of the first (sub-) parvan, miscalled Anukramanī in modern editions. See above, the discussion on I. I. 62.

⁷ This is the orthodox name of the third parvan, miscalled Vana-parvan in most Northern MSS., and modern editions. The Southern MSS. generally adhere consecutively to the older names.

XVIII. Svargārohaṇa (1): 98 Svargārohaṇa.
 (Khila) Harivaṁśa (2): 99 Harivaṁśa. 100 Bhaviṣyat.⁸

My series differs from that of the mnemonic stanzas only as regards the two (consecutive) parvans Śānti and Anuśāsana. The aggregate number of the two parvans is the same in our lists; the discrepancy is only with regard to the division of the five sub-parvans between the two major parvans. My figures for these parvans are 3 and 2; those given by the scholiasts in their stanzas are 4 and 1 respectively, differing only by one each from mine. I am unable to account for this discrepancy at present.

These stanzas, it will have to be admitted, make the case for the exactitude of the figure 100 very much stronger. Is it conceivable that two different scholiasts would make up two different mnemonic stanzas, each giving a perfectly fictitious series of figures, with the total exactly hundred, for the number of chapter-groups in each of the eighteen books of the epic? These stanzas establish, in my opinion, irrefutably that as late as the time of Arjunamiśra the total number of (sub-)parvans was believed to be *exactly* one hundred, and (what is much more important) the exact number of (sub-)parvans in *each* of the (major) parvans was also believed to be *accurately* known. Whether or not these figures tallied exactly with the actual divisions of the version of the text prepared by these commentators is an entirely different question, which I am not yet prepared to answer in the affirmative. These stanzas stand, in my opinion, for an effort to save from the limbo of oblivion some precious fragment of traditional knowledge regarding the epic. Like fossils these skeletons of the old Parvasamgrahaparva have survived, despite the frantic efforts of centuries of editors and critics to make the "Table of Contents" agree with the form of the text known to them.

Many of Edgerton's suggestions and queries relate to the uses of the wavy line: mostly cases where he has either less or

⁸ It will be noticed that 17 (out of the aggregate of 19) names of the (major) parvans, in this scheme, are identical with the names of the *initial* (sub-)parvan of each group. This is valuable because it suggests how the names of the 19 (major) parvans were obtained from the (older) list of the hundred (sub-)parvans

V. Udyoga (11):	49 Udyoga. 50 Satjyayana. 51 Prājāpata. 52 Sanatōjāta. 53 Yāgyamlihi. 54 Bhagavadgāthā. 55 Vivāda. 56 Niryāna. 57 Ratnatirathasamkhyā. 58 Ulūkādutāgamana. 59 Ambopakhyaṇa.
VI. Bhīṣma (5):	60 Bhīṣmābhīṣecana. 61 Jambuvandhanirmāṇa. 62 Bhūmi. 63 Bhagavadgītā. 64 Bhīṣmavādha.
VII. Drona (8):	65 Dronābhīṣeka. 66 Samāpta-kavadha. 67 Abhimanyuvādha. 68 Pratijñā. 69 Jayadrathavādha. 70 Ghatotāchavādha. 71 Dronavādha. 72 Nārāyaṇāstramoḥa.
VIII. Karṇa (1):	73 Karṇa.
IX. Śalya (1):	74 Śalya. 75 Hradapraveśa. 76 Gadāyuddha. 77 Śaravata.
X. Saṃpāta (3):	78 Saṃpāta. 79 Aśvika. 80 Jalapradhāna.
XI. Stri (5):	81 Stri. 82 Śrādha. 83 Abhisechanika. 84 Cārvākanigraha. 85 Gṛhapravibhāga.
XII. Śānti (3):	86 Rājadharmā. 87 Āpaddharmā. 88 Mokṣadharmā.
XIII. Anuśāsana (2):	89 Anuśāsanika. 90 Bhīṣmasvarārohaṇa.
XIV. Aśvamedhika (2):	91 Aśvamedhika. 92 Anugīta.
XV. Āśramavāsika (3):	93 Āśramavāsa. 94 Putradarśana. 95 Nāradaśamana.
XVI. Mausala (1):	96 Mausala.
XVII. Mahāprasthānika (1):	97 Mahāprasthānika.

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Many of Edgerton's suggestions and queries relate to the uses of the wavy line: mostly cases where he has either less or

⁸ It will be noticed that 17 (out of the aggregate of 10) names of the (major) parvans, in this scheme, are identical with the names of the initial (sub-)parvan of each group. This is valuable because it suggests how the names of the 10 (major) parvans were obtained from the (older) list of the hundred (sub-)parvans

more confidence in the readings I have adopted. This device, as Edgerton himself admits, is "by its very nature hard to apply strictly and consistently." Moreover, most of the words cited by him are merely commonplace adverbs, conjunctions and other expletives like *caiva*, *āhuḥ* (v. l. *viduḥ*), *ika*, *vai*, *tv-atra*, *cāpi*, *kim-vā* (v. l. *vā kim*) and so on. I will therefore forbear from entering into a detailed discussion of the relative merits of the variants, especially as, in the majority of the cases, the manuscript evidence is so conflicting that absolute certainty is impossible.

I cannot conclude this paper without expressing both to Professor Edgerton and to Dr. Weller my cordial thanks for the very kind remarks they have to make regarding the work in general, and my keen appreciation of the uniformly courteous tone of their very sympathetic reviews.

કાઠિયાવાડનું વડનગર

લેખક અને પ્રકાશક:
રા. રા. માનશંકર પીતાંબર મહેતા
લાવનગર

ક્રિસ્મસ ૦-૪-૦

છેલાં જે વરસોમાં જ્યોતિર્મદ્ધ જગજીવન નિર્ભયરામ બધેકાએ, નરસિંહ મહેતાના
જેક શિષ્ય, હંચડીના ચારણ કવિ મીઠાના, નરસિંહ મહેતાનાં જીવનપ્રસંગો સંબંધમાં
રચેલાં ધણી કાવ્યો, જે માગી વગેરે સાધુ સંતો અને બજનકારોની મંડળી પાસેથી
સાંભળીને કે તેઓના સંમદમાંથી ઉતારી લઇને અમારા ઉપર મોકલી આપ્યા હતાં, તેમાં
કુંવરબાઈના મોચાળામાં વડનગરનું નામ આપેલું હતું. પણ તેનું વર્ણન વીશાવત્તર
આમને સંપૂર્ણ મળતું જણાયું. તે ઉપરથી અમે “નાગરોત્પત્તિ”ના મુદ્રસિદ્ધ લેખક અને
મીઠાનાં કાવ્યોના ખરાપણા વિરો ખાત્રી કરનાર શ. રા. માનચંદ્ર પીતાંબરદાસ મહેતાને
પૂછાવ્યું કે, આ દક્ષિણમાં સમ્યાક ફેટી અને ફેવી છે તે તમે જણાવી શકતા હો તે
કૃપા કરીને જણાવશો. તે ઉપરથી તેમણે વડનગરનો ઇતિહાસ સંપૂર્ણ વિચારી નેશો
અને તેના પરિણામરૂપે “કાઠિયાવાડનું વડનગર” જે નામનો ઐતિહાસિક શોધખોળ અને
ચર્ચાવાળો લેખ મળ્યો. સં. ૧૯૮૮ ના દીવાળીના અંક માટે મજબૂર લેખ લખ્યા જણતાં
તેમાં ન છાપતાં તા. ૬-૧૧-૩૨ ના “ગુજરાતી” પત્રના અંકમાં છાપવા માંડ્યો, અને તે
પછી તા. ૧૩-૧૧-૩૨, ૨૭-૧૧-૩૨, ૧૧-૧૨-૩૨, ૧૮-૧૨-૩૨, ૧-૧-૩૩ જેમ બધા
મળીને ૬ અંકોમાં છપાયા છે. વિષયનું મહત્ત્વ લાગવાથી શ. રા. માનચંદ્રભાઈએ તેની
થોડી નકલો પ્રચારકાર્ય માટે છપાવી, અને વિદ્વાનો આગળ અભિપ્રાય માટે રજૂ કર્યાં છે.
આ વિષયમાં સ્વ. દરિયાલ હર્ષદરાય ધ્રુવે ઇ. સ. ૧૮૯૩ માં છપાવેલાં પોતાના સ્ટેકહોમની
કોરિયેન્ટલ કન્ફરન્સ (ઇ. સ. ૧૮૮૯)માં આપેલા ભાષણોવાળા પુસ્તકમાં ચર્ચા સારી કરી
છે, પણ શ. રા. માનચંદ્રભાઈએ તે ઉપર વધારે સારો વિચાર નવાં સાધેનાથી કર્યો છે.
નરસિંહ મહેતાના જીવન સંબંધી ચોક્કસ દક્ષિણે આપણને જે નથી મળતી તે મીઠા
શ્રવિનાં કાવ્યો ઉપરથી મળી શકે છે, અને તે અકસ્માત જેક ચર્ચા કરવાથી પ્રાપ્ત થઈ
છે, એટલું ગુજરાતી સાહિત્યનું સૌભાગ્ય હું સમજું છું. જુનાં કાવ્યો જેમ જેમ દાખ
આવતાં જાય છે તેમ તેમ જણાય છે કે નરસિંહ મહેતાનું શિષ્યમંડળ પણ ધણું
મોટું હતું. તેમાં પુરુષ અને સ્ત્રી કવિઓ પણ છે, જેમ જણાય છે. તેમાં મીઠો અને
દરિદાસ ઐતિહાસિક દષ્ટિએ વિરોધ મહત્ત્વના છે; તે તેમનાં કાવ્યો પ્રકટ થયે ગુજરાતી
સાહિત્યકારોને સમજશે. અત્યાર સુધીમાં ગુજરાતી સાહિત્ય અને કવિઓ વિષે ચર્ચા
કરનારાઓએ નરસિંહ મહેતાના સમયની રાજકીયાદિ કાઠિયાવાડની પરિસ્થિતિ વિશે
અને કુંવરબાઈ, શાંભળચાહના સાસરાના સ્થળો વિષે નેહજે તેવી ચર્ચા કરી નથી
તેથી વડનગરના સ્થાન વિષેની ચર્ચા અગત્યની છે. આ સર્વ સ્થળો અને રાજકીય
પરિસ્થિતિ વિષે મીઠાનાં કાવ્યોમાંથી ધણું જણવાતું મળે છે. એટલા માટે આ લેખ
લેખનું મુદ્રણ વ્યર્થ નહિ સમજવામાં આવે, અને આ દિશામાં વધુ પ્રયત્ન કરવા માટે
પ્રેરક બનશે એવી આશા છે.

સં. ૧૯૮૯ વસંત પંચમી
મુખ્ય.

નંદવરલાલ ઇંચારામ દેસાઈ

કાઠિયાવાડનું વડનગર

(લેખક-રા. રા. માનસંકર પીતાંબરદાસ મહેતા)

વિષય સૂચી

(૧) મીઠા કવિતાં કાવ્યો. (૨) તે વડનગર ક્યાં આવ્યું હતું? (૩) કોડિનાર પાસેનું નગર. (૪) નૃસિંહ મહેતાના સમયમાં તે વડનગરની સ્થિતિ. (૫) તે વડનગરનું પામ નામ આનંદનગર હતું. (૬) આનંદનગરનો વલ્લ્લી સં. ૮૫૦, સિંહ સં. ૬૦, સં. ૧૨૨૫, ઇ. સ. ૧૧૬૯ ના લેખમાંથી ઉપયોગી ભાગનો ઉલ્લેખ. (૭) તેનો વાર્થ. (૮) કોડિનાર પાસેનું વડનગર આનંદનગર યા માટે? (૯) વિશેષ વિવેચન. (૧૦) કિયાવાડનું વડનગર, એક નાના રાજ્યની રાજધાની હતી. (૧૧) સ્વ ડો. હરિભાઈ રાધાચંદ્ર ધ્રુવનું મંતવ્ય. (૧૨) ઉપસંહાર.

૧ મીઠા કવિતાં કાવ્યો.

વિક્રમતા સોળમા સદ્કામાં થઈ ગયેલ મીઠા કવિનાં કેટલાંક કાવ્યો ન્યાતિર્વિદ્, સ્ત્રીનસાદિલ્યેભી, સ્નેહી શ્રી જગદ્ગવન નિર્ભયરામ બધેકાને પ્રાપ્ત થાં છે. તેમાંનાં કેટલાંક છંદક પદા 'શુજશતી' પત્રના સં. ૧૯૮૭ ના કિવાળીના પૃષ્ઠમાં પ્રસિદ્ધ થયાં છે. ત્યારપછી તે એ વિશેષ માહિતી આપવાના હેતુથી ત્રીશ્રીએ વખતોવખત નિવેદનો પ્રકટ થાં છે.* તે ઉપરાંત જણાય છે કે-બકા વિરાજ નૃસિંહ મહેતાના સમકાલીન કાવ્યોનાં ઘણાં સુંદર કાવ્યો અઘાંવધિ

કાઠિયાવાડના માળી વૈષ્ણવ ભક્તોનાં મંડળોમાં સંતાઈ રહ્યાં હતાં, તે હવે બહાર આવતાં નથી છે. તેનાં કાવ્યોનો મોટો ભાગ પ્રસિદ્ધ થયા પછી, તે વિશે ચોક્કસ અભિપ્રાય આપી શકાય. પરંતુ મીઠા કવિએ 'કુંવરબાઈનો વિવાહ' અને 'કુંવરબાઈનું મોસાણું'—એ નામનાં બે કાવ્યો રચ્યાં છે. તે બન્ને કાવ્યો સંપૂર્ણ પ્રાપ્ત થયાં છે. 'સામળદાસનો વિવાહ' એ નામનું તેનું કાવ્ય હજી પૂરું મળ્યું નથી. પરંતુ તે ત્રણે કાવ્યોમાં તેણે કહ્યું છે કે-નૃસિંહ મહેતાની બહેન વિજયકુંવર, પુત્રી કુંવરબાઈ, તેમજ પુત્ર સોમળદાસનાં ભગ્નો વડનગરમાં થયાં હતાં.

૨ તે વડનગર ક્યાં આવ્યું હતું?

* જુઓ, તા. ૨૧-૨-૧૯૩૨, તા. ૧૫-૫-૧૯૩૨, તા. ૧૯ તથા ૨૧-૬-૧૯૩૨ ના 'શુજશતી' પત્રના અંકો.

મીઠા કવિએ તે વડનગર ક્યાં આવ્યું હતું, તેની માહિતી આપી નથી; છતાં

તે વિષે મુદ્દાની ત્રણ બાબતોના હલ્લેએ
કર્તા છે.

૧ મોસાણું કરવા મહેતા જુનાગઢથી
પ્રાતઃકાળમાં વિદાય થાય છે અને વડનગ
રમાં મધ્યાહ્ને પહેંચે છે.

૨ તેનો ફરબાર હરસુર નામનો હતો.

૩ તેને પાઠર 'પયોપત્રી' નદી હતી.

કાઠિયાવાડ સર્વસંગ્રહ(પૃ. ૫૮૪)માં
વર્તમાન વિસાવદર ગામ વિષે હકીકત
આપી છે. તેમાં લખવામાં આવ્યું છે કે—

૧ જુનાગઢથી ૨૫ માઈલ દૂર તે ગામ
આવ્યું છે. અર્થાત્ સારા-બજારની ગાડીમાં
જુનાગઢથી પ્રાતઃકાળમાં વિદાય થતાં મ
ધ્યાહ્ને પહેંચે ચકાય, તેટલું તે બે ગામે
વચ્ચે અંતર છે.

૨ તે પહેલાં હરસુરકા કાઠિઓનું મથક
હતું.

૩ તેને પાઠર પોપટરી નદી આવી છે,
જે પયોપત્રીનો ખરાબર અપભ્રંશ છે.

હવે સ્વપક્ષે જેમ તે ત્રણ હકીકતો
માંકા કથિત હકીકત સાથે સંગત થાય છે,
તેમ વિપક્ષે નીચે પ્રમાણે આપત્તિઓ
પ્રાપ્ત થાય છે:

૧ તે વિસાવદરનું નામ કોઈ પણ સમયે
વડનગર હતું, તેવો પુરાવો પ્રાપ્ત થતો નથી.

૨ હાલમાં કોડીનાર પાસે વડનગર
નામનું એક નાણું ગામ હતું છે; અમરેલીના
મજમુદાર નાગરો તેનો આસ ૬૦ વર્ષોથી
ખાય છે.

વિપક્ષની એ બે આપત્તિઓ એટલી
બધી પ્રબળ છે કે તેનો પરિહાર કરવો
કેટલો છે.

૩ કોડીનાર પાસેનું વડનગર

કોડીનાર ગામ કાઠિયાવાડમાં જુનાગઢ
ની ક્ષિણે અરબી સમુદ્રના કિનારા પર
આવેલ છે. તેની ઉત્તરે બે ત્રણ માઈલ દૂર

વર્તમાન વડનગર નામનું ગામ આવેલું
છે. તે વિષે અમરેલીના મજમુદાર શ. રા.
શ્રી વિનોદરાય જયસુખરાયભાઈ પોતાના
તા. ૧૧-૪-૩૨ ના પત્રમાં લખે છે કે—

“તે વડનગરમાં અમારી ઇનામી જમીન
છે. તે ગામ કોડીનારથી ઉત્તરે બે ત્રણ મા
ઈલ, ઇનામી વાયબ્યમાં ૨૪ માઈલ, પ્રભાત
પાટણથી અગ્નિ બુણામાં ૨૦ માઈલ અને
જુનાગઢથી ક્ષિણે ૬૫ માઈલ દૂર છે. તે
ગામ પશ્ચિમે માઈલ કોઠ માઈલ વિસ્તાર
વાળું હોય તો તેને પાઠર સીંગવડી (“કો
ગાવાડી”) નદી આવે. હાલમાં તે ગામમાં
તો કોઈ રજપુતો વસતા નથી; પરંતુ આ
સપાસના પ્રદેશમાં વસે છે. તેઓમાં હર
સુર, સામંત વગેરે નામો હોવાનો સંભવ
છે. ઇલાહિ.”

તેઓએ ‘જુજરાતી’ પત્રના તંત્રીશ્રી ઉપર
તે વિષે એક પત્ર લખી મોકલ્યો હતો. તે
તા. ૨૧-૧-૩૧ ના “જુજરાતી”ના અંક
માં છપાયો છે. તેમાં તેઓ લખે છે કે—

“જેમ કુંવરબાઈનું સાસરું ઉને હતું, તેમ
ચામળદાસનું સાસરું તેજ સોરઠ પ્રદેશમાં
કોડીનાર પાસે આવેલા વડનગર ગામે હતું.
વડનગરમાં અમે આજ દિન સુધી જમીન
ખાઈએ છીએ. તેની એક સનક અમારી
પાસે સંવત ૧૮૯૮ ની સાલની મરાઠી
ભાષામાં છે.”

એ સનક ઉપરથી જણાય છે કે—
સનક ‘પર્વત પયોપત્રી’ના કર્તા ત્રિકમદાસ
નું ચરિત્ર લખનાર તેઓના પૈત્રો ૧૫
નાયરાય તથા મજમુદારના નામની છે. અને
સનકમાં ચારસો વીધા જમીન મજમુદાર
રના કુટુંબના મૂળ પુરુષોને ઇનામમાં આપી
છે. શ. રા. શ્રી વિનોદરાય ભાઈ પોતાના
તે પત્રમાં વિશેષ લખે છે કે—

“સાક્ષર શ્રી હરિલાલ હર્ષદરાય દુવે
જુજરાતની નવી દેશીય ભાષાઓ” No-

vernaculars of Gujarat-એ નામને
જનપ્રજા લખ્યા છે. તેમાં પણ તેઓએ
વાતને ટકા આપી છે."

૪ નૃસિંહ મહેતાના સમયમાં તે
વડનગરની સ્થિતિ .

મીઠા કવિએ 'કુંવરબાઈના વિવાહ,' 'ચામ
જાસને વિવાહ' અને 'કુંવરબાઈનું મોસા
જીવન' એ ત્રણે કાવ્યોમાં પ્રસંગવર્ણન
કર્યું છે. ઇ. સ.ના ૧૫મા
શતાબ્દમાં ત્યાં નાગરોની સારી વસ્તિ હતી.
રાજાના તેઓ આશ્રિત હતા. કુંવરબાઈના
સમયમાં શ્રીરંગ મહેતા, ચામજીસના સસરા
સમજાવેલા તથા નૃસિંહ મહેતાના અનેવી
દોષેય મહેતા રાજાના મીઠા અધિકારીઓ
હતા; એટલું જ નહિ પણ તે ત્રણે ગૃહસ્થો
ધર્મશાસ્ત્ર અને કર્મશાસ્ત્રમાં બહુ નિપુણ
હતા. ખુદ દરસુર કરબાર પણ સાદિલ
શિક્ષક અને ધર્મશાસ્ત્રનો અભ્યાસી હતા.
નાગરો બહુ વૈભવી અને નાગર સ્ત્રીઓ
બહુ રૂપવતી હતી. આખું નગર સમૃદ્ધિ
સાધી હતું. હાલમાં તો તે નગર તદ્દન
નષ્ટ થયેલું જણાય છે અને તેને સ્થળે
એક છૂટક ગામડું આવેલું છે.

૫ તે વડનગરનું પ્રથમ નામ આનંદ
નગર હતું

આખું આખાં નગર ક્યારે નષ્ટ થયું? તેમજ કાણે નષ્ટ થયું? એ જાણવાને કંઈ સાધન નથી. પરંતુ તેજ વડનગરને સ્થળે પ્રથમ આનંદનગર નામનું એક નગર હતો, તેવો લેખિક પુરાવો મળી શકે છે. ભાવ નગર લેખક મહા (Bhavnagar In-
scriptions, pp. 184-5) માં આનંદ નગરનો એક ખંડિત લેખ આપ્યો છે. તે લેખોના સંપાદકશ્રી તે વિષે આરંભમાં લખે છે કે-

"જૂનાગઢના સુપ્રસિદ્ધ નાગર ગૃહસ્થ-
સ્વ. નૃસિંહપ્રસાદ દરિપ્રસાદે ભૂતનાથ

મહાદેવનું મંદિર બંધાવ્યું છે, તેમાં તે શિલાલેખ હાલમાં રાખવામાં આવી છે. પરંતુ તે લેખમાં બે મંદિરો બાંધવાનું અને તેને એક ગામ ધવલની સ્ત્રીએ જ્ઞાનમાં આપવાનું લખ્યું છે; ધવલ આગલા લેખમાં કહેલ કુમારપાળ રાજાનો મંત્રી ચરોધધવલ કઠાય હતો. પ્રસ્તુત લેખનો મધ્ય ભાગ ધણે ધસાઈ જવાથી તે ઉપરના અક્ષરો ઊડી ગયા છે. આખા લેખમાં એકંદરે ૩૪ પંક્તિઓ કેવળાગરી લિપિમાં લખાયેલ છે. લેખની લખ્યા સાલ વલ્લી સંવત્ ૮૫૦, સિંહ સંવત ૬૦ ની છે. તે સાલ ઇ. સ. ૧૧૬૯ (વિ. સં. ૧૨૨૫)ની બરાબર થાય છે."

એ રીતે આખો લેખ ખંડિત થઈ ગયા છતાં તેમાંથી ઉપયોગમાં આવી શકે, તેટલો ભાગ અત્ર ઉદ્ધૃત કરવામાં આવે છે.

૬ લેખમાંથી ઉતારો

આનંદનગરનો વલ્લી સંવત્ ૮૫૦,
સિંહ સંવત્ ૬૦, વિક્રમ સં. ૧૨૨૫, ઇ.
સ. ૧૧૬૯ ના લેખમાંથી ઉપયોગી ભાગ
નો ઉલ્લેખ:

પ્રાક્ધ્રમિત્યગદિહાપાટકપુરે, શ્રીમૂલરાજ:પ્રમુ:
ચૌલ્કસ્યોદયકુડ્ડમ્બ વૃષતિથામુ(૭૮)...॥

.....દ્વો નરપતી, મીમોનુ મૂમિપતિ: ।

કર્ણોસ્માઞ્ચયસિંહદેવવૃષતિ:.....॥૨॥

(તસ્મા) દસ્ય કુમારપાલનૃપતિ;

પ્રત્યક્ષલક્ષ્મીપતિ: ।

..... ॥

...(૬) મુનાઞ્ચદેવનગરે, શ્રીકીર્તિવાસધ્વજ:

..... ॥૩॥

ધાત્ર્યમેવં વિષેકાલે શિવાલય ચિ... ॥

..... ॥૪॥

શ્રીમદાનંદનગરે..... ।

ય..... વિપશ્ચિતાં ॥ ૫ ॥

શુચિત્વં મશ્વત્ત્વં ચેન પ્રાપ્તુ.....

... (વ) લમીપતે: ॥ ૬ ॥

તસ્યા (સ્માત્) સોમદેવોમૂત્ પુત્રદેવ... ।

... ॥ ૯ ॥

પ્રાગસ્મિન્નગરહિલ્પાટકપુરે, ધારાપુરી સુંદરે ।

... ॥

... જારવિમૂદમાત્યવલ: પ્રજ્યાતમેધાતિધિ:

... ॥ ૧૪ ॥

દ્વેપત્યે પ્રવમૂવતુ: પ્રિયતમે પ્રાપા... ।

... ॥ ૧૬ ॥

નિર્માય... ।

... નંદન: સ્વયમર્પિતે ॥ ૨૦ ॥

... ।

...(બુ)ર્ણલાપ્રામં દેવયોરનયોરદાત્ ॥૨૧॥

...

વલમી સંવત્ ૮૫૦, શ્રીસિંહ સંવત્ ૬૦ વર્ષે સૂત્ર.

આલાદિત્યસુત કીકાકેનોત્કીર્ણાં ॥

(Bhavnagar Inscriptions,^૧

pp. 184-5)

૭ ઉપલા લેખનો બાવાર્થ

પહેલો શ્લોક મંગલાચરણનો દોવાથી અર્ધો આધી નથી.

શ્લોક ૨-૩ = પૂર્વે અણ્દિલવાડ પાટણમાં ચૌહુક્ય વંશનો હક્ય કરનાર મૂળ રાજા નામનો રાજા થયો. તેનો પુત્ર ચામુંડ,* તેનો ભીમ, તેનો કર્ણ, તેનો સિંહ રાજા જયસિંહ અને તેનો પુત્ર કુમારપાલ થયો. તે કુમારપાલ પ્રત્યક્ષ લક્ષ્મીપતિ હતો.

ત્રીજા અને ચોથા શ્લોકોનો મોટો ભાગ ઘસાઈ ગયો છે. જે સંખેડો વંચાઈ શકે છે, તે ઉપરથી એટલું સમજી શકાય છે કે-તે કુમારપાલ રાજાએ દેવનગર(અજાસ)

પાટણ)માં તે સમયે શિવાલયનો ઇર્ષો દ્વાર કરાવ્યો હતો,

શ્લોક ૫-૬ માં આનંદનગર(વડનગર) ના નિવાસી કોઈ પુરુષની દલીલત લખી દોાય, તેમ સમજાય છે. સાર એ છે કે-આનંદનગરમાં બુદ્ધિમાનોમાં શ્રેષ્ઠ એક પુરુષ થઈ ગયો, તેના વંશે વલ્લીપતિ એટલે વલ્લીપુરના રાજાની કૃપાથી શુચિત્વ અને બદ્ધપુત્રત્વ પ્રાપ્ત થયું હતું.

શ્લોક ૬-૧૫ નો સાર નીચે પ્રમાણે જણાય છે: તે આનંદનગરના પુરુષોનો પુત્ર સોમદેવ નામનો થયો. સોમોમો પુત્ર અણ્દિલવાડ પાટણના રાજાનો અમાલ્ય ધવલ નામનો હતો. તે ધવલને બે પુત્રો હતા.

૨૦ માં શ્લોકમાં રક્ષિત સંખેડો ઉપરથી સમજાય છે કે-તે બે ભાઈએએ કેવળ દિશા બંધાવી, બે મૂર્તિઓ અર્પણ કરી.

૨૧ માં શ્લોકમાં કહેવામાં આવ્યું છે કે-તે બે કેવોના પૂજનઅર્ચનના ખર્ચ માટે તેણે (ધવલે ?) શુભંધા (વર્તમાન બહુલા) ગામ આપ્યું.

ઉવટની પંક્તિમાં લખેલ ગદ્ય ભાગનો અર્થ એ છે કે-વલ્લી સં. ૮૫૦ તથા સિંહ સં. ૬૦ માં સજાટ આલાલિલના પુત્ર કીકાએ આ લેખ કાઢ્યો. (તે પહેલાં ૨૫ તથા ૨૬ માં શ્લોકોમાં "શ્રીમદ્ધિક મસંવદંતર" તથા "શકતો" એ શબ્દો વંચાય છે. પરંતુ તે પછીનો ભાગ ઘસાઈ ગયો છે, તેથી તે શ્લોકો ઉપરથી જણાઈ શક્યા નથી.)

૮ કોટીનાર પાસેનું વડનગર

આનંદનગર શા માટે ?

કારણો નીચે પ્રમાણે:-

૧ શુજરાતના વડનગરનું નામ આનંદ પુર હતું; કોઈ પક્ષ લેખમાં કે પુસ્તકમાં તેને આનંદનગર કહેવામાં આવેલ નથી.

*મૂળમાં ચામુંડ પછીના ચાર અક્ષરો અને ત્રીજી લીટીમાં પહેલાં સાત અક્ષરો ઘસાઈ ગયા છે. તેમાં ચામુંડના પુત્ર કુમારરાજનું નામ હતું.

૨ ઉપર્યુલિલખિત ત્રીજા શ્લોકમાં કેવ ગિરતું નામ આવે છે. તે કેવનગર એટલે રંભાસપાટણ. પ્રસ્તુત, વડનગર અથવા આનંદનગર તેની નજીક આવેલ છે. ગુજ રાતના આનંદપુરને પ્રભાસપાટણ સાથે કંઈ સંબંધ ન હતો.

૩ જુનાગઢમાં જૂનાનાથ મહાદેવનું મંદિર ત્યાંના નાગર શહેરને બંધાવ્યું છે, તેમાં આનંદનગરના શિવાલયના પ્રસ્તુત લેખની શિલા આવેલી છે.

૪ તે લેખમાં વિક્રમ સંવત્ અને ચક્ર સંવત્ના અંકો ધસાઈ ગયા છે. પરંતુ વલ્લી સંવત્ની સાથે સિંદ સંવત્ આવેલ છે, તે અર્થસૂચક છે.

૫ શિવાલયને કાનમાં આવેલ ગામનું નામ ખુર્ચા છે, તે ગામ પ્રસ્તુત વડનગરની નજીક આવેલ છે.

૬ ચૌકમાં શ્લોકમાં અમાસ ધવલનું નામ આવેલ છે. સંપાદક સૂચવે છે, તેમ તે ધવલ અને યશોધવલ એક ન હતા, પણ ભૂલ ભૂલ હતા.

ઉપરનાં કારણોથી કોડીનાર પાસેના ગામ વડનગરનું નામ આનંદનગર હતું; એમ સજળ અનુમાન થઈ શકે છે.

૯ વિશેષ વિવેચન

ગુજરાતના વડનગરનાં પ્રથમ નામો, આનંદપુર, આનર્તપુર, તથા નગર હતાં. એમ પ્રાચીન લેખોથી સિદ્ધ થાય છે. વ. સં. ૨૦૭, ઇ. સ. ૫૨૬, વિ. સં. ૫૮૨ થી વ. સં. ૪૪૭, ઇ. સ. ૭૬૬, વિ. સં. ૮૨૨ સુધીના વલ્લી પુરાના રાજાઓએ કરી આવેલાં આઠ કાન પત્રો મળી આવ્યાં છે; તેમાં આનંદપુર તથા આનર્તપુર નામો જોવામાં આવે છે.*

ત્યાર પછી વિ. સં. ૧૨૦૨, ઇ. સ. ૧૧૫૨ ના વડનગરની પ્રશસ્તિના લેખથી

વિ. સં. ૧૪૬૭, ઇ. સ. ૧૩૮૧ ના કોડીનાર પાસે ધામજેજ ગામના લેખ સુધી પાંચ લેખો પ્રાપ્ત થયા છે, તેમાં નગર, તથા આનંદપુર નામો જોવામાં આવે છે.*

(૧) વડનગરનું પ્રથમ નામ તો વિ. સં. ૧૪૬૭, ઇ. સ. ૧૪૪૧માં થઈ ગયેલ જૈના ચાર્ય મેરૂકીર્તિએ રચેલ જૈન સામ્યત ધર્મમાલાના શ્રંથમાંથી ઉપલબ્ધ થાય છે.† ત્યાર પછી વિ. સં. ૧૫૨૩, ઇ. સ. ૧૪૬૭ ના જુનાગઢના રેવતી કુંડના લેખમાં‡ તેમજ વિ. સં. ૧૫૭૫, ઇ. સ. ૧૫૧૯માં વડનગરના નાગર બ્રાહ્મણ અચલ દ્વિવેદીએ રચેલ નિર્ણય દીપક નામના શ્રંથમાં પણ માત્ર વૃદ્ધનગર (વડનગર) નામ લખેલું છે.†

આ ઉપરથી સિદ્ધ થાય છે કે-ગુજરાતના વડનગરનું આનંદપુર નામ ઇ. સ. ના ૧૪ માં સૈકા સુધી પ્રચલિત હતું. ઇ. સ. ના ૧૫ સૈકાથી તેનું નામ 'વડનગર' પ્રસિદ્ધિમાં આવ્યું.

કોડિયાવાડના વડનગરના નિવાસીઓ પણ ગુજરાતના વડનગરના નિવાસીઓને અનુસર્યાં હોય, એમ જણાય છે. પ્રસ્તુત લેખમાં એટલે ઇ. સ. ના ૧૨ માં સૈકામાં તેનું નામ આનંદનગર લખાયું છે, તૃસિંદ મહેતાના સમયમાં એટલે ઇ. સ. ના ૫૬ રમાં સૈકામાં તેનું નામ વડનગર તરીકે પ્રચલિત થયું હતું.

એટલુંજ નહિ પણ ગુજરાતના આનંદપુરથી જુદું જોળખાઈ શકે, તેવા હેતુથી તેના નિવાસીઓએ તેનું નામ આનંદપુરને બદલે આનંદનગર રાખ્યું હશે.

(૨) ઉપર્યુલિલખિત લેખના ત્રીજા શ્લોકમાં લખ્યું છે કે-તેજ સમયાન્તરમાં ગુજ

* તેજ પૃ. ૯૮-૧૦૧. † તેજ પૃ. ૮૨, પાઠ ટિપ્પણ ૧. ‡ તેજ પૃ. ૧૦૨. + નિર્ણય દીપક, અચલ દ્વિવેદી હ્રત પૃ ૪

* નાગરોત્પત્તિ પૃ. ૯૬-૯૭;

રાતના રાત્રી કુમારપાલે દેવનગરનું શિવાલય સમરાળ્યું, તે દેવનગર ધ્યું ૧

પ્રભાસ પાટણના મોટા ઠરાવાળના સં. ૧૨૭૩, ઇ. સ. ૧૨૧૭ નો લેખ બાવનગર લેખ સંબંધ (પૃ. ૧૯૫-૨૦૪) માં છપાયા છે; તેના મુદ્દા ૪૨ માં પ્રભાસપાટણનું નામ દેવપત્તન અને મુદ્દા ૪૫ માં દરનગર લખ્યું છે. તેજ અંથ (પૃ. ૨૨૪-૨૨૬) માં વિ. સં. ૧૩૨૦, ઇ. સ. ૧૨૬૪ નો ઠરાવસિદ્ધિ માતાના મંદિરનો લેખ પ્રકટ થયો છે. તેમાં તેનું નામ પંક્તિ આઠમાં સોમનાથ દેવપત્તન તથા પંક્તિ ૬૪-૫૬ -સોળ-પચીસમાં સોમનાથ દેવનગર આપ્યું છે. ઇ. સ. ના ૧૩મા સૈકામાં જૈના ચાર્જ જયસિંહદેવસૂરિએ કુમારપાલ ચરિત્ર નામનો અંથ રચ્યો છે, તેમાં તેનું નામ દેવનગર લખ્યું છે.*

આ ઉપરથી સિદ્ધ થાય છે કે પ્રભાસ પાટણનું બીજું નામ દેવનગર હતું.

બાવનગર લેખ સંબંધ (પૃ. ૧૮૬-૧૯૩) માં પ્રભાસપાટણના ભદ્રકાલી માતાના મંદિરનો વલણી સંવત્ ૮૫૦ એટલે ઇ. સ. ૧૧૬૬, વિ. સં. ૧૧૨૫ નો લેખ છપાયા છે. તેમાં લખ્યું છે કે ભાવ બહસ્ત્ર તિએ કુમારપાલ રાત્રી આજ્ઞાથી પ્રભાસ પાટણમાં સોમનાથના મંદિરનો જીર્ણોદ્ધાર કરાવ્યો. તેજ કારણથી આનંદનગરના લેખમાં કુમારપાલના અમારે તે હકીકત નોંધી રાખી હોય તેમ જણાય છે.

(૩) જુનાગઢમાં ભૂતનાથ મહાદેવનું જુના કાલનું કેવાલય છે. આચરે સાંઠ

* રાજારાજિરયાજિરાજિવિજયી રાજેવ રેજે શુચિ: ।

યો યાત્રાં વિરચય્ય દેવનગરે ધ્રી સોમનાથોક્તિ: ॥ સ. ૧, શ્લો. ૨૮. બંગાળી વિસ્વકોપ ભાગ ૮ પૃ. ૭૩૬.

સીતેર વર્ષ ઉપર લ્યાના પ્રતિષ્ઠિત નાચ ગૃહસ્થ રત્ન. નૃસિંહપ્રસાદ દરિપ્રસાદે તેનો જીર્ણોદ્ધાર કરાવ્યો હતો. તેની સ્થળ વ્યવસ્થા તેઓના પુત્ર તરફથી થાય છે. નાગરાની ભૂતનાથ મહાદેવ ઉપર આને પણ આસ્થા ધણી છે. જુના કાળમાં પણ નાગરા તેના બહત હશે. તે કેનાજરમાં પ્રસ્તુત આનંદનગરના લેખની શિલા રાખવામાં આવી છે.

પ્રશ્ન એ ઉપસ્થિત થાય છે કે-કયો અને કોણે તે લેખ આનંદનગરથી લાવ્યો ને લાં રાખ્યો ?

જુનાગઢનું વડનગર (પ્રથમનું) આનંદ પુર) જુનાગઢથી આચરે ૧૭૫ માઈલ દૂર છે. કાઠિયાવાડનું કોડિનાર પાસે આવેલું વડનગર (પ્રથમનું) આનંદનગર) લાંથી માત્ર ૬૫ માઈલ દૂર છે. જુના તના વડનગર જેટલે દૂરથી તે લેખ લાં આવ્યો હોય એમ સંભવતું નથી. ઠા માટે સંભવતું નથી ?

જુના કાળમાં જુનાગઢના વડનગર સાથે જુનાગઢને સીધા સંબંધ નહોતા. જુના ગઢના સુપ્રખ્યાત અમરજી હીવાનના પૂર્વે પ્રથમ વડનગરથી આવીને તળાને વસ્થા હતા; તળાજના રાત્રીએ તેઓને આશ્રય આપ્યો હતો. તળાજેથી તેઓ મંજીરાગ ગયા, અને મંજીરાગથી અમરજી હીવાન જુનાગઢ જઈને વસ્થા હતા.*

પરંતુ હાલની જેમ નાગરા ઇસ્વીસનના બારમા તેરમા સૈકામાં પ્રભાસ પાટણ અને તેની આસપાસના પ્રદેશમાં વસતા હતા, એમ કેટલાક શિલાલેખોથી સિદ્ધ થાય છે. વિ. સં. ૧૨૬૨ (ઇ. સ. ૧૨૦૬) ના પોરબંદર પાસે આવેલા વીસાવડા

* રણછોડજી હીવાન કૃત “શિવ મહાત્મ્ય રત્નાકર”નું ત્રિપુરાખ્યાન, પૃ. ૮૨-૮૩.

મિના લેખ ઉપરથી તેમ વિ. સં. ૧૨૭૨
ક. સ. ૧૨૧૬) ના પાટણના મોટા કરવા
ના લેખથી જણાય છે કે-તે સમયે વીસા
કા ગામમાં અને પ્રભાસપાટણમાં નાગરો
વસિત હતા. ગુજરાતના રાજ બીજા બીમ
એ ગુજરાતના વડનગરના નાગર શ્રોધરને-
પ્રભાસ પાટણનો અધિકારી બનાવ્યો હતો;
તે ત્યાં એક વિષ્ણુનું અને એક શિવનું
મંદિર બંધાવ્યાં હતાં.* તેજ
માણે પ્રભાસ પાટણની આસપાસના પ્ર
દેશનાં ગામોમાં નાગરો વસતા હોય, તો
માં કંઈ આશ્ચર્ય નહીં. તે પ્રદેશના
નાગરોને જૂનાગઢ અને વંચલીના નાગરો
એ સંપ્રજો સામાજિક સંબંધ હતા.

મીઠા કવિના કોઈપણ કાંઈમાં કાઠિયા
વડના વડનગરના નાગરો દર્શાવેલ લખાઈ
થી. મીઠા કવિ વિ. સં. ૧૫૯૨ (ઈ. સ.
૫૩૬) સુધી હયાત હતા. કદાચ તેની
તરાવરમાં મુસલમાનોએ તેનો નાશ
કર્તા હોય તો, તે જનવા યોગ્ય છે. ગુજ
રાતના સુલતાન બીજા મુજફ્ફરશાહે ઈ. સ.
૫૩૦ (૧૫૨૬) માં પ્રભાસ પાટણનું
ભાગનાયતું કેવાલય તોડી નાખ્યાનું નો
ંધાયું છે. કદાચ તેજ પ્રસંગે તેણે આનંદ
ગર (વડનગર) નો નાશ કર્યો હતો. અને
ત્યાંનાં શિવાલય તોડી નાખ્યાં હશે. ત્યાંના
નાગરો તે સમયે ત્યાંથી નાશીને જૂનાગઢમાં
રાખ્યા હોય, અને પ્રસ્તુત લેખની શિલા સાથે
ત્યાંને ભૂતનાથ મહાદેવના મંદિરમાં રાખી
દીધો, એમ સ્પષ્ટ અનુમાન થઈ શકે છે. તેજ
વસતીમાં મુસલમાનોએ પ્રભાસ પાટણમાં
રેલ બાંધીને લીધે ત્યાંના નાગર કવિ
નાને બંધાવેલ સરસ્વતી મંદિરનો વિ.

* નાગર ત્રિમાસિક પુ. ૪ અંક ૩ પૃ.
૧-૫૪ તથા Bhavnagar Inscrip-
tions pp. 195-203.

સ. ૧૩૨૮ (ઈ. સ. ૧૨૭૨) નો શિલા લેખ
કાઠિનારના કોટેશ્વર મહાદેવમાં અને નાણુકા
પીરોજી બંધાવેલી મસ્જિદનો વિ. સ. ૧૩૨૦
(ઈ. સ. ૧૨૫૪) નો શિલાલેખ વેરાવળના
દરસિદ્ધિ માતાના મંદિરમાં લઈ જઈ રા
ખવામાં આવેલ છે.*

(૪) પ્રસ્તુત લેખની ઉલી પંક્તિમાં વલ્લી
સંવત્ ૮૫૦ સાથે સિંદ સંવત્ ૬૦ આ
પેલ છે. અધાવધિ સિંદ સંવતના પ્રમાણ
ભૂત ચાર લેખો પ્રાપ્ત થયા છે.†

(અ) કાઠિયાવાડની કશિણે અરબી સમુ
દ્રના કિનારા પર આવેલ માંગરોળની સો
દલી વાવનો લેખ, સિંદ સંવત ૩૨, વિ.
સં. ૧૨૦૨ (ઈ. સ. ૧૧૪૬) નો.

(બ) ગિરનારની મુર્તિ ઉપરનો લેખ,
સિંદ સંવત ૫૮ નો.

(ક) પ્રસ્તુત આનંદનગરનો લેખ, સિંદ
સંવત ૬૦ નો.

(ડ) માંગરોળ પાસે આવેલ વેરાવળમાં
દરસિદ્ધિમાતાના મંદિરનો લેખ, સિંદ
સંવત્ ૧૫૧, વિક્રમ સં, ૧૩૨૦ (ઈ. સ.
૧૧૬૪) નો.

(અ) પહેલો લેખ ગુજરાતના રાજ સિદ્ધ-
રાજ જયસિંહના અંજરણક ગોદિલ સહ
જિજ્ઞાસુ પુત્ર સોમરાજે માંગરોળથી બાર
ગાઉ દૂર આવેલ ચોરવાડ ગામની સીમમાં
સદ્ગજેશ્વરનું મંદિર બંધાવ્યું, સંબં
ધીને છે.†

* ગોવિંદભાઈ દાર્યાભાઈ કેશાઈ દ્વારા
ગુજરાતનો પ્રાચીન ઇતિહાસ, આવૃત્તિ
ચોથી, પૃ. ૧૯૫.

† સિંદ સંવત્ માટે જુઓ. Epi-
graphica Indica, Vol-V, Inscrip-
tions of Northern India, Nos.
578-84.

† Bhavnagar Inscriptions,
pp. 158-60 તથા ભાવનગર પ્રાચીન

(૬) એથો લેખ પ્રભાસ પાટણના પાઠર માં ધરાવના નાણુદા પિરાળે મરજી બંધાવી, તેનો છે. તે લેખ ગુજરાતના રાજ અશ્વિનદેવના સમયનો છે.*

આ ઉપરથી સ્પષ્ટ થાય છે કે-સિદ્ધરાજે જુનાગઢના રાજા રા' બેંગારને દરારીને સૌરાષ્ટ્ર પ્રાંત ખાલસે કથી તે સમયે એટલે વિ. સં. ૧૧૭૦ (ઈ. સ. ૧૧૧૪) માં સૌરાષ્ટ્ર પ્રાંતના કંડનાયક સદગ્નિજના પુત્ર મુલકે તે સંવત્ ૪૨ કથી હતો, અને તે અશ્વિનદેવના સમય સુધી પ્રચલિત રહ્યો હતો.

સિદ્ધરાજની સાથે જુનાગઢ છતવાને નાગરો ગયા હરો, તેઓને સદગ્નિજના-પુત્રીએ સારી પેઠે આશ્રય આપ્યો હતો, તેઓએ કઠાય પ્રસ્તુત આનંદનગર વસાવ્યું હતો. તેમજ તેમાં શિવાલયો બંધાવી, તેના લેખમાં પોતાના આશ્રયકાતાઓને અનુસરીને સિંદસંવત્ કાખલ કથી હતો.

તેજ પ્રમાણે એ પણ સ્પષ્ટ થાય છે કે-પ્રસ્તુત આનંદનગર જે ગુજરાતનું આનંદપુર હોત, તો તેના લેખમાં સિંદસંવત્ કાખલ કરવાનું કંઈ કારણ નહતું. ગુજરાતના આનંદપુરના કોઈ પણ લેખમાં સિંદસંવત્ લેવામાં આવતો નથી.

(૫) કોટીનારથી આશરે ૬ માઈલ દૂર અને પ્રસ્તુત વડનગર એટલે આનંદનગરથી નવ માઈલ દૂર હાલમાં બહુલા ગામ આવ્યું છે. તે ગામનું અસલ નામ જુરગલા હતું, જેમ વિ. સં. ૧૪૪૦ (ઈ. સ. ૧૩૮૭)નો એક લેખ પ્રાપ્ત થયો છે, તે ઉપરથી જણાય છે.

લેખ શોધ સંબંધ, પૃ. ૧-૧૦, તથા Indian Antiquary Vol. XXIII, p. 1070.

* તેજ પૃષ્ઠ. ૨૨૪, તથા તેજ, Vol XI p. 242.

તે લેખમાં લખવામાં આવ્યું છે 'નાગર શ્રદ્ધસ્ય સોમને માધવ નામે પુત્રો; માધવને ધાંધ નામનો હતો. મ. અને ધાંધ કોઈ રાજાના મંત્રીઓમાં ધાંધની પુત્રી હાસુ અને જસુએ એક વાવ રા. ૫૦૦) ખચીને કાપી' છેલી પંક્તિમાં લખવામાં આવ્યું છે- 'ગ્રીનિપ વિક્રમ સંવત્ ૧૪૪૦ વર્ષે જુદ ૧૪ ચુરગલા ગ્રામે હાંમુ જાસુ દકા ૫૦ વાપી કારાયિતઃ' ॥*

તે જુરગલા ગામ આનંદનગરના કિનારા ખચી માટે ધવલે કાનમાં આવ્યું હતું.

આ ઉપરથી નિર્વિવાદ સિદ્ધ થાય છે- પ્રસ્તુત આનંદનગર, તે ગુજરાતનું નંદપુર નહતું. ગુજરાતના આનંદપુર બંધાવેલા શિવાલયના ખચી માટે કોટીનાર પાસે આવેલ જુરગલા ગામ આપવામાં આવ્યું નહિ. તેમજ તે આનંદપુર પાસે જુરગલા નામનું બીજું કોઈ પણ ગામ છે નહિ.

(૬) પ્રસ્તુત આનંદનગરના લેખના ૧૧ માં શ્લોકમાં ગુજરાતના રાજા કુમારજીના અમાત્ય ધવલનું નામ આવે છે. ધવલના એ પુત્રીએ આનંદનગરમાં શિવાલયો બંધાવ્યાં, જેમ ત્યાર પછીના શ્લોક ઉપરથી સમજી શકાય છે. જાવનગર લેખ સંબંધના સંપાદકે એનું અર્થ માન કર્યું છે કે-તે ધવલ અને શિવ સંવત્ ૧૨૬૭ (ઈ. સ. ૧૨૧૧)ના આગળ ઉપર કેલવાડાના ગુજરાતમાં આવેલ કિલ્લાના રાજા વીર ધવલના સમયના લેખ

* નાગર ત્રિમાસિક, ચૈત્ર શુદ્ધ ૧૪ સંવત્ ૧૯૬૫. પુ. ૫, અંક ૧; પૃ. ૯-૧૦ તથા જાવનગર પ્રાચીન શોધ સંબંધ પરિચિત. પત્ર લેખાંક ૧૫૯; પૃ. ૪૨.

રમાર વંશના ચરોધવલ[†] નામ
લાવે છે,* તે ચરોધવલ એક દત્તા.[†]
૧૨^{મું} ફેલવાડાના લેખમાં જે ચરોધવલ
રેણે લખવામાં આવ્યું છે, તે પરમાર વં-
ના રામકેવનો પુત્ર હતો. તેણે ગુજરાતના
૧૮ કુમારપાળને મદદ આપી માળવાના
૧૮ બદલાળને માર્યા હતા, એટલુંજ તે
ખમાં લખવામાં આવ્યું છે. પરંતુ ઇતર
વતંત્ર પ્રમાણેથી સિદ્ધ થાય છે કે તે
રોધવલ આખુના પરમાર વંશનો રાજા
હોતો.[‡] કુમારપાળનો અમાત્ય નહોતો.[‡]

પ્રસ્તુત લેખનો ધવલ, કુમારપાળનો અ-
માત્ય હતો અને સોમકેવનો પુત્ર હતો, એમ
જ લેખમાં સ્પષ્ટ રીતે કહેવામાં આવ્યું
છે. અર્થાત્ ધવલ અને ચરોધવલ, ઉભય
યક્તિઓ એક નહોતી; પણ પૃથક્ પૃથક્ હતા.

કુમારપાળના સમયમાં સાબરમતી અને
ભરૂચ વચ્ચેના પ્રદેશ ઉપર તેમજ ધંધુકા
ગોળકાના પ્રદેશ ઉપર અલ્હોરાજ નામનો
નોંધ મળેલો પુત્ર સામંત તરીકે રાજ્ય
પાતો હતો. તે અલ્હોરાજ ગુજરાતના
રાણેલા વંશનો સ્થાપક હતો. તેના પિતા-
નું નામ પણ ધવલ હતું; પરંતુ તે ધવલ
મારપાળનો અમાત્ય ન હતો. કુમારપાળે
અમાત્યની પદવી તો અલ્હોરાજના પુત્ર
વણપ્રસાદને આપી હતી.[§] અર્થાત્ આનંદ-
ગજનો અમાત્ય ધવલ અને ઉપયુક્તિ
પલ-ઉભય બૃહા નૃહા પુરવો દત્તા.[§]

* Bhavnagar Inscriptions,
p. 175.

† તેજ પૃષ્ઠ ૧૮૪.

‡ ઇતિહાસ વિચારક ગૌરીસંકર દીશ
પંડે જોડાપૂત રાજપૂતનેકા ઇતિહાસ,
જેલ ૧. પૃષ્ઠ ૧૭૫-૧૭૬.

§ મોવિંદસાઈ દાથીસાઈ ડેસાઈપૂત
ગુજરાતનો પ્રાચીન ઇતિહાસ, આરતિ ૪,
પૃ. ૨૧૪.

વેરાવલના દરસિદ્ધિમાતાના વિ. સં.
૧૩૨૦ ના લેખમાં કહેવામાં આવ્યું છે કે-
“નાખુદા પિરોને પ્રભાસપાટણના પાકરમાં
જે મસ્જિદ બંધાવી હતી, તે મસ્જિદના બ-
ચીના નિભાવ માટે પ્રભાસપાટણમાં આવેલ
ધવલેશ્વર મહાકેવના મંદિરની માલીકીની
જમીન, મકાન, દાટો તેણે લેવાતાં લીધાં
અને મસ્જિદને અર્પણ કર્યા.”

કદાચ પ્રસ્તુત લેખના અમાત્ય ધવલે
પ્રભાસપાટણમાં પોતાના નામથી ધવલે-
શ્વરનું મંદિર બંધાવ્યું હોય, એમ અનુ-
માન થઈ શકે છે.

૧૦ કાઠિયાવાડનું વડનગર એક નાના
રાજ્યની રાજધાની હતી.

મીકા કવિના કહેવા પ્રમાણે કાઠિયાવા-
ડનું વડનગર ઇ. સ. ના પંદરમા સદ્કાના
ઉત્તરાર્ધમાં એક સ્વતંત્ર રાજ્યની રાજ-
ધાની હતી. તેનો રાજા દરસુર નામનો
હતો. કાઠીનારથી આઠ માઇલ અને આનંદ-
નગરથી અગિયાર માઇલ દૂર આવેલ ધામ-
જેજ ગામના વિષ્ણુમથા નામના કુંડનો
એક લેખ સંવત ૧૪૩૭ (ઈ. સ. ૧૩૮૧)
નો પ્રાપ્ત થયો છે. તેમાં કહેવામાં આવ્યું
છે કે-“વાલ રાજા ભરૂચના કાર્યભારી કર્મ-
સિંહે તે કુંડનો છલોદ્ધાર કરાવ્યો. પ્રચ-
સ્તિ રચનાર ભાનુનો પુત્ર વાસુકેવ આનંદ-
પુરનો નિવાસી નાગર જ્ઞાતિનો હતો. * તેજ
પ્રમાણે તે ગામની નજીકમાં આવેલ બહુલા
(હરજલા) ગામની વાવના સંવત ૧૪૪૦
(ઈ. સ. ૧૩૮૪) ના લેખમાં પણ લખ્યું છે
કે:-“તે વાવ, મંત્રી માધવના પુત્ર મંત્રી
ધાંધની પુત્રીઓએ કરાવી.” બહુલા અને
ધામજેજ વચ્ચે પાંચ સાત માઇલનું અ-
ંતર છે અને બંને લેખોની સાલોમાં માત્ર

* નાગર વિમાસિક, પુસ્તક ૫ અંક ૧,
ચેત્ર મુદી ૧૪ સંવત ૧૮૬૫, પૃ. ૬.

ત્રણ વર્ષનું અંતર છે. તે ઉપરથી જણાય છે કે-વિ. સં. ૧૪૩૭(ઈ. સ. ૧૩૮૧)માં કર્મસિંહ, વાલ રાલ ભરમનો મંત્રી હતો; ત્યાર પછી વિ. સં. ૧૪૪૦ (ઈ. સ. ૧૩૮૪) માં તેજ રાલનો મંત્રી ધાંધ નામનો હતો. ધાંધનો પિતા માધવ, કર્મસિંહની પહેલાં તેજ રાલનો અથવા તેના પિતાનો મંત્રી હતો.

અક્ષર-અત્ર પ્રથમ એ ઉપરિચિત યાચ છે કે તે ભર્મ કયા પ્રદેશનો રાલ હતો ?

વાલ રાલ ભર્મ અથવા ભરમના સંબંધમાં ઉપરના ધામજેજના લેખ સિવાય બીજા ત્રણ લેખો પ્રાપ્ત થયા છે :

૧ એક લેખ પ્રભાસપાટણને નાને ફરવાળે આવેલો છે. તે લેખ વિ. સં. ૧૪૪૨ (ઈ. સ. ૧૩૮૭) નો છે. તે લેખમાં કહેવામાં આવ્યું છે કે-“રાઠોડ વંશનો ભરમ નામનો રાલ થયા.”*

૨ બીજો લેખ ધામજેજ ગામનો છે. તે લેખ વિ. સં. ૧૪૪૭ (ઈ. સ. ૧૩૯૧) નો છે. તેમાં કહેવામાં આવ્યું છે કે-“ગુજરાતના રાલના મંત્રી તેલના પુત્ર રાણુનો પુત્ર કરણસિંહ હતો. તે કરણસિંહ પ્રભાસપાટણના રાલ ભરમનો મંત્રી હતો. તેણે મેઘપુર ગામ જાનમાં આવ્યું.”†

ધામજેજની વાવના લેખમાં આ કરણસિંહને કર્મસિંહ અને ભરમને ભર્મ કહેલ છે. ભર્મની જાતિ વાલ રજપૂતની હતી, એમ પણ કહ્યું છે.

૩ ત્રીજો લેખ કોડિનાર પાસે આવેલ જહડ નામના તળાવનો છે. તે લેખ વિ. સં. ૧૪૫૭(ઈ. સ. ૧૪૦૧)નો છે. તેમાં કહેવામાં આવ્યું છે કે-“રાલ ભરમની પુત્રી નાણુએ જહડ નામે તળાવ બંધાવ્યું.”‡

* ભાગવનગર પ્રાચીન શોધસંગ્રહ, પરિશિષ્ટ લેખાંક ૯૯, પૃ. ૨૮. † તેજ લેખાંક ૧૩૬, પૃ. ૩૭.

‡ તેજ લેખાંક ૧૩૫, પૃ. ૩૬.

આ ત્રણે લેખો તેમજ પ્રથમના ધામજેજની વાવના લેખ ઉપરથી જણાય છે કે-વિ. સં. ૧૪૩૭(ઈ. સ. ૧૩૮૧) તે વિ. સં. ૧૪૫૭ (ઈ. સ. ૧૪૦૧) સુધી કોડિનારના આસપાસના પ્રદેશ ભરમ (ભર્મ) નામનો રાલ રાજ્ય કરે હતો. તે રાઠોડ રજપૂતની વાલ નામના યાખાનો હતો.

પરંતુ પ્રભાસપાટણના નાના ફરવાળે લેખમાં તેને પ્રભાસપાટણનો રાલ કહે છે. આ રચણે એ તો નોંધી રાખવાની જોઈ છે કે ભાવનગર પ્રાચીન લેખશોધસંગ્રહમાં પરિશિષ્ટોમાં લેખોની નકલો આપી નથી, પરંતુ માત્ર મતલબ આપી છે. તેમ લેખમાં હકીકત શી રીતે લખાઈ છે, તે જણવાનું સાધન નથી. તો પણ તે લેખે ઉપરથી અને મીઠા દલિના કાળે ઉપર જણાય છે કે-ઈ. સ. ના ચૌદમા સૈન્ય ઉત્તરાર્ધમાં તેમજ પંદરમા સૈન્યના પૂર્વાર્ધમાં પ્રભાસપાટણની આસપાસના પ્રદેશ ઉપર વાલ રજપૂતો રાજ્ય કરતા હતા તેજ અરસામાં વાલ રજપૂતોએ ગોહિલ વાડના તલાલ, ઝાંઝમેર, તથા ભેસામાં કાઠિયાવાડ પ્રાંતના અમરેલીમાં તેમજ સોરઠમાં ગીર, બિના વગેરે પ્રદેશોમાં ત્યાં જહડ રાજ્યો જમાવ્યાં હતાં, આમ કાઠિયાવાડ ગેઝીટીયર ઉપરથી પ્રતીત યાચ છે.

તેમ છતાં ભાવનગર પ્રાચીન લેખોમાં સંગ્રહના સંપાદકે ઈ. સ. ના ૧૪ મ સૈન્યના ઉત્તરાર્ધમાં વાલજેજનું અર્ધ-વાલ ભરમનું પ્રભાસપાટણમાં રાજ્ય હતું એમ લખ્યું છે, તે વાસ્તવિક જણાઈ નથી.

ઈ. સ. ૧૨૯૭ માં દિલ્હીના ખાલજા અલ્લાઉદ્દીનના સરદાર અલદુખાનિ, ગુજરાતના રાલ કરણસિંહને હરાવીને ગુજરાતિ લીધું. ત્યાર પછી તેણે તુરત પ્રભાસપાટણનું સોમનાથનું કેવળ હાંસી લીધી.

, એમ કદાન્દેવ પ્રબંધમાં કહેવામાં આવ્યું છે. ભાવનગર પ્રાચીન લેખશોધ પદ્ધતિ પરિશિષ્ટમાં સં. ૧૩૫૫(ઈ. સ. ૯૯)ના પ્રભાસપાટણના એક લેખની કિત આપી છે. તે લેખ હજી ગામના ઈંચ નામના ચોરા પછવાટે હજી દરેલ ગાયા ઉપરનો છે. તેમાં કહેવામાં આવ્યું કે; “સોની વાલ માલાસુત વાલ પદ્ધતિ તથા ભાઈ કેપા સોમનાથનું દેર ગ્યામાં યુદ્ધમાં મરાણા.”* આ લેખની નકલ આપવામાં આવી નથી, તે ટુંકી મતલબ આપી છે. માને સોની વાલે કહેવામાં આવેલ છે, તે પુત્રને માત્ર વાલે કહેલ છે. માલો, મલ અને કેપો-એ વ્યક્તિઓનાં વિરોધ મા છે. વાલે ભવિષ્યક વિરોધ છે. ન-એ રાહોડ રજપુતની શાખા હતી રંભમાં સોની રાજ મૂકવામાં આવ્યો તે કાચ ભૂલથી યથેલ દરો. અર્થાત્ ૧૩૫૫(ઈ. સ. ૧૨૯૯)માં અલદખા-સોમનાથનું દેર ભાંગ્યું અને હાંટ્યું, મ ઉપરના લેખથી અને કદાન્દેવ પ્રબંધ ઉપરથી સ્પષ્ટ થાય છે. તે ઈંગે પ્રભાસપાટણ વાલ રજપુતોના મામાં હતું, એમ પણ સ્પષ્ટ થાય છે. ૧૫મી દુરંત અલદખાન અથવા તેની પે આવનાર ગુજરાતના સુબા અફરખાને ગામ જિંદી લઈ ખાલસે ક્યું, એમ ત્યાર પછીના ફારસી લેખો ઉપરથી ક્લાર થાય છે. માંગરોલના કિલ્લાના દિજરી ૭૦૦(ઈ. સ. ૧૩૦૧, વિ. સં. ૫૭)ના ફારસી લેખોમાં કહેવામાં આવ્યું કે-“તે સમયે ગુજરાતનો સુબા અફર-ન, સોરઠનો નાયજ સુબો મલીક ર અને માંગરોલનો નાયજ સુબો મ-

લીક રોજ હતો. તે મલીક રોજે માંગ-રોલનો કિલ્લો ખંધાવ્યો.”* અર્થાત્ સં. ૧૩૫૭(ઈ. સ. ૧૩૦૧)માં સોરઠ પ્રાંત અને માંગરોલ ગુજરાતના સુબાના તાબામાં હતાં. તે સિવાય દિજરી સન ૭૦૮ (ઈ. સ. ૧૩૦૮-૯, વિ. સં. ૧૩૬૪-૬૫) ના ઉનાના ફારસી લેખમાં કહ્યું છે કે-“કિલ્લીની ગાદીએ તે સમયે શીરોજરાહ બાદશાહ હતો. તે સમયમાં અફરખાને ઉનામાં એક માત્રાનું મકાન ખંધાવ્યું.”† દિ. સ. ૭૨૦ (ઈ. સ. ૧૩૨૦, વિ. સં. ૧૩૭૬)ના પ્રભાસપાટણના પાનવાડીના લેખમાં કહેવામાં આવ્યું છે કે-“કિલ્લીના બાદશાહ મહમદ તથાખના સમયમાં હમીદ અદમદે મસ્જીદ ખંધાવી.”‡ તે સિવાયના બીજા ફારસી લેખો ઉપરથી પણ સ્પષ્ટ પ્રતીત થાય છે કે-વિ. સં. ૧૩૫૫ (ઈ. સ. ૧૨૯૯) માં અલદખાને સોમના-થનું દેર હાંટ્યું. ત્યારપછી, પ્રભાસપાટણ, માંગરોલ અને સોરઠ પ્રાંતમાં મુસલમાની સત્તા સ્થાપિત થઈ હતી.

મુસલમાનોએ પ્રભાસપાટણમાંથી વાલ-ઓને હાંટી કાઢ્યા, પણ લાંબા સમય સુધી તેની આસપાસનો નાથરનો પ્રદેશ તે વાલઓના તાબામાં હતો. વિ. સં. ૧૩૪૬(ઈ. સ. ૧૨૯૦)ના બુનામદ પાસે આવેલા વંધલીના એક લેખમાં ત્યાંના રાજા વિજયાનંદ દેવ હતો; એમ કહ્યું છે.‡ વિ. સં. ૧૩૫૭ (ઈ. સ. ૧૩૦૧)ના તેજ ગામના સૂર્યમંદિરના લેખમાં તે

* Bhavnagar Persian Incriptions, 3. pp. 2-3.

† તેજ પૃષ્ઠ. ૩-૪.

‡ તેજ પૃ. ૪-૫

§ નામર ત્રિમાસિક પુ. ૫ અંક ૧ પૃ. ૭-૮.

* ભાવનગર પ્રાચીન લેખ શોધસંમદ, (૧૯૬૬, પૃ. ૨૬.

ગામના રાજા વિજયદેવ જૂઠાએ તે મંદિરમાં સૂર્યની સ્થાપના કરી હતી, એમ લખ્યું છે. આ ઉપરથી વિજયાનંદદેવ અને વિજયદેવ એકજ વ્યક્તિનું નામ હોવાનું હશે છે. તે વિજયદેવ પાટણનો વાઝ રાજા હતો, એમ કાઠિયાવાડ ગેઝીયેટરના સંપાદકે અનુમાન કર્યું છે.* ત્યાર પછી ધામ જોજ અને બહુલા (ભુરગલા) ના લેખોથી જણાય છે કે, તેજ પ્રદેશ ઉપર વાઝ રાજા ભર્મા રાજ્ય કરતો હતો, અને તેના મંત્રીઓ માધવ અને ધાંધ, નાગર જ્ઞાતિના હતા. મીઠા કવિના કહેવા પ્રમાણે નૃસિંહ મહેતાના સમયમાં તેજ નાથેરના પ્રદેશમાં આવેલ વડનગરમાં હરસુર રાજ્ય કરતો હતો અને કુંવરબાઈનો શ્વસુર શ્રી રંગ મહેતા તેનો કાર્યભારી હતો. આ ઉપરથી સ્પષ્ટ અનુમાન થાય છે. કે ઈ. સ. ના ચૌદ અને પંદરમા સૈદ્ધાંતમાં નાથેરનો પ્રદેશ વાઝાઓના કબજામાં હતો, આનંદનગર અથવા વડનગર તેની રાજધાની હતી.

૧૧ સ્વ. ડૉ. હરિલાલ હર્ષદરાય

lars of Western India.) તથા વડોદરાના રાજ્યમાંથી મળી આવેલ પ્રાચીન વસ્તુઓ તથા લેખો વગેરે (The Antiquities and Archeological Finds of Baroda Territory and the light shed by them on Gujarat History) એ નામના બે નિબંધો વાંચ્યા હતા. તે ત્રણે નિબંધો, પરિશિષ્ટો તથા પરિવર્ણવર્તીત સંદિત એક પુસ્તકના આકાશપ્રસિદ્ધ થયા છે.

પાછળના બંને નિબંધોમાં તેઓએ ભક્ત કવિરાજ નૃસિંહ મહેતાના પુત્ર ચામળદાસના શ્વસુર મહન મહેતાના વડનગર વિષે અને કોટીનારના કોટીશ્વર મહાદેવમાંથી મળી આવેલ નાગર પંડિત નાનાક સંબંધી બે પ્રચલિતલેખો વિષે સ્વસ્તર વિવેચન કર્યું છે. તેમ દર્શતાં તેઓએ ગાયકવાડ ગિર કેસની અપીલમાં રજૂ થયેલ નકલો, તથા કેપ્ટન સ્વાઈટ અને કેપ્ટન પોલને બનાવેલા નકલોના ઉપર મુખ્ય આધાર રાખ્યા છે.

તે સર્વ પ્રમાણોનો બહાવોદ કરીને

૩. નણુ-માઇલ દૂર સૂરમતી અથવા મૈના
રતી નદીને કિનારે આનંદપુર નામનું
ગ્રામ આબુ હટું. હાલમાં તે આનંદપુર
પાસે નજીક ગયેલ છે. તે મૈનાવતી નદી
કિનારે પાસે સમુદ્રતીરે આવેલ મૂલ
ગરકાના મઠ પાસે અરબી સમુદ્રને મળે
છે. (પૃ. ૯૦-૧૧૭)

૪. ગુજરાતમાંથી નાગરો બુનાગડમાં
વે. સં. ૪૦૪ (ઇ. સ. ૩૪૮) અથવા
વલ્લી સંવત્ ૪૦૪ (ઇ. સ. ૪૮૨) માં
બુનાગડમાં આવીને વસ્યા હશે. વલ્લીપુર
રાજાના જાનપત્રોમાં આનંદપુરવિનિર્ગતઃ
જેવાં પદો લેવામાં આવે છે, તે જતા
અનુમાનને પુષ્ટિ આપે છે. (પૃ. ૮૯).

૫. નાનાકની પ્રચલિતચો ઉપરથી જણાય
છે કે પ્રભાસપાટણમાં નાનાકે ગુજરાતના
રાજા વિસલદેવના આશ્રયથી એક સરસ્વતી
મંદિર બંધાવ્યું હતું. નાનાકને તેણે બ્રહ્મ
પુરીમાં એક ધર આપ્યું હતું. તે બ્રહ્મપુરી
વેસલનગર, વડનગર અથવા આનંદપુરમાં
હોવી ભેદ છે. (પૃ. ૧૧૫-૧૧૮)

૬. ગુજરાતના રાજા બીજા, બીજાએ
રાજી પ્રભાસપાટણ અને તેની આસપાસ
ના પ્રદેશ ગુજરાતના રાજાઓના તાબામાં
ના હોય એ જિલ્લો લીધો હતો; વિસલદેવે તે
ની જિલ્લો લીધો; અને આનંદનગરનું નામ
વડનગર પાડ્યું. તેમજ તેની નજીક વિસલ
નગર ગામ નવું વસાવ્યું, તે સાથે ત્યાંના નાગ
ને રાજ્યાશ્રય આપ્યો. (પૃ. ૧૧૬-૧૧૭.)

૭. નાનાકની પ્રચલિતના બીજા લેખને
કે વડનગર ગામ લખ્યું છે, તેમજ નાના
ને વિસલનગરીય કહેલ છે, તે હકીકત
પરનાં અનુમાનોને પુષ્ટિકારક થઈ પડે છે.
૮. ૧૧૪) જાને પ્રચલિતચોમાં નગર અને
આનંદપુરનાં નામો આવે છે, તે કદાચ
ના કાઠિયાવાડના વડનગરનાં નામો હોય
થવા ગુજરાતના વડનગરનાં નામો પણ
થ. (પૃ. ૧૧૭.)

નાનાકની પ્રચલિતચોના લેખની શિલા
હાલમાં કોડિનારના કોટેશ્વર મહાદેવના
મંદિરમાં છે. ડૉ. ધ્રુવના કહેવા પ્રમાણે
પ્રભાસપાટણના સોમનાથનું મંદિર કોડિ
નારના સૈયદોએ [ઇ. સ. ના ૧૭ માં સૈફ
માં] બાંધીને લૂંટી લીધું. તે પ્રસંગે તેઓએ
નાનાકના સરસ્વતીમંદિરનો પણ નાશ કર્યો
હતો અને પ્રસ્તુત શિલા કોડિનારમાં લાવ્યા
હતા. કોડિનારના અતીતે તે શિલા હસ્ત
ગત કરીને કોટેશ્વર મહાદેવના મંદિરમાં
રાખી. (પૃ. ૧૧૪-૧૧૫) ડૉ. ધ્રુવે તે પ્રચ
લિતચોની નકલ પુસ્તકમાં સામેલ રાખી
નથી. પરંતુ વે. મૂ. વલ્લભજી દરિલ
આચાર્ય તે પ્રચલિતચોના ઉપયોગી ભાગ
નાગરનિમાસિકમાં પ્રસિદ્ધ કરાવ્યો છે. તે
ઉપરથી જણાય છે કે:

તે પ્રચલિતચો પૈકી પહેલી પ્રચલિત
૩૬ શ્લોકોની છે, અને નાનાકના પૌત્ર,
કુવલાયશ્વકાવ્યના રચયિતા કૃષ્ણે તે રચી
છે. બીજી પ્રચલિત ધારાશ્વસંપ્રદાન
કર્તા ગણપતી બાસે રચી છે. બંને પ્રચ
લિતચોનો સાર સમાનજ છે. પહેલી પ્રચ
લિતમાં કહેવામાં આવ્યું છે કે,

“નગર નામનું ધૃમ્પત્રી ઉવાઈ રહેતું એક
થહેર છે. તેની પાસે શું નામનું ગામ છે. તે
ગામ ચૌદુશ્ય વંશના નૃપતિએ તે નગરના
નિવાસી બૈજવાપ ગોત્રના બાણજીને ધના
મમાં આપ્યું હતું; તેજ નગરમાં દપિડલ
ગોત્રનો સોમેશ્વર થઈ ગયો. સોમેશ્વરનો
પુત્ર આમટ, અને આમટનો પુત્ર ગોવિંદ
હતો. તે ગોવિંદને બે સ્ત્રીઓ હતી. તે
સ્ત્રીઓથી તેને પુરુષોત્તમ, મલ્લજી અને
નાનાક એમ ત્રણ પુત્રો થયા. નાનાકને
શત્રુ અને ગંજાધર, શત્રુને કૃષ્ણ નામ
નો પુત્ર થયો. નાનાકને નાગરોત્તમ,
ન્યાય શાસવેત્તા, વેકવિદ્, કવિ, પંડિત
હતાકિ વિશેષજોષી અશ્વંકૃત કરવામાં

આવેલ છે. ગણપતિ વ્યાસની પ્રશસ્તિ માં નગરને બદલે આનંદપુર નામ આપ્યું છે. તે નાનાકે સરસ્વતી સાગરના સંગમ હપર સરસ્વતી મંદિર બંધાવ્યું, અને ગુજરાતના રાજા વિસલદેવની તેમાં મૂર્તિ પધરાવી. વિસલદેવે તેને બગસરા ગામ કાનમાં આપ્યું હતું. અને માંગરોલની હપજમાંથી સાતમે ભાગ આપ્યો હતો. એટલું જ નહિ પણ એમ પણ કહ્યું છે કે વિસલદેવે તેને વિસલ બ્રહ્મપુરીમાં બીજું ધર આપ્યું હતું, તેમાં નાનાક રહેતો હતો.”*

ડો. ધ્રુવે વડનગરની પાસે વિસલદેવે વિસલનગર વસાવ્યું હતું, એમ કહેલ છે, તે વિસલનગરનું બીજું નામ વિસલ બ્રહ્મપુરી હોય, એમ તે હપરથી સ્પષ્ટ અનુમાન થઈ શકે છે.

પરંતુ ડો. ધ્રુવ કહે છે તેમ વે. મૂ. આચાર્ય પ્રકટ કરેલી પ્રશસ્તિઓને છેડે “વરનગર” અથવા “વિસલનગરીય” શબ્દો લખવામાં આવ્યા નથી. તેઓએ તો કહ્યું છે કે નાનાકના પિતામહ ગોવિંદ ને બે સ્ત્રીઓ હતી, તેથી તે વિસલનગરના નાગર હશે. લેખમાં “વિસલનગરીય” એવો પ્રત્યક્ષ શબ્દ લખવામાં આવ્યો હોત તો તેઓને એવું અનુમાન કરવાની જરૂર પડત નહિ. વિસલબ્રહ્મપુરીમાં વિસલદેવે નાનાકને બીજું ધર આપ્યું હતું, એમ લખવામાં આવ્યું છે; તે હપરથી પ્રભાસ પાટણમાં સરસ્વતીમંદિર પાસે પણ એક ધર તેણે કરાવી આપ્યું હશે. વે. મૂ. આચાર્ય

ના લખવા પ્રમાણે પ્રશસ્તિ રચ્યાની સાથે વિ. સંવત્ ૧૩૨૮ (ઈ. સ. ૧૨૭૨)ની છે.

કાઠિયાવાડનું આનંદપુર અથવા આનંદ નગર ક્યારે વસ્યું હતો? ડો. ધ્રુવે તે પ્રશ્ન હપરિયત ક્યો છે. તેઓના મત પ્રમાણે ઈ. સ. ૩૪૮ અથવા ૪૮૨ માં ગુજરાતના આનંદપુર (વડનગર)ના નાગરો જૂનાગઢમાં આવીને વસ્યા હશે. અને ત્યાંથી તેઓએ પ્રસ્તુત આનંદપુર વસાવ્યું હતો. વલ્લભીપુરના રાજાઓના કાનપત્રોમાં આનંદપુરવિનિર્ગત: શબ્દો જોવામાં આવે છે, તે આનંદપુર ગુજરાતનું નહિ, પણ કાઠિયાવાડનું હોવું જોઈએ, એમ તેઓએ અનુમાન ક્યું છે. (પૃ. ૮૯).

અદ્યાવધિ વલ્લભી રાજાઓનાં વલ્લભી સંવત્ ૨૨૧ (ઈ. સ. ૫૪૧) થી વલ્લભી સંવત્ ૪૪૭ (ઈ. સ. ૭૬૭) સુધીનાં આ કાનપત્રો પ્રાપ્ત થયાં છે, જેમાં આનંદપુર તથા આનંદપુર નામે જોવામાં આવે છે. તે પૈકી ચાર કાનપત્રોમાં આનંદપુરના બ્રાહ્મણોને અને બાકીનાં ચાર કાનપત્રોમાં આનંદપુરના બ્રાહ્મણોને કાન આપવાની હકીકત લખી છે. એક કાનપત્ર આનંદપુરના નિવાસીને એક આનંદપુરના નિવાસીને, ચાર કાનપત્રો આનંદપુર અથવા આનંદપુરમાંથી નીકળીને ખેડામાં આવીને રહેનાર બ્રાહ્મણોને અને બે કાનપત્રો ત્યાંથી વલ્લભીપુરમાં આવીને રહેનાર બ્રાહ્મણોને કરી આપ્યાં છે.*

સ્કંદપુરાણનુગત નાગરખંડમાંથી વડનગરનાં ચમત્કારપુર, આનંદપુર, સ્કંદપુર અને નગર નામે મળી આવે છે. આનંદપુર નામ તો માત્ર વલ્લભીકાનપત્રોમાંથી જ પ્રાપ્ત થાય છે.† અર્થાત્ તે આનંદપુર

* શ્રી વિસલબ્રહ્મપુરી દ્વિતીયાવાસવાસિના તેર્જનાનાકનામ્નેદં તેને સારસ્વતં સદ:

નાગરત્રિમાસિક, પુ. ૪, અં. ૧૪, પૃષ્ઠ ૧૪, સં. ૧૯૬૫ પુ. ૮૪-૮૮, પ્રશસ્તિ ૨ છ.

* નાગરોત્પત્તિ, પૃ. ૯૬-૯૭.

† તેજ, પૃ. ૫૨.

અને આનંદપુર ગુજરાતના વડનગરનાં
નામો હોવાનું જણાય છે. પ્રસ્તુત નાનાક
પ્રસ્થિતમાં નગર અથવા આનંદપુર
નાસે જે ગુજા ગામની હકીકત લખવામાં
આવી છે, તે નામનું કંઈ પણ ગામ
કાઠિયાવાડના વડનગર (આનંદનગર)ની
આસપાસના પ્રદેશમાં નથી. ડૉ. ધ્રુવે પણ
તેજ કારણથી ઉક્ત નગર અથવા આનંદ-
પુર ગુજરાતનું વડનગર હશે, એમ સ્વી-
કાર્યું છે. (પૃ. ૧૧૭).

અર્થાત્ નાનાકનો મૂલ પૂર્વજ પુરખ ગુજ-
રાતના આનંદપુરનો નિવાસી હતો, એમ
તે ઉપરથી સિદ્ધ થાય છે. તેનો કયા
પૂર્વજ ક્યારે કાઠિયાવાડના આનંદનગર
અથવા નિસલનગરમાં આવીને વસ્યો
હશે, તે જણવાને કંઈ સાધન નથી. વલ્લી
રાજાઓના લેખો ઉપરથી એટલું તો સમ-
ભવ છે કે તેઓના સમયમાં નાગરો ગુજ-
રાતમાંથી આવીને વલ્લીપુરમાં વસ્યા હતા;
તેમાંના કેટલાકને આસપાસના પ્રદેશમાં
ગામો દાનમાં આપવામાં આવ્યાં હતાં.

પ્રસ્તુત આનંદનગરના લેખથી પણ
સમભવ છે કે તે નગરમાં સિવાલયી જ-
ધાવનારનો પ્રથિતામહ આનંદનગરનો
નિવાસી હતો. લેખની સાલ વિ. સં. ૧૨૨૫
(ઈ. સં. ૧૧૬૯) ની છે. તે દિસાએ વિ.
સં. ૧૨ મા સૈકાના પૂર્વાર્ધમાં અથવા
ઈ. સ. ૧૧ મા સૈકાના ઉત્તરાર્ધમાં આ-
નંદનગરનું અસ્તિત્વ હતું. ઉપર કહેવામાં
આવ્યું છે તેમ સિદ્ધરાજ જયસિંહના કંડ-
નાયક ગોદિલ સદ્ગજના આશ્રયથી ના-
ગરોએ આનંદનગર વસાવ્યું હશે, તે
અનુમાનને પણ ઉપરની હકીકતથી પુષ્ટિ
મળે છે.

આનંદનગરના સિવાલય જધાવના-
રના પુર્વજોને વલ્લી રાજાઓનો આશ્રમ

હતો, એમ પણ તે લેખના છઠ્ઠા શ્લોકથી
સમભવ છે.

તે ઉપરથી એમ પણ અનુમાન થઈ શકે
છે કે ગુજરાતના નાગરો વલ્લીપુરમાં
આવીને વસ્યા પછી કેટલાક નાગરો કાઠિ-
યાવાડના જુદા જુદા ભાગોમાં વસ્યા હશે.

જુનાગઢના ચુડાસમા રાજા દયાસનો
મંત્રી શ્રીધર નાગર જ્ઞાતિનો હતો, એમ
કહેવામાં આવ્યું છે.* જુનાગઢમાં રા'
આશિન શુદી ૧૪, સં. ૧૯૬૪, પૃ. ૫૧.
દયાસ નામના બે રાજાઓ યદ્ય ગયા છે,
એક ઇ. સ. ૧૦૦૩ (વિ. સં. ૧૦૫૯)માં
અને બીજો ઇ. સ. ૧૧૫૨ (વિ. સં. ૧૨૦૮)
માં કદાચ શ્રીધર ઈ. સ. ૧૦૦૩ માં યદ્ય
ગયેલ રા' દયાસનો મંત્રી હોય તો જુના-
ગઢમાં વહેલામાં વહેલા ઇ. સ. ૧૦ મા
સૈકામાં ગુજરાતમાંથી નાગરો આવીને
વસ્યા હોય, એવું અનુમાન થઈ શકે છે.
તે વહેલાં ત્યાં નાગરો હોવાનું કંઈ પ્રમાણ
પ્રાપ્ત થતું નથી.

૧૨ ઉપસંહાર

કુંવરબાઈનું સાસરું જના, વાલમ, માં-
ગરોલ કે વડનગર તે ગામોમાંથી કયા ગા-
મમાં હતું, તે ચર્ચવાનો અત્રે પ્રસંગ નથી.
પરંતુ એ તો સુનિશ્ચિત છે કે સામલકાસ-
નું સાસરું વડનગરમાં હતું. મહેતાએ યો-
તેજ સામલકાસના વિવાદના કાળમાં કહ્યું
છે. તે પ્રસંગે તેઓએ એમ પણ કહ્યું છે
કે જુનાગઢથી વડનગર જન જતાં બાર
તેર દિવસ લાગ્યા હતા; તેમ ત્યાંથી પાછા
આવતાં પણ તેટલોજ વખત લીધો હતો.
જે તે હકીકત ચચાર્યું હોય તો તે વડન-
ગર ગુજરાતવર્જન હોયું નેહએ. પરંતુ તે
સાથે તેઓએ એમ પણ કહ્યું છે કે-સામ-

* નાગર ત્રિમાસિક પૃ. ૪ અંક ૩.

† કાઠિયાવાડ સર્વિસ મહાપૃ. ૩૯૫-૩૯૬.

॥ ईशावास्योपनिषत् ॥

PAPER READ

BY

VISHVANÂTH P. VAIDYA,

B. A., M. R. A. S., J. P., Bar-at-Law,

BEFORE

THE XVIIIth INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF
ORIENTALISTS HELD AT OXFORD IN

1928.

SUMMARY.

The Upanishad known as ईशावास्य depicts three stages of development.

1. Of pure knowledge and its result.
2. The state of persons following traditional rituals.
3. The state of persons of complete degradation, their supposed migrations to and from the sunless regions.

The different considerations which are prompted by the words used in the first three stanzas; the change of meanings of these words in different times and the exhibited change of ideas.

The suggested period of time when the said UPANISHAD was written.

ईशा वास्यमिदं सर्वम्
 यत्किञ्च जगत्यां जगत्
 तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः
 मा गृधः कस्यस्विद्धनम् ॥ १ ॥

कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि
 जिजीविषेच्छतः समाः
 एवं त्वयि नान्यथेतोऽस्ति
 न कर्म लिप्यते नरे ॥ २ ॥

असूर्या नाम ते लोका
 अन्धेन तमसाऽऽवृताः
 तांस्ते प्रेत्यामिगच्छन्ति
 ये के चात्महनो जनाः ॥ ३ ॥

The UPANISHAD known as the ईशावास्य of the वाजसनेयसंहिता of यजुर्वेद is one of the oldest of the Upanishads on which Shankara has written a commentary.

The chief interest centres round the first three stanzas wherein is exhibited the development of philosophical ideas of the time. In these stanzas the Rshi-the reciter of this Upanishad, takes into consideration three classes of persons. For clearly understanding them they may be mentioned as:

1. Those who developed their mental capacity to such an extent as to acquire the knowledge of oneness of self and the Supreme Being, styled ऋषि. This was the stage of development, where the person became devoid of any desire in this life and yet was carrying on all the functions of the society in which he was placed, free from desire as also from pleasure and pain.

2. The second class of persons stand on a lower strata of development. They had the desire of living the full life of 100 years performing occasional and daily sacrifices. They had failed to attain the position of the persons of the first class. But even then they were not so completely immersed in actions and fruits of life as to be overpowered by them. The persons of this stage had, on account of the purity of their mind, chances of acquiring higher knowledge and thereby attain the stage firstly described.

3. The third stanza depicts persons of the lowest strata. These are completely immersed in blinding darkness and thrown in the regions of the world-known as अज्ञान. The persons go there and return. These are the persons who destroy SELF.

जगत् ordinarily means a thing that is constantly moving. *cf.*—जगतः¹ तस्थुष्य. In that mantra the words clearly indicate that the sun was the soul of the moveable as well as of the immoveable. Thus if जगत् was the one moving object, what was जगती, the locative form of which is used here? Shankara has taken the interpretation which was very common when he lived. Bhāravi who lived a little earlier than Shankara, in his किराताजुनीयम्² uses this word in the sense of earth. Even in Mahābhārata this word is used in the sense of earth. But if we adopt that meaning in this stanza, it gives a repetition and consequently seems meaningless.

Deussen,³ one of the ablest scholars, of the Upanishads, in his time, and a staunch follower of Shankara remains silent on this phrase, but Maxmuller⁴ in the Sacred books of the East, renders the word by 'earth' and commits the same error which Shankara did.

The correct interpretation of the phrase जगत्यां जगत् seems to be; 'This constantly moving body in the collection of constantly moving bodies'. जगती⁵ is a collective noun. It can be covered by the rules of grammar which form such collective nouns. It was just the time when the Rshis were developing the idea of bodies moving in the heavens, besides the sun and the moon and these bodies by later observations were termed planets and stars. Still later development of the Puarānas was that of the लोकाः

1. चित्रं देवानामुद्गादनीकं । चक्षुर्मित्रस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः ।
आ प्रा वावाश्रयिषी अंतरिक्षे ॥ सूर्य आत्मा जगतस्तस्थुषश्च ॥
2. Kirata: 1. 7;
3. Vide, references in his Philosophy of the Upanishads.
4. Sacred Books of the East Vol. I Part I, p. 311.
- 5 Compare.

कालेन महता कटुरंढानां दशतीर्दश ॥ म, I, XIV, 12,

Looking to the actual words used in these stanzas, the interpretations put upon them seem not without difficulty. It is interesting to examine the words and phrases used in them.

ईशावास्यमिदम्. This is dwelt by ईशः. The later Upanishads, the Upanishads which in course of time developed the idea of the high state of Unity, would scarcely use the word ईशः in the sense in which it is used here. ईशः derived from ईश् to rule, means the ruler, which presupposes the ruled and to say that the ruled is dwelt over by the ruler does not give the proper meaning. The idea developed in the later Upanishads made the Supreme Being and the individual soul one and the same. They make it clear to say that there is no duality. Can we say that the word ईशः had then acquired the meaning which the later commentators apply to it? Can it not be the other alternative, that the early Vedic Hymns in the prayers, imagined the देवताः अग्निः, सूर्यः, वरुणः and others as so many rulers of this world? This may mean that the Ṛshi who recited this mantra was wavering as to the philosophic idea. He was not able to give up the idea of the ruler and the ruled, and yet the new development, of the Unity of ब्रह्म and the soul, was strongly working on his mind.

The second line of the first stanza is still more difficult than the first. The chief difficulty is in the interpretation of the word जगती. Shankara interprets it by पृथिवी. If we accept his interpretation, the literal translation would be; whatever-जगद्-world in this earth जगत्याम्. This meaning does not at all suit the high idea expressed in the first line. The interpretation of the word जगती by पृथिवी is a later development and had not acquired that stage when this Upanishad was written.

The meaning therefore, we can apply to this phrase जगत्यां जगत् is 'Constantly moving body (world) in the collection of moving bodies'. This was immersed in the ईशः .

Mahidhara, the commentator of the यजुर्वेद, of which this Upanishad forms the last chapter, seems to have felt the same difficulty. He interprets the phrase जगत्यां जगत् by जगत्यां¹ लोकत्रये जगत्. He clearly means to say that this moving world is one of the three such moving worlds. The three *lokas* are the Pauranic production from the Vedic idea of Trivikrama.

The greater puzzle comes in the last two lines of the stanza which refer to purely worldly things and make a heavy drop. Shankara is not happy in the interpretation of these lines. He interprets the third line as 'You protect by abandonment'. The root भुज् means to enjoy and that meaning goes alright with the two previous words. The proper interpretation seems to be 'You enjoy by abandoning'. The third line seems to be suggesting that the person acquires the stage described in the first two lines by abandoning (desires).

There is a further drop when we come to the fourth line embodying purely a material idea 'do not take anybody's wealth'. This injunctionlike line can not presuppose the high development of the first two lines. The order ought to be reversed.

'Do not covet anybody's wealth (do not have any desire). By that abandonment

enjoy the bliss, where the world in all the worlds is immersed in the Supreme Being.

The stanza mixes up three ideas. They are:—

- (1) Whatever there is in this world of several worlds is immersed in ईशः
- (2) Whatever is जगत् is to be abandoned and the knowledge mentioned in (1) is to be acquired.
- (3) If the second stage is acquired the person need not have any desire to covet other's wealth.

As already stated the natural order is the other way. Just as a person rises in knowledge he gives up the desire for wealth. Then he abandons the desire, if he has any, and then enjoys life free of desires which serene state of mind leads him to the knowledge of the unity of SELF and the SUPREME BEING.

The second stanza describes the lower strata of the development. The person moving in this strata desires to live hundred years performing his daily and occasional sacrifices. To him, the Rshi says 'In you there is no other way from this'.

A person with pure mind and doing sacrifices may not be absorbed by them. He has the chance of higher life but for that he has to work further than merely performing sacrifices. The further work may be what is expressed in stanza one. He has to abandon all desires, not to covet other's property and then to enjoy the supreme bliss of Unity.

The third stanza depicts the lowest strata, wherein live the souls wandering in darkness of ignorance.

The difficulties in the interpretation of this stanza even are not small.

There is a difference of opinion about the very first word, both as to the reading and as to its meaning.

असूर्या नाम ते लोकाः

The first word as read by Shankara is असूर्याः with short सू. There are others who read it with long सू. Naturally these two different readings give two different interpretations and it is not easy to choose between the two. Shankara's interpretation is 'the Gods who cannot acquire the knowledge of unity of the Self with the Supreme Being are on that account the *Asuras*. In that connection the Gods are in no way better than the *Asuras* and the persons of that type are called असूर्याः

Grammatically the form may or may not be correct but one can defend it on the ground of its being a Vedic form and as such may carry the interpretation put upon it by Shankara.

There are however manuscripts¹, which read this word as असूर्याः¹ Jacob² in his Concordance of the Upanishads, has adopted the second reading and has noted the first reading as variant. Max Muller³ in his translation adopts the first reading but in a note he says that the second with सू is preferable.

ignorance and the word अन्धेन becomes almost unintelligible and not appropriate.

Can this natural interpretation have any reference to Tilak's theory of Arctic Home where the dark night extends over six months and where the people, thrown in sunless blind darkness are extremely unhappy? Can this give strength to the theory that the migration of the Aryans was from the Arctic regions; that the time between the said migration and the reciting of this mantra was not more than a few centuries so that the people had not forgotten the traditions of the sunless regions. It does not mean the hell; because in the Indo-aryan literature that idea took a long time to come.

The third line of the stanza literally interpreted says 'They go to them and come back'. This may have reference to going to those places sparingly and coming back. It may even lead one to suppose that these were the occasions when on account of sins committed, the sinful persons had to go to those places and return after expiation.

The last line of the stanza says 'Those are the persons who have killed their souls' which bespeaks, the state of complete degradation.

I do not propose to go into the other stanzas at this stage. They are mostly expressing views supporting the first three stanzas. The three stages which I have mentioned are very clearly described by Shankara in his commentary on the 8th stanza. I will take another occasion to deal with them.

The principal points for study are :—

1. Can it not be that, when this Upanishad was written, the worship of अग्निः, सूर्यः, वरुणः, and similar deities was prominent ?

2. Can it not be that, when this Upanishad was written, the idea of the Unity of Self and ब्रह्म, was coming up but no adequate phraseology for it was thought of ?

3. Can it be that, it was the time when the old ideas were not dropped and the new had not sufficiently developed ? Was it a transitory stage in the development of thought ?

4. What should be that time ?

Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar puts the grammarian पाणिनिः somewhere near the 7th century B. C. and yet he says that there was a महाभारत in existence at that time. महाभारत shows a society fully developed in knowledge, physique, mental development and social institutions. It was a time when Vedic institutions, excepting for their traditions had disappeared or were disappearing.

Astronomical observations had to some extent, at least taken definite forms. The art of war had fully developed and महाभारत presupposed centuries of kingdoms and people which had passed away before it to such an extent that many of them were forgotten.

The time occupied for such immense development and passing off of so many peoples and kingdoms may be counted by, not centuries but tens of centuries. The ideas were changed, the language was changed, even the

routes and old habitations had been forgotten. All these lead us to think that the time about which the upanishads of the type of ईशावास्य was written may be pushed back at least to four thousand before Christ.¹

1. From the study of the present-day vernaculars of India, in some of them at least, it is seen that even in these days of easy and rapid communications the language takes more than 8 or 9 centuries to change to such an extent as to be completely different from the original. When the Vedas were compiled, they had not the facilities of communications which we now have. Therefore the time taken up for the change of the language to such an extent as to be completely different ought to be considered more than 8 to 10 centuries. The classical Sanskrit is very different from the language of the Upanishads. Their language again show such a complete difference from the Vedic language that the time between the two may well be put to a distance of five centuries each is not more.

Historical Contents of the Yugapurana.

By Diwan Bahadur Professor K. H. Dhruva.

The Gargasamhitā is one of the earliest works of the older school of Indian astronomy. A section of it is highly valuable in these days of research, as it contains statements which throw rare light on a dark period of Indian history. It forms a part of the chapter called Yugapurāṇa (Traditions of ages) at the end of the Samhitā. The attention of research scholars had been early drawn to it by Doctor Kern in the introduction to the Brhatsamhitā edited by him in the Bibliotheca Indica series. But the manuscript that the learned scholar made use of was incomplete. So the well-known Indologist Mr. K. P. Jayaswal collated two other manuscripts, one belonging to the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the other to that of the Government Sanskrit College of Benares, and published the aforesaid important portion of the Yugapurāṇa with an English translation and critical notes in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, September, 1928. It has thus been made available to all. But the manuscripts consulted by Doctor Kern and Mr. Jayaswal are faulty to such an extent that the historical elements are screened from view by layers of incorrections. The printed text consists of 115 lines of which one is a mere repetition. Out of the remaining 114 lines twelve only are free from corruption. All the rest are corrupt. Several words, nay lines and halves of stanzas, seem to have suffered from displacement. Names of persons and places have fared still worse through the ignorance of copyists and revisionists. So numerous and so confusing are the corruptions that one would not wonder, should anyone raise a question as to whether the Yugapurāṇa was composed in Sanskrit or in Prakrit or in a medley of the two. With a view to remove this deplorable state of things, I propose, by reconstructing the text

¹ See the reconstructed text lines 3, 11, 25, 40, 50, 75, 88, 93, 101, and 103 corresponding to the old text (appendix 1) lines 3, 11, 25, 50, 73, 74, 95, 29, 31, 33 and 115 respectively.

after a close study of the contents and the language as also of history and geography, to bring these historical elements of the section to light. The number of faulty readings is so large that the work of reconstruction would prove tedious and troublesome to nonspecialists, like the smelting of pieces of ore in a furnace and purifying them. Even those who take interest in the work, have to observe fully, study deeply and ponder over coolly at leisure, the points raised. I have accordingly kept at a distance the furnace of the metallurgist¹. To enable experts to form their own judgment after comparing pieces of ore with bars of purified metal. I give in an appendix² the text published in the Journal. Here below is the reconstructed text, amended and rearranged by me after due consideration of propriety and of the interrelation of parts.

The reconstructed text of the Yugapurāṇa :—

१ ततो नरक्षये हस्ते स्वर्याते वृषमण्डले । १, 1

यसुदेवंसुते कृष्णे देहान्तं च गते सति । २, 2

भविष्यति कलिर्नाम चतुर्थं पश्चिमं युगम् । ३, 3

ततः कलियुगस्यान्तः प्रथितो जनमेजयः । ४, 4

पृथ्व्या पारिचितः श्रीमानुत्पत्स्यति न संशयः । ५, 5

सोऽपि राजा द्विजैः सार्धं विरोधमुपयास्यति । ६, 6

दारविप्रकृतामर्षी कालस्य वशमागतः । ७, 7

२ ततः कलियुगे राजा शिशुनागकुले बली । ८, 8

उदयो नाम धर्मात्मा पृथिव्यां प्रथितो गुणैः । ९, 9

गङ्गातीरे स राजविर्दक्षिणे सुमहावरम् । १०, 10

स्थापयेन्नगरं रम्यं पुष्पारामजनाकुलम् । ११, 11

तत्तु पुष्पाद्भयं रम्यं पुरं पाटलिपुत्रकम् । १२, 12

पञ्च वर्षसहस्राणि पञ्च वर्षशतानि च । १३, 13

पञ्च संवत्सरान् मासान् पञ्चाहोरात्रपञ्चकम् । १४, 14

पञ्च चैव मुहूर्तानि स्थास्यत्यत्र न संशयः । १५, 15

¹ See appendices 1, 2, 3 and 4.

² See appendix 1.

- ३ तस्मिन् पुष्पपुरे रम्ये जगन्नाथशताकुले । १६, 16
 क्रतुकर्मक्षयाकृतः शालिशुको भविष्यति । १७, 17
 स राजाकर्मनिरतो दुष्टात्मा प्रियविग्रहः । १८, 18
 सौमिन्द्रमर्दयन् घोरं धर्मवादी ह्यधार्मिकः । १९, 19
 स्वं जयेष्टं स्वांतरं साधुं संप्रति प्रथयन् गणैः । २०, 20
 व्यपविष्यति मोहात्मा विजयं नाम धार्मिकम् । २१, 21
 ४ ततः शाकलमाक्रम्य पञ्चालान् माथुरास्तथा । २२, 22
 ययना दुष्टविक्रान्ताः प्राप्स्यन्ति कुसुमाक्षयम् । २३, 23
 तैस्तु पुष्पपुरे प्राप्ते कादमे प्रक्षिते हिते । २४, 24
 आकुला विषयाः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः । २५, 25
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 जनमारस्ततो मोरो भविष्यति न संशयः । ११२ ।, 115
 देवो ह्ये च तदा वर्षे अनाहृष्टिं करिष्यति । ११३ ।, 111
 प्रजा नाशं गमिष्यन्ति भूपो दुर्मिचपीडिताः । ११४ ।, 112

Translation.

The foregoing text differs from that of the manuscripts consulted for the Journal in many respects. Several words¹ besides are obscure and obsolete; and they stand in need of proper interpretation. So I give below a translation of it for comparison with that² in the Journal.

(1) After the terrible carnage of human beings (in the battle of Kurukṣetra) and the departure of crowned heads to

¹ See appendix 5.

² See the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society September 1928, pp. 409—424

the other world, and after Kṛṣṇa, son of Vasudeva, having left his mortal frame, there will set in the fourth, that is, the last age, called the Kali age. Then in that Kali age there will verily be borne the glorious king Janamejaya son of Parikṣit, famous all over the earth. And that king, indignant at the obscene and offensive conduct of Brāhmaṇa priests towards the queen (in the sacrificial ceremonial), impelled by Destiny, will fall out with them.

(2) Then in that Kali age there will be a powerful and pious king called Udaya, of the family of Śiśunāga, well known for his virtues in the whole world. The royal sage will found, on the southern bank of the Ganges, a beautiful city with very lofty fortification, teeming with people and studded all over with gardens. That beautiful city, called Pāṭaliputra or Puṣpābhaya, will verily continue to exist for a period of five thousand, five hundred and five years, five months, five days and five *muhūrtas* (that is four hours).

(3) In that beautiful city of Puṣpapura studded with hundreds of public parks, there will arise Śālīsuka intent on the abolition of sacrificial ritual. That wicked king, addicted to evil deeds, taking pleasure in (religious) squabbles, talking religion but (really) irreligious, steeped in delusion, will terribly persecute the people of Saurāṣṭra and proclaim the so-called *Religious Conquest*, contributing thereby to the glorification of the religiousness of his elder brother Samprati by sections of the Jain community.

(4) Thereafter Yavanas, brave but cruel will lead an attack on Pāṭaliputra, having previously subjugated the country with Śākāśa for its capital, the land of the Pāñchālas, and the country with Mathurā for its capital. When they will reach Puṣpapura and construct an earthen causeway (across the moat), all countries will verily be seized with panic. Ultimately a great and terrible battle will be fought there (under the walls of Pāṭaliputra). The Yavana chiefs that will survive the butchery of the battle, will make good their escape. Threat the city of Pāṭaliputra with countless gardens, having won a victory, will

be jubilant with holiday celebrations. To the south of the city there will be the (victorious) army, armed *cap-a-pie*, including thousands of war elephants, war horses and war-cars, to engage the sight. (Meanwhile) the haughty Yavanas will not stay even in the Madhyadeśa (which was subject to them). For a very fierce and terrific (civil) war will break out among their own people which will be eventually destructive.

Subsequent to the destruction of the Yavanas in that (civil) war there will succeed seven powerful princes in the country with Śākala for its capital. Their brave soldiers will cause the earth shockingly red and terrible to look at on account of the corpses of their opponents stain in battle and weltering in (lit. wet with) blood. Ultimately they will plunge the entire Magadha country adjacent to the Ganges in war, which will be very severe and bloody. Warring with Puṣyamitra all these kings and their followers (lit. dependants) will perish in battle.

After that, while Puṣyamitra will be reigning over the country called Madra, there will be (lit. will be born) in that land a (Yavana) damsel of transcendent beauty. To have (lit. for her) Puṣyamitra will wage war with the foes of Brahmanism and fall in battle by the ordinance of Destiny.

When that dreadful and deadly war will be over, Agnimitra of surpassing glory will ascend the throne. His prolonged reign will cover a period of thirty years.

(5) Now after King Vasumitra there will be king Odraka. He will be engaged in a war with powerful Śāka hordes. Fighting a bloody battle with the powerful Śakas, he will be pierced by an arrow. Then the people who had fallen from righteousness and betaken to the wrong faith, will, as foretold in puranic tradition, be carried away in large numbers (as slaves) by the dreadful Śakas. One-fourth of the population will be massacred by the Śakas and the other fourth part that will remain will be taken to their city.

Thereafter there will be mighty Amlāṭa whose (whole) wealth will be his bow. That red-eyed Śāka against whom no one will dare enter the lists, will march on Puṣpapura. He

themselves on seeing a man. There will be ten to twenty wives with but one husband. In towns and villages all business will be transacted by women. Strangers to peaceful joys, householders will put on coloured robes (that is will be ascetics).

And the lowest of the low, the non-Āryans, will be following the religious practices of the Āryans. In the concluding age Brāhmanas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras will wear the same costume and observe the same religious practices; that is certain. In that last age orthodox people will mix with heretics. There will certainly spring hostilities for the sake of a woman. And verily there will be Śūdra Bhikṣus (i.e., religious mendicants), wearing matted hair (on the head) and bark garments (on their person). In that Kali age Śūdras, observing with constancy self-disciplinary vows, will doubtlessly officiate at sacrifices in the matter of repeating sacred texts and of attending to the sacrificial fire. When the last age will prevail, Śūdras, practising lengthy ceremonial, will offer oblation to the three householder's fires with hymns ushered in with the mystic syllable *Om*. "Respected Sir" will be the address of a Śūdra and "Good Sir" of a Brāhmana. Venerable persons that will have strayed very far from *dharma*, will fearlessly eat up (the earnings) of the laity.

Then in that last age there will be famine causing trepidation to people foredoomed by their sins, and resulting in the destruction of all living beings. And dreadful, no doubt, will be the havoc made. At that time god Indra will withhold rain for two years (consecutively); and most of the people will die of starvation.

Notes.

There are several points of Indian mythology and history in the translation just given which call for elucidatory notes to help us in understanding it rightly. These points can be observed clearly by the aid of this external light falling on them. The mysterious oracular language of the chapter becomes easy of interpretation by a close study of it. I accordingly subjoin requisite notes and comments.

The critically reconstructed and rearranged text of the Yugapurāṇa is composed of two sections, political and social. The first of them is divided into five sub-sections, whereas the second forms a continuous whole. The two sections together are thus made up of six sub-sections. The first of these foretells the incident relating to the disastrous feud between Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit, of the epic age, and his Brāhmana sacrificial priests. The king who had performed three hundred horse sacrifices, offered one more of the kind. In course of it the rite of immolation of the sacrificial horse was duly performed, after which the wife of the sacrificer lay by its side as prescribed in the ritual. Just at that instant the horse showed signs of life through the exercise of magical powers by Indra interested in thwarting the horse sacrifice. Incensed at the outrage to the modesty of the queen which he believed to be due to imperfect immolation, the king, falling foul of the sacrificial priests, banished them from his kingdom. This legend is given very briefly in the second canto of the book dealing with future history in the Harivamśa and is somewhat amplified in the fifth.¹ It is the very legend that is alluded to in our text here,

¹ For ready reference I give below the stanzas. अश्वमेधः क्रतुः श्रेष्ठः
 क्षत्रियाणां परियुतः । तेन भावेन तं यक्षं वासवो धरयिष्यति ॥
 यदि तच्छक्यते राजन् परिहर्तुं कथंचन । दैवं पुरुषकारेण मा
 यजेथाद्य ते क्रतुम् ॥ न चापराधः शक्रस्य नोपाध्यायगणस्य ते ।
 त्वं वा यजमानस्य बालोऽत्र दुरतिक्रमः ॥ ह. व. । ३ । २२-२० ।
 कस्यचित्त्वथ कालस्य स राजा जनमेजयः । दीक्षितो
 घाजिमेधेन विधिवद् भूरिदक्षिणः ॥ संज्ञतमश्वं तत्रास्य देवो काश्या
 वपुष्टमा । संविवेशोपगम्याथ विधिदृष्टेन धर्मणा ॥ तां तु सर्वा-
 नवद्याङ्गो चकमे वासवस्तदा । संज्ञतमश्वमाविश्य तया
 मिथ्रीवभूय सः ॥ तस्मिन् धिकारे जनिते विदित्वा तत्त्वतश्च तत् ।
 अहंज्ञतोऽयमश्वस्ते ध्वंसेत्यश्वर्युमब्रवीत् ॥ अश्वर्युर्ज्ञानसंपदस्त-
 दिन्द्रस्य विचेष्टितम् । कथयामास राजर्षेः शशाप स पुरन्दरम् ॥

as appears from the reference to the offensive act involving an outrage to the modesty of the queen. Mr. Jayanval thinks that the feud mentioned in the lines under notice is the one related in the Matsyapurāṇa, Chapter 50, stanzas 57-65. But it is not so. For the latter pertains to the question whether Brahmīns have exclusively the right to officiate at a sacrifice or whether it is shared by Kṣatriyas as well.⁷

The second sub section predicts the foundation of the city of Pāṭaliputra, otherwise called Puspapura, and the number of years for which it will subsist. There is, in the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sutta, a mention of the fort of Pāṭali on the southern bank of the Ganges where the Son meets it. The said fort was built by king Ajātasattu, a descendant of Śisunāga, to curb and keep in awe the Licchavis of Vaiśālī on the northern bank after the conquest of the republic.⁸ His grandson Udaya laid there the foundations of the city of Pāṭaliputra, so runs the purāṇic tradition.⁹ This item of the second sub-section has the support of an old Buddhist sutta and a purāṇa.

The third sub-section relates to king Śāliśūka of Pāṭaliputra. Gargāchārya describes him as one intent on the abolition of sacrificial ritual and applies to him the adjectives *wicked* and *irreligious*. There is a prediction in this third sub-section that Śāliśūka will achieve the conquest of Jainism throughout

ऋत्विग्यावयोत्क्रुद्धः स राजा जनमेजयः । दीर्घव्यं भवतामेतद्
यदयं धर्षितः क्रतुः ॥ विषये मे न वस्तव्यं गच्छध्वं सह बान्धवैः ।
इत्युक्त्वास्त्यजुर्विप्रास्ते नृपं जनमेजयम् ॥ ह. व. । ३ । ५ ।
११—१५, १८—१९ ।

7. See the quotation from the Matsyapurāṇa as given in Fargiter's Puranic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali age, pages 87-88.

8. See Smith's Early History of India, 4th Edition, pages 37-38.

9. See वायुप. । ८८ । ३१९-३२० । उद्यो भवता तस्मात्
त्रयस्त्रिंशत् समा नृपः । स वै पुरवरं राजा पृथिव्यां कुसुमाग्र्यम् ।
रज्जुया दक्षिणे कुले चतुर्थेऽब्दे कल्प्यति ॥ ।

Saurāṣṭra by persecuting the people and will enhance the glory of the religiousness of his elder brother Samprati, amongst the various sections of the Jain Community. Mr. Jayaswal, in his article headed "Historical data in the Yugapurāṇa" states that one of the copies of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa speaks of Śāliśūka as the son of Kuṇāla, that is to say, the brother of Daśaratha and Samprati.¹⁰ Historians say that, on the death of Kuṇāla, there was a partition of the Mauryan Empire between his two sons Daśaratha and Samprati.¹¹ The eastern portion with Pāṭaliputra for its capital fell to the lot of Daśaratha and the western portion with Ujjayinī for its capital to the lot of Samprati. In the western branch of the Mauryas, according to the Divyāvadāna, Samprati was succeeded by four kings, namely, Brhaspati, Vṛṣasena, Puṣyadharman and Puṣyamitra.¹² In the eastern branch historians name Śāliśūka, Devadharman, Satadharman and Brhadhratha as the four successors of Daśaratha. Samprati ascended the throne in the west in the same year that Daśaratha did in the east, and died one year later. The Yugapurāṇa describes Śāliśūka as the ruler of Saurāṣṭra in the reign of Samprati and the Vāyupurāṇa makes him succeed Daśaratha,¹³ which gives room to the supposition that Śāliśūka, while yet a prince, was a regent of Saurāṣṭra in the west and that he (latterly) came to the throne in the east after Daśaratha in the lifetime

10. See Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, September, 1923, page 416.

11. See Early History of India, paragraph 203 and the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, page 312. The names of Samprati and his successors are found in the Aśokāvadāna forming a part of the Divyāvadāna.

12. See the following quotation therefrom :—

संपदेर्दृष्टपतिः पुत्री हृदरतेर्दृष्टसेनो दृष्टसेनस्य पुष्यधर्मा पुष्यधर्मणः
पुष्यमित्रः ।.....यदा पुष्यमित्रो राजा प्रधातितस्तदा मौर्यवंशः
समुद्भिन्नः ।

13. See the reading of cVa P. T., page. 291.

of Samprati.¹⁴ The latter professed Jainism, being converted to it by the preaching of Ārya Suhastin.¹⁵ It seems likely that his younger brother also became a Jain with him and was (subsequently) appointed by him a ruler of Saurāṣṭra purposely to introduce Jainism there. Jain writers lavish praises on Samprati and Kumārapāla, and do it rightly. The honour, however, of promulgating the Jain religion in the province of Saurāṣṭra belongs to Samprati's younger brother Śāliśūka as stated in the Yugapurāṇa.

The fourth sub-section gives an account of diverse future wars of the Magadha state with Yavanas. They prove to be the Greek Chiefs of the second century B.C. ruling in Bactria, Kabul and the Punjab, as may be gathered from the reference to Śāliśūka in the third, to Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra in the fourth and to Vasumitra and Odraka in the fifth sub-section, whose reigns happen to fall in that period. Now because it was the country with Śākala for its capital (i.e., the Punjab) that was first occupied by Yavanas as stated in the fourth sub-section, it was probably Demetrius, King of Bactria beyond the Hindukusha outside India, that led the first invasion. The probability becomes a certainty when we at the same time take into consideration the other prediction, that after their defeat the retreating Yavanas will be involved in a war with their own people in their native land. The Greek antagonist of Demetrius was Eukretides figuring in the annals of ancient Bactria.¹⁶ Interpreting the prophecy of the Yugapurāṇa in the light of history, I am of opinion that Demetrius invaded the Magadha country in B.C. 175 circa during the reign of Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty. For it was in this year

14. Daśaratha and Samprati came to the throne in the same year; and Daśaratha died one year earlier than Samprati. Bearing this in mind, I have here stated that Śāliśūka ascended the throne of Pāṭalīputra in the life-time of Samprati.

15. See Hemachandra's *Parīkṣita Parvan*. Samprati is said to have built many Jain temples in Rājputana to promote Jainism. See E.H.I., page 202, footnote 1.

16. See E. H. I. or Cam. II. I.

that Eukretides succeeded in seizing the kingdom of Bactria in his absence.¹⁷ And at the end of the long war the countries watered by the Kabul were lost to Demetrius who, after the loss of the territories in the north-west, retained the Punjab and Sind only.

The sub-section speaks of more than two Greek chiefs to have joined together in the first invasion just mentioned. I, therefore, surmise that Agathocles, Puntaleon, Antimachus and others of the Kabul Valley who were kinsmen of Demetrius took part in the said expedition under his leadership. And Demetrius might have taken the route made known (to the Greeks) by the (Indian) campaign of Alexander the Great. It appears that his passage across either the Indus or the Jhelum was disputed by an Indian ruler. For, in certain coins of Antimachus who was an ally of Demetrius, there is the commemoration of a naval victory.¹⁸

Ancient Greek historians state that Demetrius, king of Bactria, invaded and conquered the Punjab and made Sakala the capital of his dominions on this side of the Hindukusha, calling the town Euthedemia in memory of his father.¹⁹ But they make no mention of his having advanced further and subjugated the Pañchāla and Śūrasena countries, nor of the war with the Magadha state.²⁰ It is only the present sub-section of the Yugapurāṇa that takes note of it.

After giving the account of the first invasion by Yavanas, the sub-section passes on to the second. The Yugapurāṇa prophesies that seven chiefs of the land with Sakala for its capital

17. See E. H. I., page 237.

18. See the following extract from Cam. H. I., page 547 :—"The Bactrian Indian coins of Antimachus with their types 'Poseidon' and 'Victory' must refer to a naval triumph and it is difficult to explain allusion except on the supposition that this king had won a victory on one of the great Indian rivers, the Indus or the Jhelum."

19. See E. H. I.

20. At one time Mr. D. R. Bhandarker held the opinion that the Greek who invaded the Śūrasena and the Magadha country must be Demetrius. But he has latterly given it up. See E. H. I., pages 225-229, foot note.

will invade the country (i.e., mid-India). Their brave soldiers will cut down all who will offer opposition and will cause the earth to be shockingly red and terrible to look at on account of the corpses of their opponents slain in battles weltering in blood. Then there will be terribly severe fighting in the Magadha country along the banks of the Ganges, in which the Yavana chiefs and their soldiers will all perish at the hand of Puṣyamitra. The chiefs that led the second invasion are said to have been ruling in the Punjab. It (i.e., the second invasion) is said to have been subsequent to the destruction of the Yavanas in a civil war after the first invasion. From the said data I conclude that it (i.e., the second invasion) is identical with the invasion by Menander mentioned in history.

The second invasion once refers to the slaughter of Indian soldiers (who oppose the invaders) causing the earth to be saturated with their blood, and then to the severe and bloody fight along the banks of the Ganges in the Magadha country itself. The prophecy of the Yugapurāṇa thus seems to imply that the Yavanas also invaded (adjacent) subject territories outside the Magadha state. Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya incidentally tells us, in two sentences²¹ illustrative of the use of the imperfect past tense, which these territories were. One of them speaks of Sāketa, that is, Ayodhyā, being besieged by the Yavanas, and the other of Madhyamikā in the province of Vidiśā. Both the sieges happen to have failed. Had the Yavanas succeeded in their attempt on Ayodhyā, the great grammarian's illustration in the Mahābhāṣya should have been worded अजयद् यवनः साकेतम् not अरुणद् यवनः साकेतम्.²² Similarly, should the Yavanas have captured Madhyamikā and advancing further been able to lay siege to Vidiśā, he would have named Vidiśā in the illustrative sentence dropping Madhyamikā.

21. See the examples, there given, of the use of the imperfect in Sanskrit, अरुणद् यवनः साकेतम् and अरुणद् यवना मध्यमिकाम् ।

22. Compare the example अजयद् युप्तो ह्ययान् of the use of the imperfect in Sanskrit, given by Vasurāta in his *vytti* (gloss) on Chandragomin's Chāndravyākaraṇa.

Cutting short the discussion relating to the invasion of subject territories, let us turn to the Magadha country. The war raged like wild fire along the banks of the Ganges throughout the country. Iacomic Garga does not give the details, but only foretells the issue, which is to the effect that the Yavana chiefs, that is to say Menander and his companions, will fall in the battle, and their armies also will be destroyed by Pusyamitra.

Out of the six war comrades of Menander, I can name two only. One was Demetrius II and the other Antiochus. They are mentioned in the *Malindrapanho*²³ among the eminent Greek chiefs attending the court of Menander. The said Buddhist work mentions Sakala as the capital of Milindra, that is, Menander.²⁴ Writing about him Strabo states that he crossed the Bias not crossed by Alexander the Great and left behind the *Iamus*,²⁵ that is, Ikshumati or Jumna. Plutarch bears testimony to his advance further still. He writes that he fell fighting with Indian princes in the valley of the Ganges.²⁶ This I take to be the (lower) Gangetic valley in the Bihar and not the upper one in Mid-India. The statements of Plutarch and Gargacharya taken together point out that the issue of the war was not in favour of the Greeks which bears out what has been said above. Modern historians note one invasion of India by Bactrian

conquest of the Pañchāla and Śūrasena countries and accredit him with laying siege to and capturing Sāketa, that is, Ayodhyā.²⁷ The *Yugapurāṇa* notes not one invasion but two, ascribes the conquest of the Pañchāla and Saurāṣṭra countries to the chief who led the first invasion, that is, to Demetrius as has been just ascertained, and records the death of the chiefs and the total annihilation of the Greek armies in the second invasion. Among the ancient, Strabo only notes two invasions; but he does not appear to know much about them. It is the fourth subsection that contributes to our knowledge on this head.

The two wars, mentioned above, were waged on account of land hunger. The war to be next noted sprang from a demand for a princess in marriage (lit. on account of a woman). The description of it given in the *Yugapurāṇa* is meagre and sketchy. It runs as under "while Puṣyamitra will be reigning over the country called Madra, he will be involved in a terrible conflict with those hostile to Brāhmanism (that is Yavanas) to have her (i.e., the Greek princess). On his falling in the battle, Agnimitra, by his might, will bring the war to a successful issue (lit. to an end) and, solemnly crowned as emperor, will have a prolonged reign of thirty years." This war appears to have originated in the demand for a very beautiful princess in marriage by king Puṣyamitra after the Greek chiefs of the Punjab had acknowledged his supremacy subsequent to the second invasion. Inter-marriages of Greek princesses and Indian princes had begun as early as the third century B.C. We read in history that Selucus Nicator married his daughter in the family of Chandragupta, the Maurya, circa 305 B.C.²⁸ Agreeably to this practice of making political matches the Śuṅga

27. See E. H. I. and Cam. H. I.

28. See E. H. I., p. 125. "The high contracting powers ratified the peace by 'a matrimonial alliance' which phrase probably means that Seleukos gave a daughter to his Indian rival." When this peace was made the Maurya Emperor was nearly sixty years old. So I imagine that the Greek princess should have been married to the heir-apparent prince Bindusāra. The newly acquired territories appear to have been placed under his (i.e., Bindusāra's) rule. In Buddhist religious works Bindusāra is spoken of as the ruler of Tukṣāṣilā.

Emperor had sought the Greek damsel in marriage. At that time Puṣyamitra was more than sixty years old,²⁹ and his son Agnimitra had lately married a Vidarbha princess named Mālavikā.³⁰ So it appears that the Greek princess was sought for Prince Vasumitra, son of king Agnimitra. Her father declined to marry her. If this Greek chief were the one who is said to have seized the sacrificial horse of Puṣyamitra³¹ performing the second horse sacrifice, on the southern bank of the Indus, he should be a member of the family of Eukretides of the Indus valley.³² In the war that broke out, Puṣyamitra lost his life; and Agnimitra, fuming with rage, vigorously pushed the war to the bitter end. It was only then that he received the installation ceremonies. This leads to the supposition that the festivities of the coronation of the father and the celebration of the marriage of the heir-apparent son (with the Greek princess) got conjoined.

The purāṇas allot eight years to the reign of Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty, while the figure given in the Yugapurāṇa is thirty years. At first sight the difference appears startling. But there is no reason to start at the (seeming) discrepancy of the figures. For Agnimitra had been actually reigning independently while his father lived. The Mālvikāgnimitra-nāmaś Vidiśā as his capital, describes him as freely exercising powers of making peace and war and mentions his own cabinet of ministers. The Yugapurāṇa seems to have counted the period of his rule over the entire Śuṅga empire in continuity of his rule as heir-apparent over a part of it, and given the figure of thirty years. I infer this from the use of the phrase prolonged reign (स्फूर्ति राज्यम्). The Śuṅga king Odraka, who

29, 30, 31. See Appendix B.

32. The end of the war between Demetrius and Eukretius finds the Indus as the dividing line separating the territories of the rival families; see Cam. II, I, p. 554. "Henceforth Yavana princes are found only in kingdoms south of the Hindukush, and they are divided into two rival dynasties, the successors of Eukretius in the Kabul valley and in N.W. India and the successors of Euthydemus in the eastern region of the Punjab."

is mentioned in the next sub-section as the successor of Vasumitra, has been, in the purāṇas, said to have reigned seven years. Now the inscription on the Prabhāsa Hill in the ruins of Kauṣāmbī records the tenth year of the reign of Odraka,³³ which points out that in those days there was in vogue the practice of adding to the period of the rule over the entire Śuṅga empire the years of the previous rule over a part of it. In the case of Agnimitra the years of his kingly and his imperial rule have been added in the Yugapurāṇa, as has been noted in the instance of Odraka in the Prabhāsa Hill inscription.

Curzory as the notice of the third war is, it is to be met with nowhere except in the Yugapurāṇa. It is not even passingly mentioned in Greek annals. The instance of an Indian king seeking the hand of a foreign Greek princess noted here is the first of its kind that we come across in ancient Indian history.

The fifth sub-section refers to the inroads of barbarous Śāka nomads and their rule. In the first part of it Gargāchārya says prophetically, "Odraka will then be king, succeeding Vasumitra. He will fall fighting with Śāka raiders, being mortally wounded by an arrow. There will then be staying in Pāṭaliputra half the population (only), half of which the Śākas will massacre, carrying away to their native place the other half as captives". That this inroad of Śākas happened in the reign of a Śuṅga king coming after Agnimitra is discernible in the text of the Yugapurāṇa in spite of its being corrupt. Greek historians enable us to know who made the inroad. Mithradates II of Parthia, called the Great, drove back the tide of Śāka invaders from Bactria. Met with a repulse in the west, they turned their steps southward and overthrowing Heliocles of the family of Eukretides in Seistan, settled there (B.C. 120).³⁴ And B.C. 119 happens to be the closing year of the reign of the

33. See Cam. H. I., p. 521, paragraph 2.

34. See E. H. I., p. 210, paragraphs 2-3.

Suṅga King Odraka.³⁵ Now the years of the termination of the reigns of the two kings (Heliocles and Odraka) are so close that I am led to believe that the very Śakas should be the people at whose hands Odraka lost his life in battle. These Śakas, marching from their homes beyond the Hindukush, made a rush on the Magadha country as did the Bactrian Greeks in the first invasion. Warring with them Odraka was slain and Pāṭaliputra fell in the hands of the nomad raiders who plundered the city, made the citizens captives and went back to their native place.

This terrible irruption of the Śakas of Seistan is not mentioned anywhere else. Historians record the conquest of the Greek kingdom beyond the Hindukush by Śakas in B.C. 120 on the authority of Chinese annals.³⁶ But the first inroad of that predatory tribe into India is noted here only in the Yugapurāṇa.

Mr. Jayaswal thinks that the invaders might have been Śavaras.³⁷ But my mind hesitates to believe that the Śavaras, armed simply with the bow and the arrow, could have captured a strongly fortified place like Pāṭaliputra which even Demetrius and Menander with their superior war equipment could not capture. In this connection another point, too, is worth considering. If the lines relating to the death of the Suṅga king in battle bear connection with the lines about the pillage of Pāṭaliputra and the captivity of its citizens, the Śakas who plundered the people and carried them away in bondage were in all likelihood the persons who slew the Suṅga King. The Śakas of the next part of the sub-section under comment establish themselves in Pāṭaliputra and rule there for ten years, whereas those of the first part go back to their native place with their booty and their captives. So the lines relating to the plunder and captivity of

³⁵ Chandragupta, according to my computation, founded the Maurya Dynasty in 325-4 B.C. It remained in power for 137 years and the rule of the Suṅga kings including Odraka covered 68 years. I thus arrive at B.C. 119 as the date of the termination of the reign of Odraka. In this calculation I have taken seven years to be the duration of the reign of Odraka in accordance with the statement in the Matsyapurāṇa.

³⁶ See Cam. H. I., pp 556-7.

³⁷ See J. B. O. R. S., September 1928, p. 413.

the people of Pāṭaliputra cannot be included in the second part. If the text as rearranged be acceptable, it would follow that the first inroad was by none but the Śakas.

Let us now take up the next part which relates to the Śaka rule in Pāṭaliputra. The Āchārya says "Thereafter there will be mighty Amlāta. He will attack Pāṭaliputra, massacre the inhabitants and lay waste the city. All the four castes will be extinct. He will then repopulate it with men below the four castes (that is, the Śakas). He and his relatives will be killed by one, Gopāla, who will be king over the remnant of the population after the revolution. He will be slain by Puṣpaka, and the latter by Śarvila, each after one year's reign. Śarvila also, after a reign of three years, will lose his life at the hand of a fellow Śaka, whose reign too will last for three years. Impelled by land hunger the last Śaka king will invade the Kalinga country. Its ruler Śāta will kill the ferocious hungry wolf and its flock. Then the valiant Śāta will conquer the (Magadha) land, and after a reign of ten years will die. All the five Śaka chiefs, will be very avaricious. So the Magadha land will be desolate at the end of the Śaka rule; and Pāṭaliputra will present a sorry sight, ceasing to be the seat of government. In time to come there will be a king of a new dynasty there, that is to say, it will again be the capital, bless the city.

The text of sage Garga which records the Śaka rule over Pāṭaliputra for ten years, also gives the clue to arrive at the date. The last Śaka king in his expedition against the Śāta ruler of the Kalingas, perished with all his followers at the hands of the latter, who subsequently conquered the Magadha country, reigned for ten years and died. The downfall of Pāṭaliputra from the height of its political eminence is laid in the reign of the Kāṇva king Suśarman by the parāpas.³³ He was slain by a chief of the Śātavāhana dynasty after which Pāṭaliputra ceased to be the seat of government. Let us therefore, consider when Suśarman came to the throne and how long he reigned.

The purāṇas name four kings only of the Kāṇva dynasty and the total of the years of their reigns is said to be forty-five.³⁹ But the figures for their reigns severally, summed up, amount to fifty-five.⁴⁰ The excess of ten years in the second computation is probably due to the inclusion of the decade of the Śaka occupation of Pāṭaliputra. I put the commencement of the decade of the Śaka rule in the closing year of the reign of the Kāṇva king Nārāyaṇa, that is, in B.C. 35. In that year Amlāṭha made an inroad on Pāṭaliputra. His name struck terror in the hearts of the citizens, half of whom left their homes and fled for their lives; King Nārāyaṇa, too, might have removed his family to a place of safety. In the tumult of war the Kāṇva king lost his life and Pāṭaliputra remained under Śaka supremacy for ten years. The last Śaka chief fell in the expedition against the Kalingas at the hands of a ruler of the Śāta-vāhana dynasty in B.C. 25. On receiving the news Suśarman of the Kāṇva family came out of his place of refuge and took possession of Pāṭaliputra. He reigned there for four years, when the Magadha country was invaded by the aforesaid king of the Śāta dynasty in B.C. 21. Suśarman fell in the war, and with him ended the Kāṇva line of kings. I am disposed to think that Vāyupurāṇa has included the decade of the Śaka rule in the computation of the total length of the rule of the Kāṇva kings. This supposition enables us to bring in harmony the account of the Yugapurāṇa and the Vāyupurāṇa.

He who is said to have destroyed the Śakas of Pāṭaliputra in the fifth sub-section, might probably be Pulamaṃi I, the fifteenth in the purāṇic list of kings of the Āndhra dynasty. His initial regnal year falls in the latter part of the first half of the first century B.C. and the closing year in about the beginning of the era.⁴¹ The mention of him in the Yugapurāṇa as king of the Kalinga country signifies that it was included in his dominion. The Āndhra kings are so named in the purāṇas

39, 40. See P. T. pp. 23-35.

41. See the list of Śāṅga, Kāṇva and Āndhra kings facing p. 202 of E. H. I. (1902).

because they were ethnically Āndhras. They were by dynasty, Śātavāhanas or Śātakarṣiṣ. Sage Garga happens to have shortened the dynastic name Śātavāhana and referred to Pulamayi I as a Śāta. He it was, who brought to a close the Kāṇva rule in B.C. 21.

The proposed date B. C. 35 of the invasion of the Magadha country by Amlāta falls in the reign of the Śāka king Azes or Aya the First. He is said to have ruled from B.C. 58 to B.C. 11.⁴² He succeeded the Śāka king Maues or Moga who reigned from B.C. 75 to B.C. 58 as recorded in history on the authority of the Takṣaśilā copperplate and the coins of Moga.⁴³ His rule stretched along the banks of the Indus.⁴⁴ Azes I pushed further and overthrowing the descendants of Euthydemus, brought the whole of the Punjab under his rule⁴⁵. I suppose that Amlāta possibly was a governor of the eastern portion of the newly acquired territories. This adventurous Śāka might have made an inroad on the Magadha country in B.C. 35, and after putting the inhabitants of Pāṭaliputra to the sword and laying waste the town, reepled it by a colony of Śakas from the Punjab, mentioned in the Yuga-purāṇa as men below the four castes (वर्णभोचस्थित). Gopālā, Puṣpaka, Śarvīlā and the last unnamed Śāka chief who put on the royal robes dyed in the blood of their predecessors that were their countrymen, were probably immigrant Śakas from the Punjab. Their Sanskrit names testify to their descent from the Śakas settled on the banks of the Indus and got Indianized. At that early date the Śakas do not appear to have subjugated the basin of the Jumna and the Ganges. So one can safely say that the easterly colony of Pāṭaliputra, cut off from the Punjab motherland, received no fresh influx from the north-westerly Śakas, nor any reinforcement.

Mr. Jayaswal proposes to identify Amlāta with Amyntas, Gopālabbhāma with Appollophanes, Puṣpaka with Peukelaos

42, See Cam. H. I., pp. 571, 573 and 701.

43, 44, 45. See Cam. H. I., pp. 570 and 571.

and Śarvīla with Zoilos.⁴⁶ But Amyntas, Appollophanes, Peukelaos and Zoilos were Greeks, that is, Yavanas, whereas Amlāṣṭa, Gopāla, Puṣpaka and Śarvīla were Śakas. Gargāchārya applies the term *mlecchaka* to the last named four chiefs. It is never applied by him to Yavanas. Of the Greek chiefs mentioned by Mr. Jayaswal none was equal to Demetrius or Menander in valour to induce us to believe that he could have led an attack on Pāṭaliputra. It was altogether impossible for these Greek chiefs to establish Greek rule in the Magadha country which neither Demetrius nor Menander could do. The Yavanas were brave warriors. The Śakas on the other hand were plundering barbarians. The two Greek heroes named above put to the sword all Indians who (bravely) opposed them as did Alexander the Great; and so far Gargāchārya regards their exploits blood-stained. But the ferocious Śakas massacred all indiscriminately and were insatiably avaricious. When we take this into consideration, the identifications proposed by the learned editor (of the *Yugapurāṇa*) do not seem plausible.

With the termination of the political eminence of Pāṭaliputra the fifth sub-section is brought to a close. Its contents are wholly new. We have a knowledge of the invasion of India by Bactrian Greeks, insufficient though it is (from other sources). They had built up a beehive of petty states in the land between the Hindukush and the Sutlaj as outlined by the find of their coins. But the account of the Śaka invasion in B.C. 120 and of the Śaka occupation of Pāṭaliputra from B.C. 35 to B.C. 25 has been up to now a thing unknown to us.

The political section of the *Yugapurāṇa* is now over; and the social section begins. The prophetic sage says "In those big and dreadful wars many men will perish, in consequence of which there will be scarcity of males; and women will transact all business. They will have to draw the plough and guard the fields, bow in the hand. There will be ten to twenty wives with but one husband. Aryan religion too will greatly suffer in purity.

46. See J. B. O. R. S., September 1928, p. 412.

Sūdras will get into the order of itinerant mendicants (परिव्राजक), wearing matted hair on the head and bark garment on the person. They will, though disqualified for the āśrama life, be householders worshipping household fires. These Sūdras will take the place of Brāhmaṇas, and officiate at sacrifices. Orthodox Āryans will live in close intimacy with people professing new heresies. They will admit aliens into the Āryan fold. Urged by lower instincts there will be hostilities for the sake of woman. In the name of *dharma* (charity) holy fathers (lit. old religious mendicants) will eat up the wealth of credulous lay people. Filled with dismay by the sufferings of married life, house-holders will put on coloured garments (i.e., become religious mendicants). About that time there will be no drop of rain for two years consecutively and a terrible famine will ensue which will cause dreadful havoc among the people."

The fact that stands out prominently before us in the social condition described by the āchārya is the tremendous destruction of men by the tyranny of the Śāka rule and the ravages of the famine. Its baneful consequences were felt not only in home life and in business and industrial pursuits, but in other directions too. The big sacrifice of human life has been instrumental to the loss of Brāhmaṇic and Jain lore in part and of the literature of the Ājīvakas *in toto*. For instance, several Vedic schools have disappeared and several sūtra works on *śrauta* and *smārta* ceremonial have been lost, we know not how many. Before the highly finished Raghuvaṃśa was composed in a simple narrative style, there must have been good many poems written in the same strain similar to it. Out of them not one has come down to us. Āpastamba mentions an earlier Bhaviṣyapurāṇa.⁴⁷ That work as also other purāṇas have disappeared with the disappearance of the class of reciters and listeners of those purāṇas. We possess only the later redactions of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, of the Suśrūta and the Charaka, etc. These works, in their original form are irrecoverably lost. Even the Mahābhāṣya

47. See Cam. H. I., p. 249.

of Sage Patañjali had been wiped out of existence along with others. Copies of it were much in demand in the reign of king Abhimanyu of Kashmir. But they were nowhere to be had in Northern India. So (the Grammarian) Chandrāchārya cut his way through the Vindhya, crossed the Godāvarī and travelled to the hilly land in the province called Trilinga forming a part of the Trikūta country in Southern India; and it was there that he recovered the Mahābhāṣya, lost elsewhere, in manuscript.⁴⁸ This is a curious piece of telling documentary proof of the havoc wrought among teachers and disciples described above.

The scotion under comment refers to the admission of aliens to the Āryan religion, and of this the Besinagar Pillar Inscription furnishes an instance. The pillar in question had been set up and dedicated to Viṣṇu by Heliodorus, a Greek who had adopted Vaiṣṇavism.⁴⁹ In the foregoing sub-section the Śaka chief Amlāta is described as wearing coloured garments. It is likely, therefore, that he and possibly his successors had embraced Buddhism. The fanatic zeal of the new converts might have given an upper hand to the Buddhist religion as hinted in the present section. Some say that Puṣyamitra, the Śuṅga, when he became king, offered a prize of one hundred *dināras* to anyone who would bring the head of a Buddhist mendicant to him.⁵⁰ They seem to have confounded Puṣyamitra the Maurya and Pushyamitra the Śuṅga. It is Puṣyamitra the Maurya that is spoken of in the Aśokāvadāna as a bitter enemy of Buddhist mendicants and not Puṣyamitra the Śuṅga.⁵¹ Our present section alludes to hostilities caused

48. See appendix D.

49. See Cam. II, I., pp. 521 and 558.

50. See Cam. H. I., pp. 515-19 and E. H. I., p. 218, foot note.

51. See the following extract from the Aśokāvadāna in the Divyāvadāna:

पुष्यमित्रो यावत्संघारामान् भिक्षून् प्रघातयन् प्रसिनः ।
सं यावच्छकुलमनु प्रातः । तेनाभिहितम् । यो मे
अमगमिरो दास्यति तस्याहं दानारक्षतं दास्यामि ।

This Puṣyamitra is said to be the fourth in descent from the Maurya Samprati in the Aśokāvadāna.

for a woman, which refers to the last war of the Śuṅgas with the Bactrian Greeks about a Greek princess. The incidents of the fourth and fifth sub-sections have been thus borne out in a way in the sixth sub-section.

Garga and his saṁhitā.

The Yugapurāṇa forms the last chapter of the Garga-saṁhitā. Professor E. J. Rapson calls the saṁhitā a late work.⁵² Accepting the date assigned to it by the famous European scholar Max Müller, V. A. Smith in his early History of India, puts the said saṁhitā in the second or the third century of the Christian era.⁵³ But since Gargāchārya concludes his prophetic survey with the overthrow of the Kāṇva rule, there is reason to believe that the saṁhitā should have been composed not long after the reign of Śuśarman. Its author has no knowledge of Hajuvala and other Śakas of Mathurā. Had the saṁhitā been composed in the second or the third century A.D., it is the least likely that there should be no mention of a Kṣātrapa of Saurāṣṭra or Mālava in it. To my mind the Gargasamhitā appears to belong to the beginnings of the first century B.C., that is to say, to the first or the second decade thereof. Mr. Jayaswal puts it in the first half of the first century B.C.⁵⁴

The author of this ancient work on Indian astronomy bears the name Garga. It is really not his name proper, but his family name. The sage is comparatively better acquainted with Northern India than with the southern peninsula.⁵⁵ Barring

52. See Cam. H. I., p. 544.

53. See E. H. I., p. 228.

54. See J.V.O.R.S., September 1928, p. 399.

55. The account of the famine mentions the Irāvati (the Ravi in the Punjab or the Rapti in Oudh), the Viśākṣā (the Saryu in Oudh), the Śuvarṇā (the Son), the Kauśiki (the Gandakī), the Vetravati (the Betwa) and the Śarasvatī, besides the two big rivers of India, the Indus and the Ganges. They all belong to Northern India. The only river of the southern peninsula that finds mention there is the Kāveri, the stream of which is said to have been running for three hundred *yojanas*. This portion of the Yugapurāṇa has not been published. But Mr. Jayaswal has given a brief summary of it. I have drawn upon it for the names of rivers here given. It will facilitate the solution of the question regarding the native place of Garga, if a good edition of his saṁhitā be made available.

the mention of the Kalinga country in the account of the expedition of the last Śaka king (of Pāṭaliputra), the political section of the Yugapurāṇa is devoted to the history of Āryāvarta and mostly of the capital of the Magadha country in particular. There is, besides, no information therein about the long line of Āudhra rulers (of the Deccan) with but the solitary exception of the casual notice of a Śāta King who extirpated the Kāpvas. All these facts point to the eastern portion of Āryāvarta as the home of the author of Gargasamhitā. The sage was a Brahmin by caste. He was well acquainted with purāṇic traditions and highly proficient in ancient Indian astronomy. Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsamhitā* frequently cites Garga as an authority of great repute; and his commentator Bhaṭṭa Utpala gives very many quotations from the *Gargasamhitā*.

Mr. Jayaswal suspects that the *Gargasamhitā* might have been originally in Prakrit or in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit. Such is the opinion of the great purāṇic scholar Pargiter too regarding the original Purāṇa texts.⁵⁶ This opinion, along with other views of his, has been refuted by Principal A. B. Dhruva in his comments (in Gujarati) on Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*.⁵⁷ Garga is not a Buddhist or a Jain who could possibly be presumed to have written in an archaic Prakrit allied to that of the Tripitāka or the Āchārāṅgasūtra. That a Brāhmaṇa author of *Jyotiṣ* should have composed his *samhitā* in a Prakrit akin to the Pali or the *Ardhamāgadhī* is a view which stands too much in need of corroborative evidence to be accepted. To say that because the text handed down to us is extremely corrupt, the original should have been in a vulgar idiom, is rather an extravagant assumption. If we do but render twenty to twenty-five lines of the text, verse for verse, in the Prakrit used by the masses about the beginning of the Christian era and in Sanskrit of cultured people, a comparison of the two will make it clear which of them is genuine. What

56. See P. T. Introduction x-xi and xvii-xviii.

57. See Principal Dhruva's Lecture published in the *Budhi-prakash* of July 1924, with the heading "Paurāṇik Itihās."

I have attempted in one direction let some scholar attempt independently in the other. There is another line of enquiry also demanding our attention. Of the numerous quotations from the Gargasambhitā by Bhaṭṭa Utpalā in his commentary on the Bṛhatsambhitā is there any that is in Prakrit or in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit? So far as I know, they are all in Sanskrit. It goes to prove that the Gargasambhitā is not a Prakrit but Sanskrit work. The presumption that the Āchārya composed the Yugapurāṇa in Prakrit and the other chapters in Sanskrit, cannot be entertained for a moment.

The last chapter of the Gargasambhitā seems to be named Yugapurāṇa, because the Āchārya therein gives briefly an account of the four Yugas or ages. In the chronology of the purāṇic yugas, the Kaliyuga is said to begin from the day of departure of Lord Kṛṣṇa to heaven. The purāṇa scholar Pargiter cites in this connection the following lines of purāṇic tradition preserved in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. "Then on the very day when Kṛṣṇa departed to heaven, the Kali age set in. So say those proficient in purāṇic tradition."¹⁸

The epoch which marked the decadence of the immensely remote Aryan culture in consequence of the tremendous havoc caused by the Mahābhārata War, was believed to be the one in which was heard the tramp of the footsteps of the coming Kali age, agreeably to which its initial date has been laid down as given in the above quoted stanza of purāṇic tradition. It was the point of contact of the then living present and futurity; and on this assumption it became the practice to employ the future tense with reference to the then prophetic events of the Kali age. The said practice, established as a usage in purāṇas, has been followed in the account of the Kali age in the Yugapurāṇa. Sage Garga does not give a connected history, but notes briefly events uncommonly important in his eyes. In the Yugapurāṇa there is a record of the forceful conversion of the people of Sauvāṭṭra to Jainism as of the war waged by Puṣyamitra for a Yavana damsel and of religious mendicants

eating up the earnings of lay people by their preachings of *dharma* (charity) as of Āryans of the upper three castes sinking to the Sūdra level which disposes us to believe in the impartiality of its author. How far he has described historic events without exaggeration can only be determined by a thorough and searching examination of the *Yugapurāṇa*. I conclude with a request to scholars to regard what has been said in this paper as possible surmises, not as established truths, nor as probable inferences.

"Search after truth which is above all things, be our goal."

APPENDIX I.

The text of the Yugapurāṇa as found in the manuscript consulted by Mr. Jayaswal, has been given in J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIV, Pt. III, pp. 400-408.

APPENDIX II.

The distribution of the disarranged text into pieces to be arranged into sections.

Old order.	Piece.	Subdivision.	Section.	Subdivision.
1	2	3	4	5
1-26	1	1-7	1	
		8-15	2	
		16-22	3	
		23-26	4	1
27-40	2	*27-33, 40	6	2
41	3	...	4	2
42-52	4	...	4	4
53-57	5	...	5	7
58-60	6	...	5	10
61-63	7	...	5	3
64	8	...	5	9
65-69	9	...	5	4
70-78	10	...	5	6
79-82	11	...	4	3
83-86	12	...	4	5
90-93	13	...	5	1
94-103	14	...	6	1
104-105	15	...	5	6
106-109	16	...	5	2
110	17	...	5	5
111-112	18	...	6	4
113-115	19	...	6	3

* The line 39, which is a repetition of line 29, has been omitted.

APPENDIX III.

The re-arranged sections and their contents, with the pieces of the disarranged text corresponding to them.

Sections,	Sub- divisions,	Parts	Corres- ponding pieces.	Lines,	Contents.
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1	...	1	1-7	Ianamejaya, son of Patik- sita's quarrel with rāhmanā sacrificial priests.
1	2	...	1	8-15	The foundation of Pātali- putra.
1	3	...	...	16-21	Sālsaka's Religious Con- quest.
...	4	1	1	22-26	Wars with Yavanas.
...	4	2	3	41	
...	4	3	11	70-82	Wars with Yavanas
...	4	4	4	42-52	Ditto.
...	4	5	12	83-89	
...	5	1	13	90-93	Saka tyranny.
...	...	2	16	106-109	Ditto.
...	...	3	7	61-63	Ditto.
...	...	4	9	65-69	Ditto.
...	...	5	17	110	Ditto.
...	...	6	10	70-78	Ditto.
...	...	7	6	53-57	Ditto.
...	...	8	15	101-105	Ditto.
...	...	9	8	61	Ditto.
...	...	10	6	52-60	Ditto.
2	6	1	14	99-103	Miseries of the people in the Kali age.
...	6	2	2	27-38, 40	Ditto.
...	6	3	10	113-116	Ditto.
...	6	4	18	111-112	Ditto.

APPENDIX IV.

CORRUPTIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

(1—7; १-२) The first two lines have been transposed resulting in the disturbance of the historical sequence of events in which first comes the Mahābhārata War, then the departure of Lord Kṛṣṇa to heaven and after that the commencement of the Kali age. While re-arranging the lines aright, I had to adopt uniformly the *locative absolute* construction agreeably to the rules of syntax. The initial date of the Kali age also had to be made to synchronise with the death of Kṛṣṇa and not of Kṛṣṇā, that is, Draupadī in conformity with the Purāṇa tradition. To place Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit, at the close of the Kali age is an anachronism. So I have read अन्तर् in place of अन्ते, as involving the least change on conjecture. Mr. Jayaswal proposed आदौ । Other corrections in lines 4-5 are unimportant. उपधास्यति in line 6 is a clerical error, the sense requires उपयास्यति । The mistake is similar to the substitution of उदधी for उदयो in line 9. The reading दारविप्रकृतामपे : in line 7 is one which may be put up with grammar however requires दारविप्रकृतामप्ये ।

(8—15 ; =-१५) On the authority of Purāṇas it is necessary to read शिशुनागकुले and उदयो instead of शिशुनागात्मजे and उदधी respectively in lines 8-9. Udaya was not the son of Śiśunnāga, he was the eighth in descent from him. Keeping syntactical agreement in view we have to read सुमहावरम् in line 10. It has been transformed into समहावरे by the copyist. In line 12 I have substituted तत्तु for the meaningless तेथ as required by the context. Should no better reading suggest itself than the uncouth नगरं पाटलीसुतम्, there would be no help. There is, however, the conjectural reading पुरं पाटलिपुत्रकम् which suits well and deserves to be preferred, being both correct and simple.

Lines 13—15 are full of mistakes in grammar, which even a beginner would hardly commit. These I have corrected,

leaving the figures as they are, for they profess to claim importance.

(16—21 ; १६-२१) The emenda.. जनाराम in line 16 for जनराज which is difficult to construe is one which will recommend itself as being easy to interpret. The case of ऋभुचा कर्मसूतः in the next line is somewhat different. It is to be discarded, no doubt, because it conveys no meaning and at the same time makes the line metrically faulty. But the restoration of the right reading is rather taxing to the brain. The lines that come after, throw some light, and with their help I have proposed to read क्रतुकर्मचयः। The word सूतो in line 18 defies all attempt at interpretation. I have substituted निरतो tentatively for want of better one, to make the metrically faulty line run smooth and remove the obscurity. The present अर्दते in line 19 ill suits prophetic statements. I have replaced it by the participle adjective अर्दयन्। By this change lines 18—21 are made to go together and form a simple sentence, so that सु of line 20 becomes superfluous. It seems to me that in reality the scribe has unknowingly interchanged the initial letters of lines 19 and 20. To set right the mistake I propose to read the first terms as सौराष्ट्रम् and स्वर्ग्येष्टम् respectively in the said lines. Mr. Jayaswal has pointed out the relationship of Śālīśuka and Samprati. In accordance with the said relationship I have suggested the reading संप्रति in place of केतिति in line 20.

(22—26 : २२-२६) The 22nd line refers to the subjugation of Śāketa, that is, Ayodhyā, by Yavanas. It is, however, unlikely that an invader from the west should first subjugate Ayodhyā and then turn westward to conquer the Pañchāla and Śūrasena countries. The direct and strategically probable line of march would pass through the Punjab to the Pañchāla country, thence to Śūrasena and further to Magadha. Taking the geographical conditions into consideration I have proposed शाकलम् (the country with Śākala for its capital, that is, the Punjab) in place of सावेतम्। The siege of Śāketa, that is,

Ayodhyā, referred to in the Mahābhāṣya by Patañjali, belongs to the second invasion of India by Yavanas : This has been confounded with the first invasion and has led to the substitution of the letter known Sāketa for the less known Śākala. Line 23 mentions कुसुमध्वज । But there is no place that I know of called कुसुमध्वज । Guided by the mention of पुष्पपुर in line 4, I have substituted कुसुमाक्षयम् which is synonymous with पुष्पनामन् of lines 59 and 62. I have suggested तत्रोद्दामं as a conjectural substitute of श-दुम line 26 for the latter is corrupt and mutilated. The other changes are such as speak for themselves.

(27—40 ; ६७-१०६) This piece which relates to social condition has been wrongly interposed in the account of the first Greek invasion. Of the two conjunctive participles in line 27 I have left out the first, as it is superfluous. At the end of the lines 28 and 30 there occurs युगक्षये which is misleading. It is therefore desirable to read युगेऽन्तिमे in its place for the sake of perspicuity. Under the impression that line 31 alludes to the war waged by Prṣyamitra for the hand of the Greek princess I have read अमित्राणि करिष्यन्ते instead of च मित्राणि करिष्यन्ति । Elaborate tānt'ric rites have been devised for Śūdras and incorporated in religious ceremonial. Hence I have replaced लघुविक्रियाः by ह्यलघुविक्रियाः in line 34. Conformably to the corrections made in lines 28 and 30 I have changed युगान्ते to युगेऽन्त्ये in line 35. Here ओंकारप्रथितैर्मन्त्रैः is evidently incorrect. I have corrected it and read ओंकारप्रथमैर्मन्त्रैः । For the reason given in connection with line 4 I have substituted अन्तर् for अन्ते in line 37. Line 39 has been omitted as it is a repetition of line 29. Failing to draw any sense out of the first word in line 40 I have hazarded a possible conjecture that would yield sense.

(41—52 ; २७, ३२-४२) . Line 41 relates to Yavana invasion. Here I have read on conjecture यवना- अययास्यन्ति नष्टमेपाः in a way to suit the context in place of यवना ज्ञापयिष्यन्ति

नशेरय which is unintelligible and unsuitable. To make the meaning clear I have rearranged the line 42. For the same reason I have interchanged the latter halves of lines 43 and 44. Moreover in line 43 I have substituted on conjecture the grammatically correct word संमर्दि for संभाव । The copyist by oversight has written युगवशात् in line 45. The right reading seems to be युद्धवशात् which has been restored. The seven chiefs referred to in line 46 are said to have been slain by a Śuṅga King in lines 51-52. I take them to be Menander and his comrades that are said to have led the second invasion. The Greek champion Menander had his seat of government in Śākala and his comrades were rulers of small principalities forming parts of the country with Śākala for its capital, that is to say, of the Punjab. I have accordingly substituted शाकले for साकेते which or dinarily stand for Ayodhyā. Lines 47 and 48 describe the havoc wrought by the soldiers of the said Greek chiefs in battle. To make the sense clear I have replaced तथा योधैः by प्रति योधैः । Other corrections stand in need of no explanatory remarks. Alterations made in line 49 are equally plain. Line 51 begins with the word अग्निवेश्याः which actually points to Śuṅgas. Now we learn from history that of the Śuṅgas it was पुष्यमित्र that waged war with Yavanas. I have, therefore, proposed to read पुष्यमित्रेण in place of अग्निवेश्यास्तु, which is neither correct nor fitting.

(53—57 ; ७६-८०) This piece relates to the last Śaka king of Pāṭaliputra. Lines 54-55 thereof clearly involve tautology which I have removed by reading कलिङ्गान् समुपस्थितः in place of विनाशे समुपस्थिते of line 54. The correction was suggested to me by कलिङ्गशतराजार्थे of the next line. As the latter in turn was incorrect, I had to read कालिङ्गशतराज्यार्थी instead. The first part of line 56 is hopelessly corrupt. By comparing it with the equally corrupt text of lines 91-92 I have remodelled it tentatively. The substitution of घनिष्ठाः for कनिष्ठाः in line 57 is such as would recommend itself to the reader.

(58—60 ; ८४-८६). The devastation mentioned here is attributable not to the fifth Śaka king only but to all the five. So I have adopted the conjectural reading शकराज्ये in line 58. The assertions linked together by the alternative conjunction वा in line 60 affirming and denying in the same breath are ill-suited to prophetic declarations admitting of no uncertainty. There is, besides the repetition of कश्चिद्. To remedy these defects, I have substituted नवः कश्चिद् for न वा कश्चिद्.

(61—63, 64, 65, 69 ; ५८-६०, ८७, ६१-६५). These pieces relate to the Śaka rule. In lines 61-62 I have made a few changes required to remove incorrections and bad grammar. Line 63 is very corrupt and there is no predicate. I have recast it and read स वै तद् and आसादयिष्याति in place सर्वे ते and आसाध पर्वतः respectively. There is no change that requires to be explained in line 64 and there is no correction of any importance in lines 65—69.

(70—78 ; ६७-७५). There is only one corrupt reading worth noticing in lines 70-72 ; पुष्पके चामिसंयुक्तं is incorrect. Grammatically it should be पुष्पकेनाभिसंयुक्त्य as has been proposed by me. In line 75 I have substituted शर्विलो for सविलो inasmuch as and other proper nouns are in pure Sanskrit. I have also made use of the correct चरणः used before in line 61 instead of the incorrect अनरणो. The transitive absolute participle युक्त्वा in line 76 is without an object. I have supplied it by reading पृथ्वी in place of पद्मात्. Similarly वि and अद्वाघ्नः have been replaced by वै and अब्रह्मणः respectively in line 77. A few other changes have been made where necessary. They are too insignificant to be noted.

(79—82 ; २८-३१) This piece is a part of the sub-section dealing with the wars with Yavanas. All the four lines are more or less corrupt. The first half of line 79 is metrically faulty. It is syntactically related to line 80, but the latter is difficult to be construed with the former. There is, besides, a superfluous syllable in line 80 and संकुलम् of line 79, is here repeated. Conformably to the subject here dealt with I have made certain

modifications which would be acceptable. Line 82 mentions horses and elephants. I take them to belong to the Śunga army celebrating its victory and not to the equipage of a religious festival. I have accordingly changed वाहनं to वाहनी in line 81. The next line has been recast so as to remove the tautology which the simultaneous use of हय and वाह involves. The present does not suit the prophetic declaration. It has, therefore, been replaced by the future form द्रक्ष्यते ।

(83—89 ; ४३-४९). This piece also belongs to the subsection relating to wars with Yavanas. The reading भद्रपाके in line 83 makes it metrically faulty. Then again there is no country called भद्रपाक । So I have proposed मद्राख्यके as its substitute. The latter half of the line is meaningless. I have suggested the reading पुष्यमित्रे प्रशासति in its place in keeping with the record of the Śunga chronology. In line 85 I have dropped which is redundant, and in line 86 I have filled up the hiatus in वि—वशात् by supplying the letter left out. I have further substituted अमृत्तयैः for ब्राह्मणैः on the supposition that the people against whom Pusyamitra declared war were none but Yavanas. I have also made some minor changes, required by grammar and metre, which are not worth noticing. अग्निवेश्य has been replaced by the historically correct reading अग्निमित्र in line 85 and in the next line विशद् has been corrected and read त्रिंशद् which includes the period of the reign of Agnimitra as heir apparent prince (ruling over विदिशा and probably over मथुरा previously,) other changes need no comment.

(90—93 ; ५०-५३) This piece forms a part of the account of the Śaka rule. Following the chronological sequence of Śunga Kings I have substituted वसुमित्रात् and अघौद्रकः for अग्निवेश्यः and महोद्भवत् respectively in line 90. I have introduced similar modifications in lines 51, 82 and 88. Other changes are merely accessory. The readings शरसंघातैः and शरसंघ in lines 91-92 are very perplexing. Line 109 supplies the clue wherewith to solve the intricacy. The people that are referred to in the incorrect text are the Śakas. On this assumption

I have suggested the emendations शकसंघातैः and शकैरणे therein. The next line reads महाबले । I have changed it to महाबलैः in order that it may go with शकैः which I believe it qualifies. Mr. Jayaswal proposes to read महाहवे । The first half of line 93 is altogether corrupt. I have restored the right reading नृपः पृथक्पातेन in its place, and read मृत्युम् instead of मृत्युः which is a clerical mistake.

(94—103 ; ८७-९६) This piece is a part of the social section. Here सदाशये in line 94 is a slip of pen which has been corrected and read सुदाशये (by Mr. Jayaswal and myself). Line 96 reads लाङ्गलोवणं which is meaningless. I have proposed लाङ्गलोलवण in its place. I have further rectified the latter half of line 97 by reading चेषे स्यस्ता धनुर्धराः । I have similarly suggested विंशतिर्दश वा भार्या भविष्यन्ति नरस्य वै as the right text in line 98. The next line has पुष्यं for which has been substituted पुष्याः (by Mr. Jayaswal and myself). The text of line 101 is perplexingly corrupt. I have proposed to read आचर्यमिति मंस्यन्ते द्रष्टव्यो पुष्यं ज्ञियः there. In line 103 I have suggested नष्टस्वास्थ्याः as a probable correction of नराः स्वस्थाः ।

(104-105 ; ८१-८२). This piece too forms a part of sub-section relating to Saka tyranny. There are two corrections proposed in line 104; one of them is शातवरो in place of सातवरो and the other is हृत्वा in place of हत्वा । The latter has been suggested by Mr. Jayaswal also.

(106—109 ; ५४-५७). This piece belongs to the Saka invasion. In line 106 I have read अकर्मोपहतः instead of स्वकर्मोपहताः and in the next line हरिष्यन्ति शकाः and ताः instead of करिष्यन्ति वकाः and च respectively. I have further substituted शेय in line 109 for पोशं which is a clerical blunder.

(110 ; ६६). This line relates to the Saka rule. The latter half of it is metrically faulty and otherwise corrupt. Where the scribe should have written राज्यपरिचये he has scribbled राज्यस्य परिचयात् ।

(111-112 ; ११३-११४). These two lines belong to the social section. They make a hyperbolical allegation of twelve years' famine which puts us in mind of a similar Jain tradition (in the reign of Chandragupta, the Maurya). They are metrically faulty. So I have proposed to read *ह च तदा वर्षे* in line 111 and *गमिष्यन्ति भूयो दुर्भिक्षयोद्धिताः* in the next.

(113—115 : ११०-११२). These lines too form a part of the social section. They describe, not the end of the Kali age, but predict the occurrence of a famine in that age. I have accordingly read *दुर्भिक्षो रोमहर्षणः* and *युगस्यान्तरं* the rein.

In the reconstruction of the text some of the readings proposed are mere guesses at truth, some are possible and some probable conjectures, some are inferences, some depend on purāṇas, and some on history. It is an attempt to make the text of the Yugapurāṇa understandable to some extent. My labours will not be lost altogether in case there be even one pearl of pure water shedding its brilliance all around in a mass of worthless shells collected by a diver in the salt sea.

APPENDIX 5.

A GLOSSARY OF OBSCURE OR UNUSUAL WORDS.

- अकर्मन् (१८) n. An unrighteous act, an evil deed.
- अन्नद्वेष्य (४१, ३४) adj. Hostile to Brāhmanism.
- अभिसंयुज् (६६) 7, A. To fight.
- अरण (५७, ७२) adj. Unassailable.
- आत्मचक्र (३४) n. One's own people.
- कचिद् (८६) Ind. A participle expressing blessing.
- कुयशस् (७४) adj. Of bad reputation ; of ill fame.
- गण (२०) m. A section of the Jain community ;
compare गणधर ।
- घनिष्ठ (८०) adj. Very thick ; very dense.
- जनमार (११२) m. Human deaths ; mortality.
- जनाराम (१६) m. A public park.
- दण्ड (८२) An army.
- दुष्ट (२३) adj. sullied ; cruel.
- धनुर्धर (६०) adj. Armed with a bow.
- धर्मवादिन् (१६) adj. Talking religion.
- धार्मिक विजय (२०) m. Religious conquest.
- पापण्ड (१००) n. A heretic.
- वर्णाधोवस्थित (६५) adj. (People) below the four castes.
- विक्रान्त (२३) n. Valour, bravery.
- विप्रकृत (७) n. An outrage.
- सुसिद्ध्यर्थे (२६) adj. Whose object is fully accomplished,
victorious.
- स्फीत (४६) pp. Increased ; extended.
- हित (२४) m. A causeway.

APPENDIX G.

INDEX OF NAMES GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL.

अग्निमित्र ४८ ।	पुष्पपुर २४ ।
अम्लाट ५८, ६२, ६५ ।	पुष्पाह्वय १२ ।
एदय ८ ।	पुष्पमित्र ४३ ।
ओद्रक ५० ।	मगध ३६ ।
कलिङ्ग ७६ ।	मद्र ४३ ।
कालिङ्ग ७७ ।	मध्यदेश ३२ ।
कुसुमाह्वय २३ ।	माथुर २१ ।
कृष्ण २ ।	यवन २३, २७, ३५, ४२ ।
गङ्गा १० ।	वसुदेव २ ।
गोपाल ६७, ६८ ।	वसुमित्र ५० ।
जनमेजय ४ ।	शक ५१, ५२, ५५, ५७, ७६, ७८, ८१, ८४ ।
पञ्चाल २२ ।	शर्विल ७२ ।
पाटलिपुत्र २८ ।	श्राकल २२, ३६ ।
पाटलिपुत्रक १२ ।	श्रात ७७, ८२ ।
पारिचित ५ ।	शालिशुक १७ ।
पुष्पक ६८, ७० ।	शिशुनाग ८ ।
पुष्पनामन् ५६, ८५ ।	संप्रति २० ।

APPENDIX 7.

THE MAURYAS, THE SINGAS AND THE KANVAS.

The Maurya Dynasty.

1. Chandraguta	...	24	years.	} Sovereign of the undivided Mauryan Empire.
2. Bindusāra	...	25	"	
3. Aśoka	...	37	"	
4. Kuṣāla	...	8	"	
Bandhupālita	...	8	"	} Probably officiating rulers of Kalinga.
Indrapālita	...	10	"	
Dāsa	...	7	"	
5. Daśaratha	...	8	"	} Kings of the Eastern Mauryan Empire.
6. Śāliśūka	...	13	"	
7. Devadharman	...	7	"	
8. Śatadhanvan	...	8	"	
9. Brhadratha	...	7	"	
Samprati	...	9	"	} Kings of the Western Mauryan Empire.
Brhaspati				
Vṛṣasena				
Puṣyadharman				
Puṣyamitra				
Subhagasena B. C. 206 circa				} Officiating rulers of the countries on the Indus.
Vīrasena, grandson of— Samprati.				

The Śunga Dynasty.

1. Puṣyamitra	...	...	37 years.
2. Agnimitra	...	...	8 "
3. Sujyeṣṭha	...	...	7 "
4. Vasumitra	...	...	10 "
5. Odraka	...	...	7 "
6. Pulipdraka	...	...	3 "
7. Ghoṣa	...	...	3 "
8. Vajramitra	...	...	7 or 9 "
9. Bhāgabhadra	...	...	32 "
10. Devabhūti	...	...	10 "

The figure for the length of the reign of Bhāgabhadra seems to include the years of his reigns as heir-apparent prince which I take to be five or seven. Reducing the sum of the figures taken from the Purāṇas by these five or seven years, we come to the purāṇic total of 118 years for the dynasty.

The Kāṇva Dynasty.

	Matsya.	Brahmānda	Vāyu.	Correct figures.
1	2	3	4	5
1. Vasudera ..	9	5	9	5
2. Bhūmimitra ...	14	24	24	24
3. Nārāyaṇa ...	12	13	12	12
<i>(Saka rule, 10 years)</i>				
4. Saśatman ...	10	4	10	4

The Saka rule which intervened, lasted for ten years. The sum of the length of the reigns of the first three Saka kings is four and of the other six. I suspect these two to have been mixed up with the figures for the first and the last Kāṇva king respectively in the Vāyupurāṇa, which have raised the total to 55, here given. The Matsyapurāṇa appears to have committed the same mistake, but has given the correct total by reducing the length of Bhūmimitra's reign by ten years.

APPENDIX 8.

Events in the life of Puṣyamitra, Chronologically arranged.

B. C. 213.—Birth of Puṣyamitra.

B.C. 190.—Birth of Agnimitra, his son.

B. C. 185.—Puṣyamitra slew Brhadratha, the last Maurya King, of the Eastern Empire, and became king. About this time his namesake of the Maurya family came to the throne of the Western Mauryan Empire.

B. C. 185.—The Śuṅga Puṣyamitra wrests the Doab from his Mauryan namesake.

B. C. 176.—Demetrius attacks Pataliputra, suffers a defeat and turns back.

B. C. 175-162.—War between Demetrius and Eukretides in Bactria.)

(B. C. 160.—Death of Demetrius. About this time Eukretides also dies.)

B. C. 175.—Puṣyamitra performs the first horse sacrifice.

B. C. 173.—Khāravela comes to the throne in the Kāliṅga country.

B. C. 165.—His first invasion on Magadha.

B. C. 164.—His second invasion of the states of Northern India.

B. C. 161.—He invades Magadha a second time. Puṣyamitra acknowledges his supremacy.

B. C. 159.—Death of Khāravela. The Śuṅga king slew Puṣyamitra, the Maurya king of Malwa and annexed the province. The minister of the Maurya king taken prisoner.

B. C. 157.—Invasion of India by Menander. Ayodhyā and Madhyamikā besieged by the Yavanas. Menander surprised in his camp on the bank of the Ganges in Magadha by Puṣyamitra. His (i.e. Menander's) defeat and death on the battle field.

B. C. 156.—Puṣyamitra's second horse sacrifice began. The sacrificial horse seized by a descendant of Eukretides on the bank of the Indus. Prince Vasumitra defeated him and recovered the horse. King Agnimitra conquered Vidarbha.

B. C. 155.—The second horse sacrifice completed.

B. C. 152.—Death of Puṣyamitra in the war for a Greek princess demanded in marriage with Prince Vasumitra. Agnimitra brought the war to a successful issue and ascended the throne of his father.

APPENDIX 9.

RECOVERY OF THE MAHABHĀṢYA. -

Bhartṛhari, in the treatise, called Vākya-padīya, states at the end of the second chapter how Pāṇini's school of grammar gained prevalence in India. He was a pupil of Vasurāta who was in turn a pupil of Chandragomin or Chandrāchārya, author of Chāndra-vyākaraṇa on which the Buddhist pupil composed a *ṛtti* or gloss. Bhartṛhari is said to have written a commentary called *Dīpikā* on the Mahābhāṣya. I subjoin the verses referred to—

प्रायेण संक्षेपरुचीनल्पविद्यापरिग्रहान् ।
 संप्राप्य वैयाकरणान् संप्रहेऽस्तमुपागते ॥४८४॥
 कृतेऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना ।
 सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने ॥४८५॥
 असंख्यगाधे गाम्भीर्यादुत्तान इव सौष्ठवात् ।
 तस्मिन्नकृतबुदीनां नैवावास्थित निश्चयः ॥४८६॥
 वैजिसौमवह्यक्षैः शुष्कतर्कानुसारिभिः ।
 अपि विस्त्रादिति ग्रन्थे संप्रहप्रतिपञ्चके ॥४८७॥
 यः पतञ्जलिशिष्येभ्यो भ्रष्टो व्याकरणागमः
 काले स दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रन्थमात्रे व्यवस्थितः ॥४८८॥
 पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यबीजानुसारिभिः ।
 स नीतो बहुशास्त्रत्वं चन्द्राचार्यादिभिः पुनः ॥४८९॥
 न्यायप्रस्थानमार्गीस्तानभ्यस्य स्वं च दर्शनम् ।
 अगोतो गुरुणास्माकमवमगमसंप्रहः ॥४९०॥

Puṇyarāja commenting on these verses, throws further light on them. I give below the Kārikās or memorial verses from his commentary... Vākya-padī.

अवतारोऽपि भाष्यस्य संप्रहेऽस्तमुपागते ।
 निबन्धहेतौ शास्त्रस्य टीकाकारेण कीर्तितः ॥५१॥

संग्रहार्थाद्यनुगुणरूपत्वं चोपपादितम् ।

विस्मावनमयैतस्य संग्रहप्रतिपक्षतः ॥५२॥

कृतमाचार्यदैवज्ञैरावेशविधिशैस्ततः ।

अष्टस्याम्नायसारस्य वैयाकरणगामिनः ॥५३॥

मूलभूतमथाचौप्य पर्वतादागमं स्वयम् ।

आचार्यवसुरातेन न्यायमार्गान् विचिन्त्य सः

प्रणीतो विधिविधायं मम व्याकरणागमः ।

मयापि गुरुनिर्दिष्टाद् भाष्याम्नायाविलुप्तये ।

काण्डत्रयक्रमेणाथ निबन्धः परिकीर्तितः ।

¹ तीर्थानि is explained by Panyarāja in this commentary by आगमविशेषः

² Panyarāja takes Pārvata to be a part of Trilinga which is itself a part of Trikūṭa (in Southern India).

STUDIES IN BHĀSA

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

FORMERLY WITH ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

(Continued from JAOS 40. 248 ff.)

II. *On the versification of the metrical portions of the dramas.*

The following notes are the result of an attempt to study intensively certain characteristics of the versification of the metrical portions of these dramas which seemingly distinguish the latter from those of the works of the classical period, and which, moreover, appear to suggest points of contact with the epic literature. The present investigation deals mainly with the metres and the metrical solecisms of Sanskrit passages. The analysis of the metres comprises, besides a review of the metres conducted with special reference to the preponderance of the Śloka, a tabular conspectus of the metres (arranged in the order of frequency) showing the number of occurrences of each according to the dramas in which they are found, and secondly, a list showing specifically the distribution of the verses in each metre in the several plays. The section dealing with the solecisms has a twofold purpose: firstly, to ascertain their exact number and nature, and secondly to discuss their significance. Other aspects of versification, such as Alliteration, Rhyme, and Figures of Speech, will be considered in a separate article dealing with the Alaṅkāras.

ANALYSIS OF METRES.

Specifically, the verses¹ in each metre occur in the several plays as follows:

Śloka, Svapna. I. 2, 7, 10, 15; IV. 5, 7-9; V. 6-11; VI. 3, 6, 7, 9, 11-14, 16-19. Pratijñā. I. 1, 2, 7, 9, 10, 15-17; II. 5-7, 10, 11, 13; III. 3, 7-9; IV. 9, 11, 15, 16, 18, 20-22, 24-26; Pañca. I. 2, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 24, 26, 32, 33, 35, 36, 41, 42, 44, 48-54; II. 4, 6, 8, 12-14, 16, 17, 19-21, 23, 25, 28, 34, 36-38, 41, 47-50, 52, 53, 55-59, 61-69, 71; III. 9, 10, 13, 15, 17-21, 23-26; Avī. I. 4; II. 4, 10; IV. 7, 14; V. 3; VI. 3, 6-8, 12-14, 17, 22; Bāla. I. 3, 11-13, 15-17, 20, 25-27; II. 8, 9, 11, 13-19, 25; III. 7-10, 12,

¹ Prakrit verses are marked with an asterisk (*).

² In verse 5 of the second Act of the Pratijñā, b is defective.

TABLE OF METRES

	Svapna.	Pratiñā.	Pañca.	Avi.	Bala.	Madhyama.	Dutav.	Dūtagh.	Karna	Ūru	Abhi.	Cāru.	Pratimā	Total.
1 Śloka ..	26	29	76	15	37	33	22	22	4	12	68	17	75	436
2 Vasantatilaka	11	8	9	27	26	6	13	8	6	16	15	12	22	179
3 Upajāti ¹	2	4	19	23	19	3	7	7	2	6	10	7	12	121
4 Śārdūlavikridita	6	5	9	5	4	1	2	8	2	21	15	5	9	92
5 Mālīnī	5	7	3	6	4	7	2	6	7	11	4	10	72	
6 Puṣpitaṅgrā	2	3	4	11	2	3	2			22	2	4	55	
7 Varuṣastha ²		3	12	1	1	1	1	2	4	1	1	4	35	
8 Śābni	3	4	6	2	1			1			1	1	3	22
9 Śikharinī	2	1	6	3						1	1		5	19
10 Prabarṣinī ³			3	2	2			1	1		4	1	3	17
11 Āryā	3	1			3							2	2	11
12 Sragdharā				3	1		1				2		1	8
13 Harinī	1							1		2			4	8
14 Vaiśvadevī ⁴	1	2									2			5
15 Suvadanā ⁵			1				1					2		4
16 Upagītī ⁶					1									1
17 Dandaka ⁷				1										1
18 ⁸												1		1
19 Drutavilambita											1			1
20 Prthivī				1										1
21 Bhujamgapravāta ¹¹											1			1
22 Vaitāliya ¹² ...		1												1
23 ¹³		1												1
Total.	57	67	152	97	103	51	56	52	25	66	154	55	157	1092

¹ Including Indravajrā and Upendravajrā. Schema: — — — — —

² Schema: — — — — —

³ Schema: — — — — —

⁴ Schema: — — — — —

⁵ Schema: — — — — —

⁶ Schema: a and c 12 moræ; b and d 15 moræ.

⁷ Schema: — — — — — + 7 amphimacers.

¹⁰ 'Abbreviated Dandaka' (24 syllables); its schema: — — — — — + 6 amphimacers. See below.

¹¹ Schema: — — — — —; or four consecutive bacchii.

¹² See below, footnote 18.

¹³ Undetermined Prakrit metre. Its schema is:

— — — — —
— — — — —
— — — — —

(a and c 12 moræ; b and d 14 moræ).

13, 16; IV. 10, 12; V. 14, 16-20; Madhyama. 2, 7, 12-23, 28-31, 33-40, 42-45, 47, 49, 50; Dūtav. 1, 2, 7, 8, 16, 17, 20, 25-27, 29-31, 33, 34, 36, 38, 43, 46, 50, 55, 56; Dūtagh. 6, 7, 15, 17, 18, 21, 24-26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 37-40, 42, 44, 48-50; Karṇa. 2, 7, 12, 25; Ūru. 33, 37, 41-44, 46, 49, 50, 62, 64, 65; Abhi. I. 3, 8, 12, 15, 18-21, 23, 24; II. 3, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18-20, 23, 24; III. 5, 6, 8-11, 13-15, 18, 20, 22, 24-26; IV. 4, 8-11, 14, 16, 19-22; V. 2, 5, 8-10, 12, 14, 17; VI. 8-10, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25-29, 35; Cāru. I. 7, 19, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28; III. 12, 14-17, 19; IV. 2, 3, 5, 7; Pratinā. I. 4, 6, 9-13, 15-17, 19-21, 23, 24, 26-28, 31; II. 3, 5, 6, 8-12, 15-18, 20; III. 4-6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 23, 24; IV. 3-5, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 26, 28; V. 6, 8, 9, 12-15, 20-22; VI. 5, 9-11, 13-15; VII. 5, 8, 13, 15.

Vasantatilaka, Svapna. I. 4, 6, 11; IV. 2; V. 1-3; VI. 2, 4, 5, 15; Pratiññā. I. 4, 6; II. 2, 9; III. 4; IV. 5, 7, 8; Pañca. I. 18, 29, 34, 37, 39; II. 27, 31, 42; III. 22; Avi. I. 2, 6, 11; II. 1, 2, 7, 13; III. 1, 7, 8, 10, 12, 15-17, 19; IV. 1, 5, 8, 13, 18, 22; V. 2, 7; VI. 1, 11, 19; Bāla. I. 5, 8, 23; II. 1-4, 6, 7, 10, 21, 22; III. 2, 5, 14; IV. 6, 8, 11, 13; V. 1, 3, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15; Madhyama. 1, 3, 8, 11, 27, 48; Dūtav. 3-5, 11-14, 23, 41, 42, 44, 49, 54; Dūtagh. 1, 5, 11, 14, 23, 35, 45, 52; Karṇa. 4, 6, 9, 16, 21, 24; Ūru. 2, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12, 19, 22, 31, 32, 36, 40, 54, 59, 60, 66; Abhi. I. 1, 4, 9, 11; III. 21, 27; IV. 7, 13, 23; V. 4, 7, 13, 16; VI. 1, 7; Cāru. I. 2, 5, 8*, 9, 11, 18; III. 1, 2, 5, 10, 18; IV. 4; Pratinā. I. 7, 8, 22; II. 2, 4; IV. 1, 2, 16, 22, 24; V. 10, 11; VI. 4, 6, 7, 12; VII. 4, 6, 7, 9-11.

Upajñti (including *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā*), Svapna. V. 5, 13; Pratiññā. I. 5, 12; II. 1; IV. 3; Pañca. I. 1, 10, 13, 19, 23, 27, 31, 40, 43, 46, 47; II. 9, 11, 30, 60, 70; III. 3, 12, 14; Avi. I. 3, 9, 10; II. 8, 9, 12; III. 6, 18; IV. 2, 6, 15-17, 21; V. 1, 5; VI. 2, 5, 10, 15, 16, 20, 21; Bāla. I. 2, 4, 7, 21^a, 22, 24, 28; II. 5, 12, 20, 23, 24; III. 4, 6; IV. 4, 5, 9; V. 2, 7; Madhyama. 9, 41, 51; Dūtav. 9, 18, 19, 22, 28, 52, 53; Dūtagh. 2, 9, 10, 16, 19, 30, 36; Karṇa. 13, 17^b; Ūru. 30, 38, 45, 47, 48, 55; Abhi. I. 26; II. 14; III. 3, 19; IV. 6; V. 1, 11; VI. 11, 21, 32; Cāru.

^a Pāda a of verse 21 of the first Act of the Bāla, is a Vainśastha line.

^b Pāda b of verse 17 of the Karṇa, is a Vainśastha line.

I. 4, 10¹⁸, 12*, 23*; III. 3, 7; IV. 1: Pratimā. I. 1, 29; III. 15; IV. 9, 13, 25; V. 3-5; VI. 16; VII. 3, 14

Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Svapna. I. 3, 8, 12; IV. 1; V. 4, 12: Pratijñā. I. 8; III. 5, 6; IV. 13, 17: Pañca. I. 4, 5, 9, 55; II. 26, 29, 39; III. 6, 7: Avi. III. 3, 20; IV. 4, 10, 11: Bāla. I. 1; III. 3; IV. 1, 7: Madhyama. 26: Dūtav. 24, 32. Dūtagh. 3, 8, 12, 22, 27, 31, 41, 51: Karna. 10, 15: Ūru. 1, 4, 13-18, 21, 23-25, 28, 29, 31, 35, 51-53, 58, 63: Abhi. I. 5; II. 4, 6, 10, 22; III. 1; IV. 1, 2; V. 6; VI. 3, 16, 19, 30, 31, 34: Cāru. I. 6; III. 6, 8, 11, 13: Pratimā. I. 3, 5; II. 2, 19; IV. 23, 27; V. 1, 16; VI. 3.

Mālinī, Pratijñā. I. 11, 14; II. 3; IV. 4, 14: Pañca. I. 38, 45; II. 5, 15, 45; III. 2, 4: Avi. II. 5; III. 2; IV. 9: Bāla. I. 9, 10; III. 11, 15; IV. 3; V. 12: Madhyama. 5, 6, 32, 46. Dūtav. 10, 35, 39, 40, 45, 47, 48: Dūtagh. 43, 46: Karna. 1, 3, 14, 18-20: Ūru. 6, 20, 26, 27, 39, 56, 57: Abhi. I. 16, 25; II. 8, 9, 21, 26; IV. 15; V. 15; VI. 4, 6, 11: Cāru. I. 13, 14, 17, 29: Pratimā. I. 14, 25; III. 9, 21; IV. 10, 21; V. 7; VII. 1, 2, 12.

Puṣpīlāgrā, Svapna. I. 5; VI. 1: Pratijñā. II. 12; IV. 6, 10: Pañca. I. 17, 30; II. 35, 51: Avi. II. 11; III. 4, 9, 11, 13; IV. 12, 20; V. 4; VI. 4, 9, 18: Bāla. I. 14; V. 9: Madhyama. 4, 21, 25: Dūtav. 6, 37: Abhi. I. 6, 14, 22; II. 2, 5, 11, 17, 25; III. 2, 16, 23; IV. 3, 5, 12, 18; V. 3; VI. 2, 12, 13, 17, 24, 33: Cāru. I. 16, 20: Pratimā. II. 21; IV. 18; V. 19; VI. 8.

Vamśastha, Pratijñā. III. 2; IV. 19, 23: Pañca. I. 20, 25; II. 1, 18, 32, 33, 43, 44; III. 1, 8, 11, 16: Avi. IV. 23: Bāla. I. 18: Madhyama. 10: Dūtav. 21: Dūtagh. 13, 33: Karna. 8, 11, 22, 23: Ūru. 8: Abhi. I. 2: Cāru. I. 3, 15*, 26; III. 4: Pratimā. III. 13; IV. 20; VI. 1, 2.

Śālīnī, Svapna. I. 13; IV. 6; VI. 10: Pratijñā. I. 13, 18; II. 14; IV. 12: Pañca. I. 22, 28; II. 2, 10, 40, 46: Avi. I. 7; III. 5: Bāla. I. 29: Dūtagh. 20: Abhi. I. 13: Cāru. III. 9: Pratimā. II. 13; III. 18; V. 17.

¹⁸ Pāda a of verse 10 of the first Act of Cāru. is defective. Perhaps we have to read *gubandhaantī* instead of *apubandhaantī* of the text; cf. the (Prakṛitic) loss of the initial of *adhī* in epic verse and that of *api* in the compound (*a*)*pihita* (from *api* + *dhā*) even in classical Sanskrit. Or better still, in view of the position of the caesura, delete the final syllable *hi* of *amhehi* and read *amhe'* *apubandhaantī*, *amhe* being the shorter form of the Instr. Plu; cf. Pischel, *Grammatik d. Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 415.

Śikhariṇī, Svapna. I. 14, 16: Pratijñā. II. 4: Pañca. I. 3, 14, 21; II. 7, 22, 24: Avī. I. 5; II. 3; III. 14: Ūru. 61: Abhi. IV. 17: Pratimā. II. 14; III. 1, 2, 22; IV. 7.

Praharṣiṇī, Pañca. II. 3, 54; III. 5: Avī. I. 8; IV. 3: Bāla. I. 6; V. 13: Dūtagh. 4: Karṇa. 5: Abhi. I. 7, 10, 17; III. 17: Cāru. IV. 6: Pratimā. I. 30; IV. 6; V. 18.

Āryā, Svapna. I. 1; IV. 3, 4: Pratijñā. IV. 1*: Bāla. I. 19*; III. 1*; V. 4*: Cāru. I. 1*, 21: Pratimā. I. 2; II. 7.

Sragdharā, Avī. I. 1, 12; IV. 19: Bāla. IV. 2: Dūtav. 51: Abhi. III. 7, 12: Pratimā. IV. 17.

Hariṇī, Svapna. VI. 8: Dūtagh. 47: Ūru. 5, 10: Pratimā. I. 18; III. 17; IV. 8; V. 2.

Vaiśvadevī, Svapna. I. 9: Pratijñā. I. 3; II. 8: Abhi. II. 1; VI. 5. — *Suradanā*, Pañca. I. 6: Dūtav. 15: Pratimā. III. 7, 11. — *Upagītī*, Bāla. V. 5*. — *Daṇḍaka*, Avī. V. 6. — 'Abbreviated' *Daṇḍaka*¹⁷, Pratimā. III. 3. — *Drutavilambita*, Abhi. III. 4. — *Prthivī*, Avī. II. 6. — *Bhujanṅaprayāta*, Abhi. VI. 15. — *Vaitāliya*¹⁸, Pratijñā. III. 1*. — ? (Undetermined Prakrit metre), Pratijñā. IV. 2*.

. The lists given above supplement incidentally the data of the metrical collections of Stenzler, edited by Kühnau, *ZDMG* 44. 1 ff., with the material placed at our disposal through the discovery of this important group of dramas. A comparison of our material with that brought together by Stenzler shows that, with the exception of what I have called above the 'abbreviated *Daṇḍaka*' of twenty-four syllables and an undetermined Prakrit metre, the metres of these dramas are those of the classical poesy.

In the Hindu works on Sanskrit prosody we come across a group of metres which have this characteristic in common that they, on analysis, are found to consist of six light syllables followed by a series of amphimacers. The best known variety is the

¹⁷ See p. 112 below.

¹⁸ Read b as: *pīdim-upādēdum uraṣṭhi(d)ā*. The *Vaitāliya* stanza should have 14 more in a and c, and 16 in b and d; all the pādas, moreover, should end in an amphimacer followed by an iambus. The first part of c is defective, in that it measures only five more instead of the six, which are necessary. Note that the close of all the four pādas answers correctly the requirements of the definition.

Danḍaka with its sub-classes, consisting of six light syllables followed by seven or *more* amphimacers¹⁹ A well-known example is Mālatīmādhava, V. 23, which is a metre of 54 syllables consisting of six light syllables and sixteen amphimacers. Metres of the same scheme consisting of less than twenty-seven syllables are not unknown and are cited by prosodists under different names.²⁰ The shortest of these, formed of twelve syllables (six light syllables and two amphimacers²¹), is called Gaurī in Piṅgala's Chandassūtra. According to the commentator Halāyudha, there are between the Gaurī and the shortest Dandaka (of twenty-seven syllables) four other metres formed by the successive addition of one amphimacer, each having a special name. Piṅgala mentions the name of only one of them, namely, the one which contains four amphimacers.²² In the different manuscripts of the text and the commentary it is variously called Vanamālā, Mahāmālikā, Nārāca, etc.; the names of the other three have not been handed down. Now we have in our dramas an instance (Pratimā. III. 3: *patitam va śirah pituh*, etc.) of one of the unnamed metres referred to in Halāyudha's commentary. It has twenty-four syllables consisting of six light syllables and six amphimacers. This metre differs from the shortest Dandaka in containing only one amphimacer less than the minimum number requisite; I have accordingly called it the 'abbreviated Dandaka'. It may be noted that the verse cited above is the only instance hitherto discovered of this rare metre. Besides the 'abbreviated Dandaka', our dramas include also an example of the fuller form with twenty-seven syllables (Avi. V. 6).

Among the fixed syllabic metres the Vasantatilaka and the Upajāti (including the Indravajrā and Upendravajrā) are the favorite metres of the author. Out of a total of 1092 verses (Sanskrit and Prakrit) included in the dramas there are 179 Vasantatilakas²³ and 121 Upajātis.²⁴ Among the metres of the Sanskrit verses, the five metres Bhujangaprayāta, the 24-syllable 'Dandaka', the 27-syllable Dandaka, Drutavilāmbita and Pṛthvī

¹⁰ Vide the Dandakas in Stenzler's collections, *ZDMG* 44, 1 ff.

¹⁰ Piñgala 7. 33 ff. (Weber, *Isl.* vol. 8, pp. 405 ff.) and Piñgala S. 5 (Weber, l. c. p. 419), for which references I am indebted to Prof. Franklin Edgerton.

[illegible]

¹¹ Piṅgala 8. 17, and Halāyudha (Weber, l. c.).

²³ Including one in Prakrit.

¹⁴ Of which three are in Prakrit.

occur only once each. Worth noting is perhaps the fact that there are no examples of these five metres in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas²⁵; for it shows at any rate that they did not figure very conspicuously in them.

A metre which deserves special mention is the Suvadanā, one of the metres which these dramas have in common with the Aśvaghoṣa fragments. Our list includes four instances of this uncommon metre: two in the Pratimā. (III. 7, 11) and one each in the Pañca. (I. 6) and the Dūtav. (verse 15). The Suvadanā²⁶ (a metre of twenty syllables) differs from the Sragdharā (twenty-one syllables) only in its final foot; the first fifteen syllables of both have the identical schema; yet there are far fewer instances of the Suvadanā in Sanskrit literature than of the Sragdharā. Until the discovery of the fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's plays there was only one solitary example known of its use in a drama; that was Mudrārākṣasa IV. 16, which, by the way, was mistaken by Stenzler²⁷ for Sragdharā. But now we have besides quite a number of instances in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas, to which Prof. Lüders has drawn attention in his remarks on the versification of those plays.

The Āryā, which must originally have been a Prakrit metre, and its varieties, are used very sparingly by our author, though they figure so prominently in the Mṛcchakaṭikā and the dramas of Kālidāsa. In our plays there are only eleven-Āryās (of which five are Prakrit) and one (Prakrit) Upagīti. Compare with this Kālidāsa's Vikramorvaśī which has as many as 31 Āryās out of a total of 163 verses, and the Mālavikāgnimitra with 35 Āryās out of a total of 96 verses.

There are in this group of plays thirteen Prakrit verses, of which five are Āryās, one Upagīti, three Upajātis, one Vainśastha, a (defective) Vaitāliya, and lastly an undetermined Prakrit measure; the last may be only a piece of rhythmic prose. The versification of the Prakrit verses does not call for any special comment.

We shall now turn to the consideration of a unique feature of the versification of these dramas, namely, the preponderance of the Śloka. The analysis of the metres shows that out of 1092 verses which these dramas contain, 436 are Ślokas: in other words the Śloka forms nearly forty per cent of the total, which, it

²⁵ Lüders, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, Berlin 1911.

²⁶ Its schema is: — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —.

²⁷ Kühnau, *ZDMG* 44. 1 ff.

will be admitted, is a remarkably high proportion. Indeed in many individual dramas of this group the proportion rises still higher: in some it is as high as fifty per cent, and in a few it is higher still. In the Svapnavāsavadattā there are 26 Ślokas out of a total of 57 verses; in the Dūtaghaṭotkaca 22 out of 52; in the Pañcarātra 76 out of 152; and in the one-act play Madhyamavyāyoga there are as many as 33 Ślokas out of a total of 51 verses. Notably the proportion of this metre is very low in the Avimā-raka,²⁸ where there are only 15 Ślokas out of a total of 97 verses.

It is well known that works of the epic, Purāṇic, devotional, and Śāstric or didactic order formed the field par excellence of the Śloka. The dramatists made use of this unpretentious metre rather sparingly; they must have found it too commonplace. The later fixed syllabic metres with their sonorous and complicated rhythms were more suited to their flamboyant style. The greater the number of these in a play the greater the camatkāra, the greater the skill of the playwright. For this reason, it seems to me, the simple Śloka epicus lost ground in the drama, where it must once have figured prominently, in favor of the fancy metres. The old Triṣṭubh of the vedic and epic literature, however, maintained its popularity even in the classical period. A few figures are quoted to show the actual proportion, in different dramas, of the Ślokas to the total number of verses²⁹. Bhavabhūti is the only dramatist of the classical period who employs the Śloka on a large scale in two out of the three plays attributed to him. Out of a total of 385 verses in the Mahāvīracarita, 129 are Ślokas; while in the Uttararāmacarita the ratio is 89 : 253; the Śloka thus forms about a third of the total number of verses in these dramas. This is the highest proportion reached in any one drama or a group of dramas by the same author, except the dramas which are the subject of these Studies. In the Mālatīmādhava the ratio drops to 14:224. In the plays of Kālidāsa the Ślokas are few and far between. For the Mālavikāgnimitra the figures are 17:96; for Śakuntalā 36:230; for the Vikramorvaśi 30:163. We may further compare the figures for other dramas. In the Ratnāvalī

²⁸ In the other non-epic dramas of this group the proportion is not so low; in Svapna. it is 26:57; Pratiṇā. 29:67; Cāru. 17:55.

²⁹ The figures have been computed from the data of Stenzler's collections, loc. cit. They will be of course different for the different recensions and editions.

the ratio is 9:85; in the Nāgānanda 24:114; in the Mudrārākṣasa 22:163; in the Veṇīśaṁhāra 53:204; in the Prabodhacandrodaya 36:190; in the Mṛcchakaṭikā 85:336: in these dramas the Śloka thus forms on an average about 20-25 per cent of the whole. These figures make abundantly clear that the preference for the Śloka is a feature of metrical technique in which our plays differ from all dramas of the classical age.

As to the structure of the Śloka it may be remarked that the posterior pāda has invariably the diambic close; sometimes even at the sacrifice of grammar as in *Pratimā*. III. 8: *pratimāṁ kim na pṛcchase*, where the final *is*, as a matter of fact, a syllaba anceps. The prior pāda ends as a rule with the pathyā foot — — —; occasionally however it ends with one of the vipulā forms. Concerning the vipulās the following particulars will be found to be of interest. There is a complete absence of the fourth vipulā, and comparative rarity of the second; noticeable is also a partiality for the first vipulā which is used about twice as frequently as the third variety. In the third vipulā the cæsure is without exception after the fifth syllable, which usually follows — — —. The precedent foot of the first vipulā is commonly — — — — or — — — — and only occasionally — — — —, of which latter, as is well known, the post-epic style has increasingly fewer cases¹⁰.

The analysis given above shows that the Śloka of our dramas is of the refined type, not different at all from the classical model. The percentage of vipulā forms in these Ślokas is somewhat lower than in the classical epics like the Raghuvamśa, Kumārasambhava, Kīrītārjunīya and Śiśupālavadha. One reason for the low proportion may be the following. In epic and lyric poetry, where the Ślokas (whenever they form the running metre of a whole adhyāya or chapter) follow each other in scores and hundreds, the vipulā forms crept in inevitably and may even have been introduced as an agreeable change from the monotonous rhythm of an immutable octosyllabic schema. With the limited number of the Ślokas occurring in a drama it was comparatively easier to produce a larger proportion of 'good' Ślokas; moreover owing to the intervening prose and the sprinkling of fancy metres the need for variation was not as keenly felt.

In connection with this predilection for the Śloka epicus I

¹⁰ Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyana*, pp. 80 ff.; *Isl.* vol. 17. 443 f.

may draw attention briefly here to certain passages individualised by containing shorter or longer runs of Ślokas. Here the prose is unimportant, while the verses with fancy metres are mostly lyrical; the Śloka is in these passages the dynamic element. A typical instance is the section of the *Madhyamavyāyoga* from verse 12 to verse 45. This passage, containing 34 verses, includes as many as 28 Ślokas, and only 6 fancy metres. Moreover, it will be noticed, the dialogue is carried on in simple unadorned Ślokas, the contents of which are not at all lyrical but include just what is necessary for the progress of the action of the drama. The prose cannot be entirely dispensed with, but it makes the distinct impression of being secondary in importance. Another such passage is *Pañca*. Act II from verse 47 to the end. It includes 25 verses of which as many as 21 are Ślokas and only four fixed syllabic metres. A piece shorter still is *Pratimā*. Act I from verse 9 to verse 28, which includes a group of 16 Ślokas punctuated with 4 fancy metres. These passages rather suggest to my mind rudimentary attempts at dramatisation which are not quite emancipated from the limitations of the epic prototype.

The following list of set phrases and conventional comparisons (the number of which can easily be increased²¹) borrowed by our author directly from the epics illustrates in a striking manner how deeply he is indebted to the epic sources for his inspiration.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (i) <i>acirepaiva kālena</i> , <i>Pratimā</i> . IV. 26 c; with the variation <i>su-cireṇāpi kālena</i> , <i>ibid.</i> 26 a | ²² <i>acirepaiva kālena</i> , MBh. 9. 2 58; Rām. 5. 26. 23; 6. 61. 20, etc. |
| (ii) <i>kampayann iva medinīm</i> , <i>Pañca</i> . II. 21 | <i>kampayann iva medinīm</i> , MBh. 2. 29. 7; 8. 34. 58; 9. 18. 26, etc.; Rām. (Gorr.) 6. 37. 101; Rām. 6. 56. 13; 67. 115; and variations, MBh. 3. 78. 3; 9. 30. 60; Rām. (Gorr.) 3. 62. 31; Rām. 3. 67. 13. Also compare such expressions as <i>nādayann iva medinīm</i> , <i>pūrayann iva medinīm</i> , and <i>dārayann iva medinīm</i> occurring in the epics |

²¹ Only such passages have been enlisted below as occur in both the epics, and occur there very frequently.

²² In this list MBh. refers to the Bombay edition of the *Mahābhārata*; Rām. to the Bombay edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*; Gorrerio's edition is distinguished from the latter by the addition of Gorr. in parentheses.

- (iii) śaktiḥ kālāntakopamaḥ, Abhi. VI. 8 sāksāt kālāntakopamah, MBh. 3. 157. 50; Rām. 6. 88. 2; Rām. (Gorr.) 6. 45. 19. Cf. also kālāntakayamopamaḥ, MBh. 3. 22. 31; 27. 25; 4. 33. 25; Rām. (Gorr.) 3. 32. 5; 6. 49. 36, etc.
- (iv) nayāmi Yamasādanam, Pratimā. V. 22 anayad Yamasādanam, MBh. 6. 54. 81; 7. 19. 15; Rām. (Gorr.) 3. 34. 31; 75. 28. Compare also yiyāsura Yamasādanam, MBh. 1. 163. 10; Rām. (Gorr.) 6. 57. 23.
- (v) prasādam kartum arhasi, Pañca. II. 68 prasādam kartum arhasi; MBh. 9. 35. 72; Rām. 4. 8. 19; Rām. (Gorr.) 2. 110. 7, etc.
- (vi) madasalalitagāmi mattamātaṅgalilāḥ, Abhi. II. 9; and, mattamātaṅgalilāḥ, Abhi. IV. 15 mattamātaṅgagāminam, MBh. 3. 80. 14; 277. 9; Rām. 2. 3. 28; Rām. (Gorr.) 6. 37. 61, etc.
- (vii) sambhramotphullalocanā, Dūtav. verse 7; Cāru. IV. 3 vismayotphullalocanāḥ, MBh. 1. 136. 1; 13. 14. 380; Rām. 7. 37. 3, 29; Rām. (Gorr.) 4. 63. 10, etc.
- (viii) sucireṇāpi kālena, Pratimā. IV. 26 a (See above the references under no. i.).

And lastly (ix) with the following phrases from the *bharatavḍkya* imām api mahīm kṛtsnām, in Pratijñā, Pañca, Avi., and Abhi.; mahīm ekātapatrāṅkām, in Svapna, Bāla., and Dūtav.; rājā bhūmiḥ praśāstu naḥ, Pratimā.;

compare the hemistich from the Mahābhārata:

ya imām pṛthivīm kṛtsnām ekacchatrām praśāsti ha,—MBh. 12. 321. 134.

In conclusion I shall add a few words on the structure of the verses. The style of the author is notably simple and vigorous. The lucidity of the verses is due as much to the absence of long and complicated compounds as to the arrangement of words and phrases chosen with due regard to the position of the cæsura; almost invariably the cæsura falls at the end of a complete word. The half-verse is in general independent of the rest of the verse in sense; but often it is connected with it syntactically. Inside the half-verse the pādas are sometimes even euphonically independent; for instance, Bāla. II. 4 there is hiatus between a and b *vigāhya ulkāṃ*, a phenomenon common in the epics³³ but rare in the

³³ See Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 197 f.

works of the classical period. On the other hand metre requires the sandhi²⁴ in Pañca. 1. 19 (a and b). *mitrāṇy ācāryam*²⁵. Without the sandhi we should have a superfluous syllable in a, and a metrically faulty line; with the sandhi we have a perfect Ūpajāti line. Pratimā. IV. 21d, which commences with the enclitic *me*, shows again that e and d are to be treated as a single sentence, for, an accentless word cannot stand at the beginning of a pāda any more than at the beginning of a sentence. Instances of the sacrifice of grammar are discussed in a separate section. Here it will suffice to draw attention to the rhythmic lengthening in *anūkārṣa* (Pañca. II. 7) and the use of the uncommon *pārṣṇī* (with the long final) in Svapna. V. 12 and *mauḥi* in Īru. verse 59 (see PW. s. v.); the form *pārṣṇī*, it should be added, is not metrically conditioned. Similar lengthening of the stem-vowel is to be observed in *niyati* (Pratimā. I. 21), in the sense 'destiny', of which only the form with the short *i* is cited in the dictionaries²⁶.

METRICAL SOLECISMS (SANSKRIT)

The list of solecisms in the language of these dramas appended by Pandit Ganapati Śāstri to his edition of the Pratimānāṭaka (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XLII) is a contribution to literary history of which the full import appears not to have been generally realised. The significant thing is not the fact that some solecisms have been found in these dramas. Every Sanskrit work, I suppose, if submitted to a rigorous examination by a competent critic, will yield at least a few grammatical errors, which is not to be wondered at in view of the history of the language and the intricacies of its grammar. The interest about the solecisms in our dramas lies principally in their character and their number. I am persuaded that it will not be possible to name a reputable author of the classical period whose work or works could be shown to contain a proportionate number of grammatical 'mistakes' of the same order as those about to be discussed.

²⁴ Seldom in the Rāmāyana.

²⁵ Compare a very similar instance in Mālatīmādhava X. 1 (a and b): *viśeṣamāyāny ācāryatāna*.

²⁶ To the word with the long final, a different meaning is assigned by lexicographers.

The first requisite in this connection was to ascertain exactly the points in which the language of these dramas differs from the literary Sanskrit of the classical period. Admirable as the list prepared by the learned Pandit is, it seemed to me that it needed, for the purpose in view, revision and rearrangement in certain respects. The list of Gaṇapati Śāstri includes, on the one hand, certain items which do not strictly belong there; on the other hand, it omits certain others which have an important bearing on the subject. For instance, the Prakrit examples, to which the rules of Pāṇini's grammar cannot be expected to apply, have been palpably misplaced. It seemed to me also best to separate the solecisms occurring in the verses, of which the form is fixed by the metre, from those occurring only in the prose passages, which are more liable to be mutilated in the course of transmission. Again, certain details in the Pandit's list refer only to metrical³⁷ irregularities and have no connection with grammatical solecisms as such. Lastly, certain positive solecisms, which were explained away by the editor in the footnotes of the text editions of the various dramas³⁸ and therefore not considered at all subsequently, had to be added to the list. Through these additions and omissions a new list resulted. This list, appended below, includes only such metrical forms as offend against the literary Sanskrit as represented in the works of the classical age. It may be added that the dramas contain a few more irregularities in the non-metrical portions, which by their nature are not as certain and in their character not as important; they will be dealt with later in another connection.

Few scholars, if any, will be prepared to accept Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstri's chronological scheme in which a date is assigned to the author of these dramas prior to the period of Pāṇini, for whom the now commonly accepted date is ca. 500 B. C. The posteriority of these dramas with reference to the Aṣṭādhyāyī is, I may say, axiomatic. Taking our stand on this assumption we have to understand and explain the solecisms as best as we can. It has been surmised that when grammar has been sacrificed we have in the vast majority of cases to do with metrical necessity; obviously the corresponding correct forms would not otherwise have been found in other passages where metrical considerations

³⁷ See *Pratimā*. IV. 21; *Bāla*. II. 4; *Abhi*. VI. 30.

³⁸ See *Bāla*. II. 11, and *Svapna*. V. 5.

do not interfere. What has perhaps been lost sight of is that these solecisms are not arbitrary, but that they belong to a well-defined class of irregularities, irregularities which are common enough in certain branches of Sanskrit literature, but which now, for the first time, have been shown to exist in the drama also.

The category of works in which similar deviations have hitherto been met with are of the epic, Purāṇic and Śāstric order. These works are known to contain abundant instances of ungrammatical and almost promiscuous use of the Ātmanepada and Parasmaipada forms; examples of irregular feminine participles, absolutes and a variety of other abnormalities like those met with in our dramas. Such violations of (Sanskrit) grammar are particularly common in the epics; they have accordingly been regarded as forming 'epic Sanskrit'. The free use of the 'epic' solecisms in a drama is, as already observed, a new factor in our knowledge of the Hindu drama, and is particularly worthy of our attention in connection with the theory concerning the part that epic recitations have apparently played in the evolution of the Hindu drama, at least of its epic variety.³⁹

It is plain that our dramatist derives his authority for the use of the irregular forms from epic usage. Such being the case, the question naturally arises whether the author, in exercising this licence, went so far as to invent new and spurious forms as occasion demanded them, or whether he had availed himself merely of such solecisms as were sanctioned by epic usage. The correspondence, if proved, would bring to a sharper focus the dependence of our author upon the epic source. As the following analysis will show, the solecisms of our dramas can indeed, with but insignificant exceptions, be *specifically* traced back to the epics. Quotations from the epic sources have been added in order to facilitate reference and comparison.

The solecisms have been arranged under the following heads: (i) Irregular sandhi; (ii) use of Ātmanepada for Parasmaipada, and (iii) vice versa; (iv) change of conjugation; (v) irregular feminine participle; (vi) irregular absolute; (vii) simplex for the causative; (viii) irregular compounds; (ix) irregular syntactical combination; and (x) anomalous formations.

³⁹ Lüders, *Die Śaṅkhyaas. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des indischen Dramas. Sitzungsberichte d. Königl. preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften*, 1916.

LIST OF SOLECISMS

Irregular Sandhi

1. *putraḥ + iti = putreti*

jñāyatām kasya putreti.—Bāla. Act II. Verse 11.

Here metri causa the hiatus (between *a* and *i*) required by Skt. grammar has been effaced. The emendation suggested by the editor, *putro 'bhūt* for *putreti*, is uncalled for. This is a clear case of 'epic' sandhi. Instances of the effacement of the hiatus effected by the combination of the remaining final *a* with the following vowels are exceedingly common in epic Skt.; a common example is *latovāca* (= *lataḥ + uvāca*), quoted by Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 176b; for examples from the Rāmāyaṇa, see Böhtlingk, 'Bemerkenswerthes aus Rāmāyaṇa'.⁴⁰ Cf. also no. 2 below. It should be noted that this solecism could not be an accidental slip; it must be the result of a conscious effort. It is needless to add that there are no examples of such a sandhi in the prose of the dramas.

2. *Avantyaḥ + adhipateḥ = Avantyādhipateḥ*

smarāmy Avantyādhipateḥ sutāyāḥ.—Svapna. V. 5.

Here again we have a conscious effacement of the hiatus between *ā* and *a*. The editor tries to circumvent the assumption of a 'mistake' by explaining *Avantyādhipati* as a compound of *Avanti + ā + adhipati*, evidently an unsatisfactory explanation. Instances of such effacement are exceedingly common in the epics and the earlier texts. See Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 177b: Holtzmann⁴¹ cites the instances from the Mahābhārata and Böhtlingk from the Rāmāyaṇa⁴², which need not be reproduced here. This is the only instance in these dramas of the effacement of similar hiatus.

⁴⁰ For four books of the Rāmāyaṇa: *Berichte d. phil.-hist. Cl. d. Königl. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1887, p. 213.

⁴¹ See Holtzmann, *Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata*, p. 4.

⁴² Böhtlingk, *op. cit.*

Use of Ātmanepada for Parasmaipada

3. *gamiṣye*

gamiṣye vibudhāvāsam.—Bāla. V. 19.

Metri causa the Ātm. form is used in order to save a syllable, though, as is well known, in classical Skt. the root *gam* is used exclusively with Parasm. terminations; of course in prose passages where metrical considerations do not interfere, the Parasm. is regularly used by our author. The Parasm. form (*gamiṣyasi*) occurs also in Madhyama. verse 47. In his list of Skt. roots Whitney marks *gamiṣyate* with E. An epic example is

Rām. 5. 56. 29: *gamiṣye yatra Vaidehī*.

4. *garjase*

kiṁ garjase bhujagato mama govṛṣendra.—Bāla III. 14.

As in the preceding instance the Ātm. form is used metri causa; here in order to secure a long final. In classical Skt. the root *garj*, when used as root of the first class, takes exclusively Parasm. terminations. PW. quotes a number of instances of the use of the middle pres. part. from the epics, but not any of the middle pres. ind. Where the pres. part. is used, the middle pres. ind. could be used with equal justification, if the necessity arose. I therefore explain the solecism on the ground of epic usage.

5. *drakṣyate* (Active)

katham aganītapūrvam drakṣyate taiḥ narendrah.—Pratiṣṭhā. I. 11.

As in the foregoing instance the Ātm. is used in order to secure a long final; in classical Skt. the future is formed exclusively with Parasm. terminations. Epic examples of the Ātm. future are

Rām. 1. 46 13: *bhrātāraṁ drakṣyase tataḥ*,

Ibid. 2. 6. 23: *Rāmaṁ drakṣyāmahe vayam*,

Nala. 12. 93: *drakṣyase vigatajvaram*.

Other examples (cited in PW.) are: MBh. 3. 14728; 13. 964; Hariv. 10735; and Rām. 2. 83. 8; 3. 42. 49.

6. *prachase*

strīgatāṁ prachase kathām.—Pañca. II. 48.

pratimāṁ kiṁ na prachase.—Pratimā. III. 8.

In classical Skt. the root *prach* is exclusively Parasm.; the Ātm. termination is used here in order to have a long final. In

9. *śroṣyate*

kathām apuṣavākyaṁ śroṣyate siddhivākyaḥ.—Pratijñā. I. 11.

Metri causa for *śroṣyati*. In classical Skt. the root *śru* is used exclusively with Parasm. terminations; but in the epics the Ātm. forms are remarkably common. The Parasm. form (*śroṣyasi*) occurs in Avi. II. 5. Epic examples of Ātm. are

Rām. (Gorr.) 5. 23, 18: Rāmasya dhanuṣaḥ śabdaṁ śroṣyase ghoranisvanam,

Ibid. 5. 69. 26: na cirāc chroṣyase dhvanim. (Note that the final of *śroṣyase* is prosodically long here.)

Other examples are: MBh. 9. 105, 107; 7. 2725; 13. 1119; 14. 424; Rām. (Gorr.) 2. 120. 22; 5. 23. 18.

Use of Parasmaipada for Ātmanepada

10. *āprecha* (Imp. 2nd pers. sing.)

āprecha putrakṛtakān hariṇān drumāṁś ca.—Pratimā. V. 11.

Metri causa for *āprechasva*, the only form possible in classical Skt. Even in the epics the only Parasm. form used is apparently the Imp. 2nd pers. sing. The epic example quoted in PW. is

MBh. 14. 403: āprecha Kuruśārdūla gamanaṁ Dvārakāṁ prati. Svapna. 16 *āprechāmi* occurs in a prose passage. It is to be noted that the sentence containing this word rests on the authority of one ms. only, and is not essential to the context; it may therefore be corrected or deleted, as deemed advisable.

11. *upalapsyati*

taṁ hatvā ka ihopalapsyati ciraṁ svair duṣkṛtair jīvitam.—Dūtagh. verse 8.

In classical Skt. the root *upa+labh* is never used with any but Ātm. terminations. The epics contain examples of Parasm. The Mahābhārata examples are

MBh. 7. 3070: na te buddhivyaabhīcāraṁ upalapsyanti Pāṇḍavāḥ,

Ibid. 1. 1046: tathā yad upalapsyāmi.

12-14. *pariṣvaja*, *pariṣvajati*, *pariṣvajāmi*

(a) gādhaṁ pariṣvaja sakhe.—Avi. VI. 1.

(b) drṣṭir na tṛpyati pariṣvajatīva sāṅgam.—Avi. III. 17.

(c) putraṁ piteva ca pariṣvajati prahrṣtaḥ.—Avi. IV. 8.

(d) pariṣvajāmi gādhaṁ tvām.—Bāla. II. 9.

Examples a, b and d are metrically conditioned; in example c the Parāsm. appears to have been used on the analogy of the other forms. The present reading in example c is based on the authority of two mss. Compare example d with Madhyama. verse 22: pariṣvajasva gādham mām, where metre does not stand in the way of the Ātm. form. Only epic examples are available for the use of Parasm.

MBh. 4. 513: pariṣvajati Pāñcālī madhyamaṁ Pāṇḍunandanam,
Rām. 3. 38. 16: Sītā yaṁ ca hr̥ṣṭā pariṣvajet.

Change of Conjugation⁴⁵

15-16. *vījanti*; *vījantaḥ* (pres. part.)

snehāl lumpatī pāllavān na ca punar vījanti yasyām bhayāt
vījanto malayānīlā api karair aspr̥ṣṭabāladrumā.—Abhi. III. 1.

Metri causa for classical *vījayanti* and *vījayantaḥ*, from *vīj* to fan or to cool by fanning. Epic examples of the use of *vīj* as a root of the first or sixth class are

Hariv. 13092: vījanti bālavyajanaḥ,

MBh. 7. 307: jalenātyarthaśītena vījantaḥ puṇyagandhinū.

Irregular Feminine Participle

17. *rudantī*-

svairāsano Drupadarājasutām rudantīm.—Dūtav. verse 12.

The classical form is *rudatī*. But in the epics the form *rudantī* is particularly common, whenever metrical conditions call for it.

MBh. 2. 2249: tathā bruvantīm karuṇām rudantīm;

Rām. 2. 40. 29: śuśruve cāgrataḥ strīṇām rudantīṇām mahā-
svanaḥ,

Ibid. 2. 40. 44: tathā rudantīm Kausalyām.

Other examples are: MBh. 3. 2686; Rām. 2. 40. 29; 3. 51. 42; 5. 26. 42.

Irregular Absolute

18. *grhya*

vyādhāmoṣmaṁ grhya cāpam kareṇa.—Dūtagh. verse 20.

It is unthinkable that this form could be used by any poet of the classical period. In the epics, however, it is regularly substi-

⁴⁵ This may be regarded as the use of the simplex for the causative.

tuted for *grhītvā* whenever metre requires it. See Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 990a. Other irregular absolutes like this used in the epics are: *arcya*, *īkṣya*, *uṣya*, *tyajya*, *plāvya*, etc. Of these *grhya* is the commonest. Holtzmann cites thirteen examples from the *Mahābhārata*, adding that there are many more; Böhtlingk (op. cit.) mentions nearly twenty examples from the *Rāmāyana*.

Simplex for the Causative

19. *śravati*

śaraiś channā mārgāḥ śravati dhanur ugrāḥ śaranadīm.—*Pañca. II. 22.*

In epic Skt. the simplex is frequently used for the causative stem: Holtzmann (to Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1041) mentions *retsyāmi* (for *vedayisyāmi*), *veda* (for *vedaya*), *ramantī* (for *ramayantī*), *abhwādāta* (for *abhwādayata*), *codita* (for *codita*), etc. I have not been able to trace a specific use of *śravati* for *śrāvayati*.

20. *vimoktukāmā-*

bhūyaḥ paravyasanam etya vimoktukāmā.—*Avi. I. 6.*

Meṭri causa for *vimocayitukāmā*. See the preceding. Specific use is not traceable elsewhere.

Irregular Compounds

21. *sarvarājñah* (Acc. plu.)

utsādayisyann iva sarvarājñah.—*Dūtav. verse 9.*

Used irregularly for *sarvarājān*, though not conditioned metrically. The reading is based apparently on the authority of three mss. The epics contain quite a considerable number of similar formations. Thus, *MBh. 4. 527 Matsyarājñah*; *ibid. 1. 169 Matsyarājñā*; *ibid. 9. 2756 Yakṣarājñā*; *ibid. 14. 1997 Dharmarājñā*.—*Avi. p. 110* we have *Kāśirājñā* instead of the grammatically correct *Kāśirājāya*. This must be set down as the error of a copyist, for we have in the very same play the correct compounds *Sauvīrarājena*, and *Sauvīrarāja-Kāśirājau* (*Avi. p. 11*); and there is nothing, as far as I can see, that can be added in justification of the use of an incorrect form in a prose passage^{43a}.

^{43a} [Except that the language was, to this author, too much a living thing to be compressed in a grammarian's straight-jacket. F. E.]

22. *vyūḍhoras-*

vyūḍhorā vajramadhyo gajavṛṣabhaḡatir lambapīnāmsabāhuḡ.
—Madhyama. verse 26.

Metri causa for *vyūḍhoraska-*, which is required according to Pāṇ. 5. 4. 151, and found used in Raghu. 1. 13 and Kumāra. 6. 51, as also in the MBh. and Rām. But the MBh. supplies itself a precedent for the use of the unaugmented stem *vyūḍhoras*, cf. MBh. 1. 2740, 4553.

23. *tulyadharmā-*

evam lokas tulyadharmo vanānām.—Śvapna. VI. 10.

All three mss. of the drama read *tulyadharmo*. According to Pāṇ. 5. 4. 124 *dharma* at the end of a Bahuvrīhi compound becomes *dharman*, a rule which is strictly observed in classical Skt. But in epics *dharman* is used freely also in Tatpuruṣa compounds and, vice versa, *dharma* in Bahuvrīhi compounds. Holtzmann cites

MBh. 12. 483: *rājan vīditadharmo 'si*.

The emendation *tulyadharmā* suggested by the editor is un-called for.

Irregular Syntactical Combination

24. Use of *yadi* with *cet*

iṣṭam ced ekacittānām yady agniḡ sādhaiṣyati.—Avi. IV. 7.

This pleonasm (of which I have not seen any instances in classical Skt.) is, I think, to be traced also to the epics, from which here are two instances:

Rām. 2. 48. 19: *Kaikayyā yadi ced rājyam;*

MBh. 1. 4203: *yady asti ced dhanam sarvam.*

This combination of *yadi* and *cet* recurs in a prose passage of another drama of this group (Pratijñā. p. 70). And though the reading of the text is based on the concordant readings of three mss., the combination seems harsh, and hardly appropriate in prose.

Anomalous Formations

We shall now proceed to consider certain anomalous formations for which there seems to be neither grammatical justification nor literary authority.

Index of verses that have been shown to contain solecisms.⁴⁴

Svapna. V. 5, 13; VI. 10
 Pratijñā. I. 3, 11
 Pañca. II. 22, 48
 Avi. I. 6; III. 17; IV. 7, 8; VI. 1
 Bāla. II. 9, 11; III. 14; V. 19
 Madhyama. v. 26
 Dūtav. vv. 9, 12
 Dūtagh. vv. 8, 20
 Abhi. II. 24; III. 1; VI. 19
 Pratimā. III. 8; V. 11

Of the twenty-seven solecisms dealt with above, three (nos. 25, 26 and 27) are anomalous and peculiar to these dramas; two (nos. 19 and 20) belong to a class not unrepresented in the epics; but the remaining twenty-two were shown to be specifically traceable to the epics themselves. Now of these twenty-two some may again be nothing more than instances of individual caprice; others may be the results of *lapsus memoriae*, in other words, pure and simple blunders. But it would be, in my opinion, quite wrong to hold that they are all of a form purely arbitrary. And what is of moment is that for the majority of them it would be impossible to find authority in classical works. It seems to me beyond all doubt certain that the author derives his sanction for their use from a class of works different from the dramas of the classical epoch; they involve the deliberate exercise of a liberty which may justly be regarded as the prerogative of the rhapsodists.

Here follows a list of solecisms selected from the above and arranged in the order corresponding to the degree of certainty with which it can be said of them that they lie outside the range of the license enjoyed by classical dramatists: the effacement of hiatus in *putreṭi* and *Avantyaḍhipateḥ*; the absolutive *grhya*; the Ātmanepada of *gamiṣye*; the compound *sarvarājñah*; the Ātmanepada of *prechase*; the Parasmaipada of *āprecha*, *pariṣvaja* (ti), and *pariṣvajāmi*; and the fem. part. *rudantīm*.

⁴⁴ It should be noted that the solecisms occur not only in the dramas which derive their plot from the epics and the Purāṇas, but also in the dramas of which the plot is drawn from other sources. No solecisms have been found in *Karṇa*, *Ūru*, and *Cāru*.

25. *pratyāyati*

na *pratyāyati* śokārtā.—Abhi. II. 24.

Gaṇapati Śāstri explains it as *prati*+*ā*+*ayati* (from Rt. *ay* to go). To me it seems to be merely a confusion between the simplex *pratyeti* and the causative *pratyāyayati*; or rather a haplological contraction of *pratyāyayati* with the meaning of the simplex. A similar ungrammatical contraction appears to be the one to be discussed next.

26. *samāśvāsītum*

Laṅkāṃ abhyupayāmi bandhusahitāh Sītām samāśvāsītum.—Abhi. VI. 19.

This is a clear case of a poet's compromise between *samāśvasītum* and *samāśvāsītum*.

The irregularity to be discussed next appears to be as arbitrary as the last two.

27. Stem *yudh* as masc.

mahārṇavābhe yudhi nāśayāmi.—Svapna. V. 13.

As the adjective *mahārṇavābhe* in this pāda shows, the author treats the word *yudh* as a masculine noun. But it always appears as a feminine word in literature, and is quoted as such by lexicographers.

In addition to the above, Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstri mentions three other metrical forms as irregular. They are indeed irregular in so far that the formations are ungrammatical. But they appear to have been accepted in the literary dialect as good Sanskrit. The Pandit objects to the Ātm. use of *ruṣyate* (Pañca. II. 45). The Parasm. occurs, as a matter of fact, in Pañca. I. 38 and II. 58, 67 in verse and in Madhyama. p. 18 in prose; moreover in Pañca. I. 38 the Parasm. form is not metrically necessary. In spite of all this the Ātm. form is not wrong. Whitney cites it with E+ in his list of Sanskrit roots, and according to Apīe's dictionary (s. v. *ruṣ*) the form *ruṣyate* does occur, though 'rarely'. It is thus plain that it was a current form. The Ātm. of *abhikāṅkṣe* (Pratijñā. II. 4) is common in the epics; but even for the classical dialect, the dictionaries cite the root as Ubhayapadin. The imp. 2nd sing. *unnāmayā* (Pratimā. IV. 16 = VII. 7) is also included by the editor in his list of solecisms. But *nāmayati* is cited by Whitney with the mark U. S.+; while PW. quotes both *namayati* and *nāmayati*, adding 'mit präpp. angeblich nur *nāmayati*'.

Index of verses that have been shown to contain solecisms.⁴⁴

Svapna. V. 5, 13; VI. 10
 Pratijñā. I. 3, 11
 Pañca. II. 22, 48
 Avī. I. 6; III. 17; IV. 7, 8; VI. 1
 Bāla. II. 9, 11; III. 14; V. 19
 Madhyama. v. 26
 Dūtav. vv. 9, 12
 Dūtagh. vv. 8, 20
 Abhi. II. 24; III. 1; VI. 19
 Pratimā. III. 8; V. 11

Of the twenty-seven solecisms dealt with above, three (nos. 25, 26 and 27) are anomalous and peculiar to these dramas; two (nos. 19 and 20) belong to a class not unrepresented in the epics; but the remaining twenty-two were shown to be specifically traceable to the epics themselves. Now of these twenty-two some may again be nothing more than instances of individual caprice; others may be the results of lapsus memoriae, in other words, pure and simple blunders. But it would be, in my opinion, quite wrong to hold that they are all of a form purely arbitrary. And what is of moment is that for the majority of them it would be impossible to find authority in classical works. It seems to me beyond all doubt certain that the author derives his sanction for their use from a class of works different from the dramas of the classical epoch; they involve the deliberate exercise of a liberty which may justly be regarded as the prerogative of the rhapsodists.

Here follows a list of solecisms selected from the above and arranged in the order corresponding to the degree of certainty with which it can be said of them that they lie outside the range of the license enjoyed by classical dramatists: the effacement of hiatus in *putreti* and *Avantyaḍhipateḥ*; the absolutive *grhya*; the Ātmanepada of *gamiṣye*; the compound *sarvarājñah*; the Ātmanepada of *prcchase*; the Parasmaipada of *āprccha*, *pariṣvaja*(ti), and *pariṣvajāmi*; and the fern. part. *rudantīm*.

⁴⁴ It should be noted that the solecisms occur not only in the dramas which derive their plot from the epics and the Purāṇas, but also in the dramas of which the plot is drawn from other sources. No solecisms have been found in Karpā., Ūru. and Cāru.

I am not oblivious of the fact that the classical rule allowed the use of *maṣā* for *māṣa*, provided the metrical norm was observed; but I am fully persuaded that no playwright of the classical age, who aspired not to pass for an ignoramus, would, to such a degree, indulge in a license which was little more than an unequivocal confession of incompetence. If, therefore, we attempted to find for our group of plays a place within the framework of the classical drama, we should first have to account for this apparent reaction from the tradition of the classical drama implied by the occurrence of the solecisms pointed out above.

SUMMARY

The foregoing investigation leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Sanskrit of the verses included in these dramas, which differs in certain minute particulars from the Sanskrit of the classical drama, reflects a stage of literary development preceding the classical drama, which culminates in the works of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. But our conclusions regarding the Prakrit of these dramas, which formed the subject of the first Study, converged to the same point. They revealed in an equally forcible manner a stage of development of the Middle Indian dialects older than that preserved in the classical drama. While the Prakrit betrays its affinities with the Prakrit of the fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas, the Sanskrit of the metrical portions of our plays is found to be linked with the language of the epics.

I will not venture to draw any definite chronological conclusions regarding the dramas from these divergences and affinities, nor attempt to account for them here. I shall content myself for the present with having stated the facts of the case.

Post-scriptum. It should have been made clear that the references to the Svapnavāsavadattā follow the pagination and the text of the *second* edition of the play, Trivandrum 1915.

The Sāṃkhya-teachers.

By

HAR DUTT SHARMA.

The names of the teachers of Sāṃkhya as found in the Smṛtis, Māhābhārata, Purāṇas etc. are twenty-six; viz., 1. Kapila, 2. Āsuri, 3. Pauśāsikha, 4. Viṇḍhyavāsa, Vindhyavāsaka or Vindhyavāsin, 5. Vārsaganya, 6. Jaigīṣavya, 7. Voḍhu, 8. Asitadevala or Devala, 9. Śanaka, 10. Sanandana, 11. Sanātana, 12. Sanatkumāra, 13. Bhṛgu, 14. Śukra, 15. Kāśyapa, 16. Pārāsara, 17. Garga or Gārgya, 18. Gāutama, 19. Nārada, 20. Ārṣiṣena, 21. Agastya, 22. Pulastya, 23. Hārīta, 24. Ulūka, 25. Vālmīki, and 26. Śuka¹).

I. Kāpila.

*Mentioned in the Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad 5, 2 for the first time, Kapila is known everywhere as the founder of the Sāṃkhya philosophy. Many people think that he was not a historical personage. But GARBE²), criticising the views of Max MÜLLER and COLEBROOKE, believes that the traditionally handed down name of Kapila cannot be regarded as fictitious; there is another support in the name of the town Kapilavastu of the Buddhists. KEITH, on the other hand, opines that Kapila was not a historical person as he is found identified with Agni or Viṣṇu or Śiva, and is, therefore, another name for Hiranyagarbha (Sāṃkhya System, p. 9. n. 1; Mbh. Śānti. 339, 66—67; 342, 92—93). Kaviraja GOPINATHA also agrees with this opinion as expressed by him in the Introduction to Jayamaṅgalā published by me³). Bālarāma Udāsīna, in his footnotes to Yogabhāṣya I. 25 "*ādividvān nirmāṇacittam adhiṣṭhāya kārūṇyād bhagavān paramarṣir Āsuraye jīṇāsamānāya tantraṃ pravāca*", says: — 1. *ādividvān* = *śargādāv āvirbhūto hiranyagarbhaḥ svayāmbhūh*, *nirmāṇacittam* = *yogabālena svanirmitam cittam adhiṣṭhāya* = *svāṃśena pravīṣya*

¹) See, Mbh. Śānti. 318, 58—62; P. C. Roy's ed. Śāka 1810; and the commentaries of the Sāṃkhyakārikā.

²) Sāṃkhya und Yoga, p. 2, § 3.

³) Calcutta Oriental Series Nr. 19, Introd. p. 3.

Kapilākhyaparamarṣir bhūtvā kārūṇyād jīṇāsava Āsuraye tantraṃ provācetyarthak. 2. *ṛṣim prasūtaṃ Kapilaṃ yas tam agre jñānair vibharti jāyamānaṃ ca paśyed, iti śrutyā jāyamānasya jñānaprāptiḥ śrūyate.* 3. *pañcame Kapilo nāma siddhēśah kālariplutaṃ; provāca Āsuraye Sāṃkhyāṃ tattvagrāmaṇirṇayaṃ (Bhāgavāta, I. 3. 11) iti smṛtau pañcamāvalāroḥter Viṣṇoravātārak Kapila iti bhāvah. agniḥ sa Kapilo nāma Sāṃkhyā-sāstrapraṇatākah, iti Mahābhārataṃ tu kalpabhedenā neyam. kalpabhedenaiiva ca Kapilo brahmaputra iti smaryate.* 4. *Bhāskarācāryaprabhīṭayastu ṛṣim prasūtaṃ Kapilaṃ iti Kapilapadenāpi Hiraṇyagarbha eva gṛhyate, yo brahmānam ityādi bahupūrvottaramantrasaṃvādādityahuh.* (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series p. 62).

From a quotation in the Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra (2, 6, 11, 28), we learn that an Asura Kapila divided the four Āśramas. There is another Kapila also who wrote a Kapilasmṛti dealing with the Śrāddha-, Vivāha- and Prāyascitta-ceremonies (KANE, Hist. Dharm. Vol. I, pp. 25, 525). Śāṅkarācārya also thinks that the Kapila of Sāṃkhyā is different from the Vedic Kapila, (Brahmasūtrabhāṣya II. 1, 1). Ānandagiri, commenting on this, says that the Vedic Kapila is that one who reduced the sixty-thousand sons of Sagara to ashes; he is quite different from the Sāṃkhyā teacher. But we find in the Pādmapurāṇa that one Kapila, alias Vāsudeva, taught the Sāṃkhyā doctrines to Brahman, Bhṛgu etc., supported by the Vedas; another Kapila taught (the Sāṃkhyā) as opposed to all the Vedic tenets (quoted by BELVALKAN in his notes to Brahmasūtras II. 1, 1, p. 4). But according to the Bhāgavāta-Purāṇa 3. 25, 1, Vāsudeva himself was born as Kapila from the womb of Devahūti.

Thus, we find no strong proof for believing Kapila a historical person.

2. Āsuri.

There is a difference of opinion also with regard to the reality of Āsuri, the first disciple of Kapila. Kaviraja GOPINATHA thinks him to be a historical person (Jayamaṅgalā, Introd. p. 3). But GARBE (l. c. p. 2f.) and KEITH (l. c. p. 47f.) are opposed to this view; GARBE adds that if Āsuri is really historical then he is different from his namesake mentioned in the Śat.-Br. The two interesting accounts as to how Kapila taught Āsuri are found in the Jayamaṅgalā and the Mātharavṛtti. In the Mbh. Śānti. 218, 6—10 Āsuri is made the teacher of Pañcasikha. We find only one quotation ascribed to Āsuri, viz. *“vivikte dṛkparinatau buddhau bhogo 'sya kathyate; pratibimbodayah*

svaccho yathā candramāso 'mbhasi' in the commentary of Haribhadra on the *Śaddarśanasamuccaya* (p. 36):

3. *Pañcaśikha.*

Pañcaśikha, the disciple of Āsuri, is found quoted in the following works: A. *Yogasūtrabhāṣya*: I. 4; I. 25; I. 36; II. 5; II. 6; II. 13; III. 13; and III. 41. Vyāsa, the commentator, does not give the name of Pañcaśikha, but it is Vācaspati who ascribes them to Pañcaśikha. B. *Sāṃkhyasūtras*: V. 32; VI. 38. C. *Sāṃkhyasūtrabhāṣya* of Vijñānabhikṣu on I. 127. D. Bhāmati on *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* on II. 2. 10. E. *Gauḍapādabhāṣya* on *Kārikā* I and *Mātharavṛtti* on *Kār.* 22¹). F. Bālarāmodāśīna in his *Sāṃkhyatattvakaumudīppanī* p. 153, Bombay 1929.

We find no account of this Pañcaśikha born in the family of Parāśara (Mbh. Śānti. 320, 23). All the quotations ascribed to him are in prose except the "E". It is just possible that he wrote a prose treatise. According to GARBE (l. c. p. 3) Pañcaśikha flourished in the first century A. D. Vyāsa, the author of the *Yogabhāṣya*, flourished in the 4th cent. A. D.²). It is possible that the writings of Pañcaśikha were very common in the 4th cent. A. D., and, therefore, Vyāsa did not give his name while quoting. As Vācaspati frequently mentions his name, we can safely infer that the writings of Pañcaśikha were known to him. Was it the Commentary on the *Samāśasūtras* which fell into the hands of Vācaspati? Vijñānabhikṣu refers to Pañcaśikha as the author of a commentary on the *Samāśasūtras* or the *Tattvasamāsa*; Bhāvūgaṇeśa also says the same thing: "*saṃśasūtrāṇy ālambya vyākhyāṃ Pañcaśikhasya ca*" (Introd. to *Mātharavṛtti*, p. 2). According to the Chinese tradition, Pañcaśikha is the author of *Śaṣṭitantra* (KEITH, l. c. p. 48). But this account is not to be believed, as is proved by many writers. Vācaspati, on the other hand, thinks that *Śaṣṭitantra* is a book on *Yogasūtra* and its author was Vārṣaganya (see *Tattva-vaśīśārādī* on *Yogasūtra* IV. 13; and Bhāmati on *Brahmasūtra* II. 1, 3). Kaviraja GOPINATHA is of opinion that Vācaspati never saw the *Śaṣṭitantra* (*Jayamaṅgalā*, Introd. pp. 4—7). But, according to the

¹) This verse is ascribed to Pañcaśikha by Bhāvūgaṇeśa in his *Tattvayāthārthyadīpana* and by Haribhadrasūri in *Śāstravārtāsamuccaya* (see Introd. to *Mātharavṛtti*). Bhāvūgaṇeśa was the disciple of Vijñānabhikṣu and flourished in the 17th century A. D. The time of Haribhadrasūri is about 725 A. D.

²) RADHAKRISHNAN, *Indian Philosophy* II, 342.

late M. M. P. Rāmāvatāra ŚARMĀ, Vācaspati knew Śaṣṭitantra (Bālārāma-Udāsina's ed. p. 226). That this Pañcasikha is different from his namesake in the Mahābhārata is evident from their views; he is different from Gandhabba Pañcasikha also (KEITH, l. c. pp. 48, 51).

4. Vindhyavāsa.

The view that Vindhyavāsa is to be identified with Iśvarakṛṣṇa is not sound (Jayamaṅgalā, Introd. pp. 6—7). We find one quotation from him in the Rājamārtanḍa of Bhoja: *sattvatapyam eva puruṣatapyattvam* (Yoga-Sūtra IV. 22). Medhātīthi also quotes his opinion in his Bhāṣya on Manu I. 55: *sāṃkhyā hi kecin nāntarābhavam icchanti Vindhyavāsaprabhṛtayaḥ*. This seems to be derived from the Śloka-vārttika: *antarābhavadehas tu niṣiddho Vindhyavāsinā* (p. 704). Also in the Śaddarśanasamuccaya we find a quotation from him: *puruṣo 'vikṛtātmaiva svanirbhāsam acetanam; manaḥ karoti sāmṇiddhyād upādheh sphatiko yathā* (p. 36). Vallālasena, king of Bengal (12th cent. A. D.), has given a list of works which he consulted while compiling his Adbhutasāgarā. There we find a work of a certain Sāṃkhyā teacher named Vindhyavāsin (KANE, Hist. Dharm. I, 341, 793 n.). This proves that the work of Vindhyavāsin was available as late as the 12th cent. A. D. Tanusukharāṭha, in his introduction to the Mātharavṛtti (Chowkhamba ed.), has established an identity between Vindhyavāsin and Vyāḍi on the basis of quotations from the Trikāndaśeṣa, the Haimakośa and the Saṃyamināmamālā. He says: *sa ca bhagavato Varṣasya śiṣyo Nandasamakālinaḥ* (Kathāsaritsāgara, I. 2) *Pāninistūtrānām Saṃgrahākhyatīkāyāḥ kasyacit kośasya ca kartā Dakṣayaneḥ Patañjaler api purogāmī sāṃkhyāyogācāryaśca* (p. 3). This leads us to suppose that Vindhyavāsin, alias Vyāḍi, flourished in the 4th cent. B. C. According to a Chinese tradition Vindhyavāsin wrote a Sāṃkhyā work called Hiranyasaptati (BELVALKAR, Bhandarkar Comm. Vol. p. 175). According to Dr. BELVALKAR, Hiranyasaptati is a commentary on the Sāṃkhyakārikā (ibid. 177). But Kāvīraja GORINATHA says: "The Anuyogadvārasūtra of the Jainas preserves a list of Brahmanical works, which contains the name of Kanagasattari (Kanakasaptati), which I take to be equivalent to the Suvarṇasaptati or Hiranyasaptati, the name of Sāṃkhyasaptati familiar in China" (Jayamaṅgalā, Introd. p. 7, n. 12). But it must be noted here that along with the Kanagasattari, we find Mādhara also in the list of the Anuyogadvārasūtra. If Mādhara stands for the Mātharavṛtti then it is impossible to conclude that Anuyogadvārasūtra was written in

the 1st cent. A. D. (F. O. SCHRADER in a letter to me from Kiel, March 1, 1927). In the Mātharavṛtti we find: *yathā darpaṇābhāva ābhāsahānau*, a quotation from the Hastāmālakastotra which is of the age of Śaṅkarācārya (i. e. 780—812 A.D.; see Introd. Mātharavṛtti, p. 5). Therefore, it is wrong to decide the age of Vindhyavāsa or Īśvarakṛṣṇa on the basis of the Kanagasattari. And, if Vyādi alias Vindhyavāsin, is the author of the Hiranyasaptati, then the latter is certainly different from that of the Sāṃkhyakārikā, and Vindhyavāsin is different from Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Otherwise the date of Īśvarakṛṣṇa will have to be pushed back to the 4th cent. B. C. Therefore, it is safe to conclude, as KEITH also says, that there are more than one Vindhyavāsin and that their dates are uncertain (Sāṃkhya System, 79, n. 1; also Karmamīmāṃsā, p. 59).

5. Vārsaganya.

We are as uncertain about Vārsaganya as about the former teachers of Sāṃkhya. We find two quotations from him in the Vyāsabhāṣya: 1. *mūrtiṣvavaradhiṣatibhedābhāvan nāsti mūlaprthāktvam iti Vārsaganyah* (Yogasūtra, III. 53). 2. *guṇānām paramam rūpaṃ na dṛṣṭipatham recchati; yat tu dṛṣṭipatham yātam tan māyeva sutucchakam* (ibid. IV. 13). Vācaspati thinks that the latter quotation is taken from the Śaṣṭitantra. This very verse is quoted by Vācaspati in his Bhāmatī with the remark *ata eva yogasūtram vyutpādayitā āha sma bhagavān Vārsaganyah* on the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya II. 1, 3. Another quotation from Vārsaganya *pañcapārēṇ avidyā; ity āha sma bhagavān Vārsaganyah* is found in the Tattvakaumudī on Kārikā 47. The quotation *puruṣādhiṣṭhitam pradhānam pravartate* found in the Gaudapādabhāṣya and the Mātharavṛtti (Kārikā 17), is ascribed to Vārsaganya by KEITH (Sāṃkhya System p. 73 n. 3). All these lead us to the conclusion that the Chinese tradition ascribing the authorship of the Śaṣṭitantra to Pañcasīkha is not trustworthy. There is also considerable doubt as to Vārsaganya being the author of the Śaṣṭitantra¹). I intend to discuss this question in detail elsewhere.

6. Jaigīṣavya.

According to the Kūrmapurāṇa, Jaigīṣavya was a class-fellow of Pañcasīkha (KEITH, l. c. p. 51). This Jaigīṣavya is quoted as an

¹) Jayamaṅgalā, Introd. pp. 4—6; HIRIYANNA: "Śaṣṭitantra and Vārsaganya", Journ. of Orient. Res., Madras, April—June, 1929, pp. 107—112.

late M. M. P. Rāmāvatāra ŚARMĀ, Vācaspati knew Śaṣṭitantra (Bālārāma-Udāsina's ed. p. 226). That this Pañcasikha is different from his namesake in the Mahābhārata is evident from their views; he is different from Gandhabba Pañcasikha also (KEITH, l. c. pp. 48, 51).

4. Vindhyavāsa.

The view that Vindhyavāsa is to be identified with Iśvarakṛṣṇa is not sound (Jayamaṅgalā, Introd. pp. 6—7). We find one quotation from him in the Rājamārtanda of Bhoja: *sattvatapyam eva puruṣala-pyattvam* (Yoga-Sūtra IV. 22). Medhātīthi also quotes his opinion in his Bhāṣya on Manu I. 55: *sāṃkhyā hi kecin nāntarābhavam icchant Vindhyavāsaprabhṛtayah*. This seems to be derived from the Śloka-vārttika: *antarābhavadehas tu niṣiddho Vindhyavāsina* (p. 701). A' in the Śaḍdarsanasamuccaya we find a quotation from him: *pu'vikṛtātmaiva svanirbhāsam acetanaṃ; manah karoti sāṃnidd upādheh sphatiko yathā* (p. 36). Vallālasena, king of Bengal cent. A. D.), has given a list of works which he consulted while compiling his Adbhutasāgara. There we find a work of a certain S' teacher named Vindhyavāsin (KANE, Hist. Dharm. I, 341). This proves that the work of Vindhyavāsin was available the 12th cent. A.D. Tanusukharāṣṇa, in his introduction to the *vṛtti* (Chowkhamba ed.), has established an identity between Vāsin and Vyādi on the basis of quotations from the 7th the Haimakośa and the Saṃyamināmamālā. He says: *Varṣasya śiṣyo Nandasamakālīnaḥ (Kathāsaritsāgara, I trāṇaṃ Saṃgrahakhyatikāyāḥ kasyacit kośasya ca ka Patañjaler api purogāmī sāṃkhyāyogācāryasca* (p. 3) to suppose that Vindhyavāsin, alias Vyādi, flourished cent. B. C. According to a Chinese tradition Vindhyavāsin's work called Hiranyasaptati (BELVALKAR, B. Vol. 7, 175). According to Dr. BELVALKAR, Hiranyasaptati on the Sāṃkhyakārikā (ibid. 177). But KANE says: "The Anuyogadvārasūtra of the Jainas parallels Brahmanical works, which contains the name of Kanakasaptati, which I take to be equivalent to the or Hiranyasaptati, the name of Sāṃkhyasaptati family (Jayamaṅgalā, Introd. p. 7, n. 12). But it must be noted along with the Kanakasaptati, we find Mādhara also in the Anuyogadvārasūtra. If Mādhara stands for the Māthara it is impossible to conclude that Anuyogadvārasūtra was a

the age of the epic in its present form. The Mahābhārata, according to western scholars, says Mr. ŚĀSTRĪ, assumed its present form by the 2nd cent. B. C.¹). But according to Prof. WINTERNITZ, the epic assumed its present form by the 4th cent. A. D. (see History of Indian Literature, I, pp. 465—475). Devala does not seem to be much older than Īśvarakṛṣṇa. The theory to the contrary does not seem to be convincing. It is based on the following quotation from the Mātharavṛtti: *Kapilād Āsurinā prāptam idam jñānam. Tatah Pañcasikkena, tasmād Bhārgava-Ulūka-Vālmiki-Hārīta-Devalaprabhṛtin āgatam*, where the word *prabhṛti* is taken to indicate a wide gap between Devala and Īśvarakṛṣṇa. But the traditional list found in the Mātharavṛtti does not tally with any other such list. Therefore, Māthara's quotation can only establish Devala's priority to Īśvarakṛṣṇa and nothing else.

9—26. Sanaka etc.

Gaudapāda on Kār. 1, quotes a verse and a half in which he enumerates the names of the seven sons of Brahman. They are: Sanaka, Sananda, Sanātana, Āsuri, Kapila, Voḍhu, and Pañcasikha.² But in the Mahābhārata, the list is different (Śānti. 340, 67—69), viz., Sana, Sanatsujāta, Sanakā, Sanandana, Sanatkumārā, Kapila and Sanātana. Unfortunately, we find no information about Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Sana, Sanatsujāta, and Sanatkumārā, except a reference to Sanandanācārya in the Sāṃkhya-Sūtra *lingaśarīrānīmīlaka iti Sanandanācāryah* (VI. 69). There is a reference to a Sanatkumārā, author of some Smṛti, in the Nirṇayasindhu and the Tristhalisetu (KANE, Hist. Dharm. I, 656). Similarly we find Bhṛgu, Śukra, Kāśyapa, Parāśara, Garga, Gautama, Nārada, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Agastya, Pulastya, and Hārīta mentioned as writers of Smṛtis (ibid. Index). The dialogue between Parāśara and Janaka, named the Parāśaragītā and found in the Mbh. Śānti. chs. 290—299, deals with the duties of the *varṇas* and *āśramas* and has no vestige of Sāṃkhya teaching in it. It is just possible that Parāśara came to be regarded as a teacher of Sāṃkhya, because he happened to be born in the same family as Pañcasikha (Mbh. Śānti. 320, 23). Ulūka is a synonym for Kausika. In the Chinese translation of the Sāṃkhyakārikā, Īśvarakṛṣṇa is referred to as born in the Kausika family (Jayamaṅgalā, Introd. p. 2, n. 2). We know absolutely nothing of Vālmiki and Śuka as teachers of Sāṃkhya.

¹) See Proceedings of the 5th Oriental Conference, Lahore, p. 865.

authority on Yoga, see Vyāsabhāṣya on Yogasūtras II. 55 and III. 18. Vācaspati also refers to him in his Nyāyavārttikatātparyatikā as the author of Dhāraṇāśāstra (on Nyāyasūtra III. 2. 43). But, according to the Buddhacarita 12. 67, Arāḍakalāma refers to Jaigīṣavya, Janaka and Parāśara as persons who obtained salvation through Sāṃkhya (Jayamaṅgalā, Introd. p. 2, n. 2.). In the present state of our knowledge, we can say nothing more about Jaigīṣavya.

7. Voḍhu.

Voḍhu is also familiar by name alone. We have not come across any of his writings or quotations. In the list of the names of the sages pronounced in the Rśitarpaṇa, we find the name of Voḍhu after that of Āsuri, and before that of Pañcasikha. The opinion of WEBER that it is the brahmanised form of Buddha's name, is quite untenable (see GARBÉ, Sāṃkhya und Yoga, p. 6). KEITH has, however, discovered Voḍhu's name, before that of Āsuri in one of the Parisistas of the Atharvaveda (l. c. p. 51).

8. Devala.

We find a dialogue between Asitadevala and Nārada in the Māhābhārata Śānti., ch. 274. There we find eight kinds of *bhūtaṣ* (*bhāva*, *abhāva*, *kāla*, *prthivī*, *āpas*, *vāyu*, *ākāśa*, and *tejas*), and *kāla* impelled by *bhāva* creating all the five elements, viz., earth, air, water, wind, and glow. The senses themselves are not the knowers but produce knowledge for the *kṣetrajñā*. Higher than the senses is *citta*, higher than the latter is *manas*, higher than it is *buddhi*, and the highest of all is *puruṣa*. The ear, the skin, the eye, the nose, the tongue, the *citta*, the *manas*, and the *buddhi* are the eight instruments of knowledge, etc. It is said there verse 39: *punya-pāpakṣayārtham hi Sāṃkhyajñānam vichīyate; tatksaye hyasya pa'yanti brahmābhavā param gatiṃ*. Thus we see that this dialogue deals with the theistic Sāṃkhya. The quotations from Devala, as found in Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkyasmṛti, resemble the Tattvasamāsa very much, see Yājñavalkyasmṛti, Anāṇḍāśrama ed. II, pp. 986—87. KANE, in his History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. I, p. 121, says that Devala was a contemporary of the Smṛtikāras, viz., Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana. And the age of Kātyāyana according to him is between the 4th and the 6th centuries A. D. (see p. 218). But UDAYAVĪRĀŚĀSTRĪ says that as Devala is frequently alluded to in the Māhābhārata, his age must be determined by

the age of the epic in its present form. The Mahābhārata, according to western scholars, says Mr. ŚĀSTRĪ, assumed its present form by the 2nd cent. B. C.¹). But according to Prof. WINTERNITZ, the epic assumed its present form by the 4th cent. A. D. (see History of Indian Literature, I, pp. 465—475). Devala does not seem to be much older than Īśvarakṛṣṇa. The theory to the contrary does not seem to be convincing. It is based on the following quotation from the Mātharavṛtti: *Kapilād Asuriṇā prāptam idaṃ jñānam. Tatah Pañcasikkena, tasmād Bhārgava-Ulūka-Yālmiki-Hārīta-Devalaprabhṛtin āgatam*, where the word *prabhṛti* is taken to indicate a wide gap between Devala and Īśvarakṛṣṇa. But the traditional list found in the Mātharavṛtti does not tally with any other such list. Therefore, Māthara's quotation can only establish Devala's priority to Īśvarakṛṣṇa and nothing else.

9—26. Sanaka etc.

Gauḍapāda on Kār. 1, quotes a verse and a half in which he enumerates the names of the seven sons of Brahman. They are: Sanaka, Sananda, Śanātana, Āsuri, Kapila, Vodhu, and Pañcasikha. But in the Mahābhārata, the list is different (Śānti. 340, 67—69), viz., Sana, Sanatsujāta, Sanakā, Sanandana, Sanatkumārā, Kapila and Śanātana. Unfortunately, we find no information about Sanaka, Sanandana, Śanātana, Sana, Sanatsujāta, and Śāntikumārā, except a reference to Sanandanācārya in the Sāṃkhya-Sūtra *lingaśarīrānimitaka iti Sanandanācāryah* (VI. 69). There is a reference to a Sanatkumārā, author of some Smṛti, in the Nirṇayasindhu and the Tristhalīsetu (KANE, Hist. Dharm. I, 656). Similarly we find Bhṛgu, Śukra, Kāśyapa, Parāśara, Garga, Gautama, Nārada, Ārṣiṣeṇa, Agastya, Pulastya, and Hārīta mentioned as writers of Smṛtis (ibid. Index). The dialogue between Parāśara and Janaka, named the Parāśaragītā and found in the Mbh. Śānti. chs. 290—299, deals with the duties of the *varṇas* and *āśramas* and has no vestige of Sāṃkhya teaching in it. It is just possible that Parāśara came to be regarded as a teacher of Sāṃkhya, because he happened to be born in the same family as Pañcasikha (Mbh. Śānti. 320, 23). Ulūka is a synonym for Kausika. In the Chinese translation of the Sāṃkhyakārikā, Īśvarakṛṣṇa is referred to as born in the Kausika family (Jayamaṅgalā, Introd. p. 2, n. 2). We know absolutely nothing of Yālmiki and Śuka as teachers of Sāṃkhya.

¹) See Proceedings of the 5th Oriental Conference, Lahore, p. 865.

Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.

THE SCHEME

OF THE

Campbell Memorial Medal.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 13th February 1907, to accept the offer of the subscribers to the Campbell Memorial Medal Fund and to appoint Trustees to hold the Fund.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

There were also present:—The Hon. Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar, Messrs. K. R. Cama, J. J. Modi, R. E. Enthoven, Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni and Mr. S. M. Edwardes, the Hon. Secretary.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Read a letter from Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I. C. S., written on behalf of himself and other subscribers, offering to hand over to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Port Trust Bonds of the nominal value of Rs. 3,000 being the investment of a fund subscribed by members of the Indian Civil Service for the purpose of founding a gold medal to be known as the "Campbell Memorial Medal" upon the terms of the scheme, a copy of which is laid upon the table.

On the proposition of the Hon. Secretary, seconded by the Hon. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, it was resolved that the offer be accepted and that the Fund be known as "The Campbell Memorial Medal Fund" and be held by the Society upon the terms and for the purposes of the scheme submitted, the said scheme being as follows:—

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Scheme for the proper management of the Fund handed over to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for the founding of a gold medal to be known as "the Campbell Memorial Medal."

1. The Fund at present consisting of Bombay Port Trust 4% Bonds of the nominal value of Rs. 3,000 shall be known as "The Campbell Memorial Medal Fund" and shall be handed over to the Hon. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I. C. S. & Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I. C. S. as the first Trustees thereof, who shall execute a declaration of Trust in respect of the same, declaring that they hold the same Fund and the investments for the time being, representing the same in trust for the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (hereinafter referred to as the Society) for the purposes of this scheme.

2. The number of Trustees of the Fund shall never be less than three and the power of appointing new Trustees, either in substitution for any existing Trustee or to fill a vacancy caused by the death or retirement of any Trustee, shall vest in the Society.

3. The Fund may be maintained in its present state of investment or, at the discretion of the Society, may be sold and the proceeds of sale reinvested in any securities for the time being authorised by law for the investment of Trust moneys, with power for the Society from time to time to vary or transpose such investments into or for others of a like nature.

4. The income accrued from the investments for the time being representing the Fund shall, from time to time on demand, be handed over by the Trustees to the Committee of the Society or to some person authorised by the said Committee to receive the same, and any income not required for the purposes of this scheme and any accretions to the Fund, from whatsoever source arising, shall from time to time as the Society shall think fit be invested in securities of the nature hereinbefore specified and be vested in the Trustees for the time being of the Fund as part of the capital thereof.

5. The capital of the Fund shall not under any circumstances be drawn upon, nor shall the income thereof be anticipated.

6. The Society shall apply the income of the Fund, or so much thereof as shall from time to time be required, for the purpose in providing a gold medal to be known as the Campbell Memorial Medal and to be awarded in recognition of distinguished services in Oriental research upon the terms hereinafter mentioned.

7. The services referred to in the last preceding clause shall consist in the publication, since the year 1903, of a treatise pamphlet or book in English on the subject of Oriental History Folklore or Ethnology, calculated to further the objects of the Society, namely, the investigation and encouragement of Oriental Arts, Sciences and Literature.

8. Subject to the provisions of this clause and of clause 1 hereunder, the first award of the medal shall be made in the year one thousand nine hundred and seven, and subsequent awards shall be made at intervals of not less than three years unless the Committee of the Society, under the power contained in clause 16 hereof, shall decide to make more frequent awards; but so nevertheless that no award shall be made in the year one thousand nine hundred and seven or any subsequent year unless a fitting recipient be forthcoming.

9. The selection of a recipient shall, subject to the approval of the Committee of the Society, be made by a committee, (hereinafter called the "Selection Committee"), the members of which shall be nominated by the President of the Society in each year in which the medal is proposed to be awarded and such nomination shall be communicated in writing to the Committee of the Society previously to and be considered by them at their first meeting held after the first day of February in any year in which the medal is proposed to be awarded and such nomination shall be subject to the approval of the Committee of the Society.

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3. The Fund may be maintained in its present state of investment or, at the discretion of the Society, may be sold and the proceeds of sale reinvested in any securities for the time being authorised by law for the investment of Trust moneys, with power for the Society from time to time to vary or transpose such investments into or for others of a like nature.

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8. Subject to the provisions of this clause and of clause 14 hereunder, the first award of the medal shall be made in the year one thousand nine hundred and seven, and subsequent awards shall be made at intervals of not less than three years unless the Committee of the Society, under the power contained in clause 16 hereof, shall decide to make more frequent awards; but so nevertheless that no award shall be made in the year one thousand nine hundred and seven or any subsequent year unless a fitting recipient be forthcoming.

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10. In the event of the Committee of the Society not approving of the nomination of any member or members of the Selection Committee, the President of the Society shall nominate another member or other members as the case may be until three members shall be so approved and in the event of any irreconcilable difference between the President and the Committee of the Society, a Committee shall be formed of three members, one of whom shall be chosen by the President of the Society, one by the Senior Vice-President of the Society, and one by the Committee of the Society.

11. In the event of the Selection Committee not being unanimous a majority of the members thereof shall bind the minority.

12. The Selection Committee shall have the right, in order to assist them in forming their judgment, of consulting all or any of the Professors of Oriental subjects at the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Allahabad, or any other scholars whom they may think fit to consult.

13. The Selection Committee may with the consent of the Committee of the Society award a sum of money, not exceeding Rs. 100, to the recipient of the medal in addition thereto, when it appears to them that the recipient of the medal would accept a pecuniary honorarium in addition thereto.

14. In the event of the Committee of the Society not approving of any selection made by the Selection Committee the medal in that year shall not be awarded.

15. If in any year the medal shall not be awarded owing to a fitting recipient not being forthcoming as provided in clauses 8 and 14 hereof, the income of the Fund, which has accumulated since the date when the medal was last awarded and which would otherwise have been expended in providing the medal for such year, shall be invested by the Society in any of the securities hereinbefore authorised and shall be treated as part of the Capital of the Fund.

16. The Committee of the Society may at any time hereafter, notwithstanding anything in the clause 8 hereof, if the income of the said Fund shall, owing to accumulations arising under clause 15 hereof or from any other cause, be sufficient to enable them to do so, decide that the medal shall be awarded at a less interval or less intervals than three years.

17. The Committee of the Society may from time to time make and alter rules and regulations for the management of the Medal, provided that no rules or regulations so made by them shall be contrary to the objects of the Society as defined in clause // hereof to these presents.

18. With the exception of the appointment, from time to time as occasion may arise, of new Trustees of the Fund, which appointments shall be made by the Society, all acts and things by this scheme provided to be done by the Society shall be deemed to be duly done and performed if the same shall be done and performed by the Committee of the Society for the time being, and the Trustees of the Fund shall be discharged by the receipt of the said Committee or of any person authorised by them in respect of any payments from time to time made by them out of the income of the Fund.

19. The Trustees of the Fund may from time to time reimburse themselves or pay and discharge out of the income of the Fund all expenses incurred in or about the execution of the Trusts declared by the said Declaration of Trust.

On the proposition of the Honorary Secretary seconded by Mr. James MacDonald it was resolved that:—The Hon. Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar, Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I. C. S. and Mr. R. E. Enthoven be appointed Trustees of the Fund and that they do execute a Declaration of Trust in the form laid upon the table declaring that they hold the said Fund in Trust for the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for the purposes of the said scheme.

we these declarants and the survivors and survivor of us and the heirs, executors or administrators of such survivor and so far as we lawfully can and may bind them the Trustees for the time being of the said Fund appointed from time to time hereafter by the Society whether in substitution for us or any of us or in the place of any one or more of us dying or retiring from the Trust by these presents declared SHALL and WILL at all times hereafter hold and possess the Fund so called or known as "The Campbell Memorial Medal Fund" and all investments for the time being representing the same and any accretion thereto and the income from time to time to arise from the capital of such fund including all accretions thereto (if any) IN TRUST for the Society for the purposes of the said scheme a copy whereof is subjoined hereto. To the INTENT that so far as the terms of the said scheme apply to and affect the Trustees of the said Fund we these declarants shall conduct and manage the same in accordance with the terms and provisions of the said scheme IN WITNESS WHEREOF we have hereunto set our hands and seals this 9th day of April 1907.

THE MHERS.

BY VISHVANATH P. VAIDYA, B.A., BAR-AT-LAW.

The Mhers are a community about which it is worth while investigating the origin, migrations, social and political status as it changed from time to time and its relation with other tribes of similar status found on the western side of India. It is a question as to what the proper name of this community is. The name is spelt differently, as "Mers", "Mehars," "Meds", "Mheris" and sometimes even "Mands". The tribe is certainly as old as the Christian era, in about the commencement of which, it was found somewhere on the banks of the Indus. They may or may not be for certain the progenies of India. Their physiognomy, stature, colour and habits bespeak of settlements in the Middle Asia round about the Caspian Sea. Tall figure, fair colour, athletic habits, skill in archery are the qualities even now found among them.

Persian scholars go so far as to say that the Mhers lived in the time of the Kauravas which may be any time before the 6th century B.C. M. Reinaud is of opinion that there was a work in Sanskrit, composed about the beginning of the Christian era, certainly long previous to Rājatarangini of Kallahna and probably previous to Mahābhārata, which is now reputed to have attained its present form between 200 B.C. and 400 A.D. The original work, which perhaps subsequently became a part of the Mahābhārata, seems to have been translated into Arabic and then into Persian in or about 1026 A.D. It is referred to as *Fragments Arabics et Persans Incédits relatif a la inde*. It is No. 62 in the *Bibliothèque du roi et Pach*. In this book, in the first part thereof, the Jāts and the Mhers are men-

tioned. These Mhers, according to that author, lived on the Indus and were owners of herds of sheep. The Jāts had an ascendancy over them and they killed many of the Mhers. One of the kings of the Mhers advised them to live in peace. Some chiefs of the Mhers then waited on Duryodhana, son of Dhritarashtra, and begged of him to appoint a king for them, which was done. Dussalā, sister of Duryodhana and wife of Jayadratha, was appointed to rule over them. In Mahābhārata we find that Jayadratha was the king of the Indus country. When the Pandavas were destroyed¹ Kāshyapa established a dynasty of Sunāgās, who ruled over the country for 15 kings. Then came the kingdom of Hala, son of Jayadratha and Dussalā. But a tribe called Merubhuta (मेरुभूतः) is mentioned with others such as Bahlikas (बाह्लिकाः), Ahirs (आहीराः) of Sorath (स्वराष्ट्र) who were on the battle field.² There is a passage also in बृहत्संहिता (14-26) which mentions a tribe called Meruka (मेरुकाः) who are mentioned with (काश्मीराः) Kashmerians and Sairindhras who lived somewhere in the north-west of the Midlands (मध्यदेशः) which, according to Manu 2.21, is the country between the Himālayas and the Vindhya. The north-west thereof would be near the northern side of the Indus. There is also a tribe called Maruka (मरुकाः)³ who with others were led to Yudhisthira and there is a मेरु known as a demon (असुर) and an enemy of Vishnu.

These references show that there was a community of this name, not friendly with the Pāndavas but leaning towards the Kauravas, living somewhere near the northern portion of the Indus and so in the north-west of the country situated between the Himalayas in the north and the Vindhya in the south.

1 See Elliot, Vol. I, page 104.

2 See Mahābhārata, Bhishma Parva 7-47-18.

3 See Mahābhārata, Sabha Parva 78-25

Mehers or Mhers, as styled here, do not appear in the Mahābhārata though Jayadratha is known to be an ally of Duryodhana. It may be that Mhers were an insignificant tribe, small and then not very powerful. One thing appears to be certain that they flourished at a time when the Nāgas had not yet migrated to India. The Sunāga dynasty although mentioned in the Mahābhārata in a very cursory way, seems to have a very prominent activity some time after the Mahābhārata period, in the provinces which we now know as Rajputana. The interesting method by which Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar refers to the origin of the Brahmins known as Nāgars, somehow or other, gives credence to the advent of Nāgas just about or soon after the Mahābhārata battle. In some literature after the Mahābhārata one peculiar community is mentioned as Nāgar which Dr. Bhandarkar derives from the word Nāga with the suffix 'ra' having a genitive significance meaning 'Nāgar', *i.e.*, the community which is connected with the Nāgas. Now these Nāgas are mentioned in this now lost Sanskrit work referred to by M. Reinaud as a powerful and reigning community which came after the establishment of the kingdom over the Jāts and Mhers by Dussalā, wife of Jayadratha, at the instance of Duryodhana.

In Kathiawar, there are a number of these minor communities, who migrated in the peninsula certainly not later than the 8th century. There are the Mehers, the Vāghers, the Āhirs, the Hātis, the Kāthis, the Mānds, the Khānds, the Bābrias and several others. They have come down from the north and perhaps from the Central Asia in prehistoric times. It may be, that some of them came to India even before the Āryans and settled round about the Indus. How did they get the name of Mhers is a question discussed by several scholars. Col. Walker thinks that the word comes from 'mer' meaning 'favour' or 'friendship', but there are other scholars who think that

tioned. These Mhers, according to that author, lived on the Indus and were owners of herds of sheep. The Jāts had an ascendancy over them and they killed many of the Mhers. One of the kings of the Mhers advised them to live in peace. Some chiefs of the Mhers then waited on Duryodhana, son of Dhritarashtra, and begged of him to appoint a king for them, which was done. Dussalā, sister of Duryodhana and wife of Jayadratha, was appointed to rule over them. In Mahābhārata we find that Jayadratha was the king of the Indus country. When the Paudavas were destroyed¹ Kāshyapa established a dynasty of Sunāgās, who ruled over the country for 15 kings. Then came the kingdom of Hala, son of Jayadratha and Dussalā. But a tribe called Merubhuta (मेरुभूताः) is mentioned with others such as Bahlikas (बाह्लिकाः), Ahirs (आहीराः) of Sorath (स्वराष्ट्र) who were on the battle field.² There is a passage also in मुद्रारङ्गिका (14-26) which mentions a tribe called Meruka (मेरुकाः) who are mentioned with (काश्मीराः) Kashmirians and Sairindhras who lived somewhere in the north-west of the Midlands (मध्यदेशः) which, according to Manu 2.21, is the country between the Himālayas and the Vindhya. The north-west thereof would be near the northern side of the Indus. There is also a tribe called Maruka (मरुकाः)³ who with others were led to Yudhisthira and there is a मेरु known as a demon (असुर) and an enemy of Vishnu.

These references show that there was a community of this name, not friendly with the Pāndavas but leaning towards the Kauravas, living somewhere near the northern portion of the Indus and so in the north-west of the country situated between the Himalayas in the north and the Vindhya in the south.

1 See Elliot, Vol. I, page 104.

2 See Mahābhārata, Bhishma Parva 9-47-18.

3 See Mahābhārata, Sabhā Parva 78-95

Mehers or Mhers, as styled here, do not appear in the Mahābhārata though Jayadratha is known to be an ally of Duryodhana. It may be that Mhers were an insignificant tribe, small and then not very powerful. One thing appears to be certain that they flourished at a time when the Nāgas had not yet migrated to India. The Sunāga dynasty although mentioned in the Mahābhārata in a very cursory way, seems to have a very prominent activity some time after the Mahābhārata period, in the provinces which we now know as Rajputana. The interesting method by which Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar refers to the origin of the Brahmins known as Nāgars, somehow or other, gives credence to the advent of Nāgas just about or soon after the Mahābhārata battle. In some literature after the Mahābhārata one peculiar community is mentioned as Nāgar which Dr. Bhandarkar derives from the word Nāga with the suffix 'ra' having a genitive significance meaning 'Nāgar', i.e., the community which is connected with the Nāgas. Now these Nāgas are mentioned in this now lost Sanskrit work referred to by M. Reinaud as a powerful and reigning community which came after the establishment of the kingdom over the Jāts and Mhers by Dussalā, wife of Jayadratha, at the instance of Duryodhana.

In Kathiawar, there are a number of these minor communities, who migrated in the peninsula certainly not later than the 8th century. There are the Mehers, the Vāghers, the Āhirs, the Hātis, the Kāthis, the Mānds, the Khānds, the Bābrius and several others. They have come down from the north and perhaps from the Central Asia in prehistoric times. It may be, that some of them came to India even before the Āryans and settled round about the Indus. How did they get the name of Mhers is a question discussed by several scholars. Col. Walker thinks that the word comes from 'mer' meaning 'favour' or 'friendship', but there are other scholars who think that

the word comes from 'Mithra' meaning the sun. This is perhaps more probable. Even to-day we find most of them to be worshippers of the sun and the places through which they have migrated were places where the sun worship was very prominent. In Sindh and in the western coast of Kathiawar and even in the southern portion of the peninsula, where later on the cult of Krishna was very prominently felt, the sun worship was firm. One of these places is Prabhāsa, a very ancient place mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Nearly two miles from this place in the midst of the jungle even to-day one can find an old dilapidated temple of the sun. The Surya Temple of Modhera in Gujerat is very well known. Even in the not very old town of Porbunder there is a temple of Surya, the sun.

The Mhers appear in the year 833 or 841 A.D. when they are known to have been attacked by one Amran, governor of Sindh, appointed by Khájá Inustarur Dhári, an Arab prince. On this occasion, it is further mentioned that, this Governor Amran attacked the Mhers at several points with the assistance of many Ját chiefs, who had been so very cruel that they dug a canal from the sea by which the sea water flowed into the lakes owned by the Mhers, so that all the water they had to drink became saltish. After the death of Amran, his son fitted a flotilla of 70 barges against the Mhers of Sindh, put many of them on board and took them to Mália. This Malia may then be a town of some importance but is now a small principality in the extreme north of Kathiawar, on the southern border of the Gulf of Cutch.

It is very doubtful whether the Mhers had a colony on the banks of the Danube, says Elliot¹, and he further observes that one may not know what may happen in the long course of time.

There is no doubt that this energetic tribe was making

¹ See Vol. I, page 225

its influence felt in the whole of the peninsula of Kathiawar, but the section of the tribe that migrated to Kathiawar was very small. The Kathiawar Mhers instead of themselves becoming rulers became helpers of other powerful tribes, who established themselves as rulers and who secured their services. Another section of the Mhers appears to have migrated towards the east and come to the country which we now call Marwar which may be Merwara or it may be even the portion which is now known as Mewar. There is an historical belief that the rulers of these places, who now trace their descent from the sun and the moon, but whose history is certainly not very ancient, may be some of the energetic and enterprising persons of this old tribe of Mhers.

But it is again authentically mentioned that these Mhers who were always shifting from place to place came under the purview of Emperor Kutbuddin in or about the year 1195 A.D. near Ajmere. Certainly there are places, for example, Bharatpur, where the Jāts, the companions and opponents of Mhers, even to-day rule. We often find these two tribes working side by side though not in alliance but trying to supersede the other.

The smaller portion of the tribe which migrated to the southern portion of Kathiawar has kept up the old traditions of the tribe, though they have never reached any very high status of becoming actual rulers in any part of the province. Although, according to Elliot, they as well as the Mehers of the Árāvali Hills district are descendants of the same family as Mahands, they were also keepers of herds of sheep, but they do not seem to be of the same origin as the Rabaris, who in Kathiawar and some portion of Gujerat lived in very large number, a tribe by itself never having a fixed habitation, but moving from place to place, just as it suited their purpose, according to the climate and supply of fodder for their herds. The Rabbaris have their own

Swami or Bava whom they respect and whom they go to for worship once in a year.

The Mhers of Kathiawar are found, not later than 8th or 9th century after Christ, in the territory which is now under the Jam of Nawanagar, but it appears that they migrated to the south and very likely did so with the Jetwas, who migrated from Morvi, the extreme north, to ultimately the extreme south, and established themselves in Bhumli in the midst of the Bardá Hills. Stories of the enterprises of the Mhers, males as well as females, are recited by bards and local poets and are very popular legends.

They had connection with the Ránás of Jetwa clan who after a rule of nearly four centuries had to leave even Bhumli and to migrate to Chbáyá, a fortress nearly a mile and a half distant from the present capital, Porbunder. The Mhers of Kathiawar are now mostly in Porbunder state, although there are some in Jamnagar and a few in Gondal. They have a peculiar tenure of their holdings, which in Porbunder state came to about 14 villages in which they are complete masters though under the suzerainty of the Ránás of Porbunder. In their early days, i.e., some two or three centuries ago, if not earlier, they showed great martial spirit so much so that they were known as the Sword of the State and as such they had privileges and rights which were morally recognised. Some time in the middle of the last century, they appear to have put forward a claim to be treated as Mulgarasias, but that claim was negatived by a commissioner appointed to inquire into the matter by the British Government. They were, however, held to be 'aracias with service tenure, permanently holding land in return for the military service offered to the Ránás.

Lot alone their political status, but they were an enterprising community in several respects. Their features, stature and language bespeak of very ancient origin, perhaps earlier than even the Aryans. There are words in their language which could not be traced from Sanskrit or any of the vernacular which they may have spoken at different times. Their marriage customs are mostly of the primitive type, *viz.*, that of capturing the wife for one's use, although the rigour of the ceremony is toned down mostly by their association with the Aryan race. It is a very conservative tribe and hardly ever thinks of losing their old status and even of making education one of their present day occupation. Even to-day they are of martial spirit and although the majority of them, even as marauders, are honest to the extent that they would never injure a woman, a horse or a Brahmin. They have a very great love for horse breeding, which seems to be common in them with the Káthis and other Kathiawar tribes already referred to.

One of the peculiar features of this tribe as differentiating them from others is that they are keen speculators in metaphysics. You can hear them singing old folk songs of Vedantic views and, in the middle of the last century, when a very eminent Vedantic scholar and teacher appeared among them, this tribe took to the views explained and taught by that scholar and even after three generations now the influence is carried down. Some of the Mhers understand Vedantic theories very intelligently although they do not know how to read or write. It is not always an easy matter for a Pandit to read Purana or a Vedantic work before a Mher unless he himself is very well conversant with the tenets and theories. Metaphysics came to them very naturally.

The women are beautiful, tall in stature and, as their men, they enjoy a very old age. I knew a number of

persons of this community both male and female, who lived to the ripe age of 98 and 99. They are very loving, sincere and always loyal. Even when they quarrel with you they never forget even the slightest service done to them. As cultivators they are very hardworking. Even though their land yield is very moderate they, as cultivators, live handsomely and are not without savings. By religion, as I have already said, they are worshippers of the sun. But the keenness over it is disappearing and yet, as already stated, Porbunder boasts of having erected a Surya Temple. They refuse to come and settle down permanently in the capital town. They always prefer to live in their own villages.

Such is this interesting tribe and it is worth while studying similar tribes which are inhabiting the peninsula of Kathiawar.

THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀ- BHĀRATA : ĀDIPARVAN

BY

PROFESSOR M. WINTERNITZ

The Ādiparvan, in Dr. Sukthankar's Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata,¹ is now complete, and I have no hesitation in saying that this is the most important event in the history of Sanskrit philology since the publication of Max Muller's edition of the Rgveda with Sāyaṇa's commentary. And I can repeat now, when this volume of 1115 quarto pages lies before me, with all the greater assurance, what I said in my paper read at the XVIIth International Congress of Orientalists at Oxford, in 1928, when only the first fascicule of 60 pages had appeared: "The critical edition of which we now see the beginning will contain a text infinitely superior to any of the editions that are available at present. And not only that. As the edition will be accompanied by a complete *apparatus criticus*, and all spurious passages will be found either in the critical notes or in the Appendices, the student of the Great Epic will henceforth always be able to form his own opinion, as he will, in each special case, have the whole Ms. tradition before him."²

At least for the Ādiparvan, the student of the Great Epic is now, and only now for the first time; able to rely for his studies on a really critical edition, based on an extensive and carefully selected Ms. material, coming from all parts of India.

¹ The Ādiparvan being the First Book of the Mahābhārata the Great Epic of India for the first time critically edited by V i s h n u S. S u k t h a n k a r, Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1933. — The Mahābhārata For the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar with the Co-operation of Shrimant Balasabeb Pant Pratididhi; S. K. Belvalkar A. B. Gajendragadkar; P. V. Kane; R. D. Karmarkar; V. G. Paranjpe; V. K. Rajwade; N. B. Utgikar; P. L. Vaidya; V. P. Vaidya; M. Winternitz; R. Zimmermann, S. J. and other Scholars and Illustrated from Ancient Models by Shrimant Balasabeb Pant Pratididhi Ruler of / undh. Volume 1. Pages cxviii + 997, 4°.

² Indologica Pragense I, 1929, p. 62.

The last fascicule (7), which has just been published, contains the Appendices and Prolegomena. Appendix I includes the longer passages found in different recensions, versions, or single Mss., and excluded from the constituted text as interpolated, while the shorter interpolations have been given in the footnotes along with the text. Only a small number of short, but unimportant passages are also given in the Appendix. Appendix II is a very instructive list of Sanskrit excerpts culled from the Javanese version of the *Ādiparvan*, compared with the Critical Edition, the Calcutta Edition, and P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri's edition of the Southern Recension. A comparatively small list of "Addenda et Corrigenda" follows. The second half of the fascicule comprises the *Prolegomena* (113 pages).

In these "Prolegomena" Dr. Sukthankar gives a full and clear account of the Mss., their classification, and the principles followed in the constitution of the text.

The manuscript material is naturally classified according to the scripts in which they are written, the different scripts corresponding on the whole to different provinces. The two main recensions of the Epic, Northern and Southern, are written in Northern and Southern scripts respectively. But each of these recensions is again divided in a number of "versions", corresponding to the different provincial scripts in which the Mss. are written. For the Northern recension, manuscripts have been collated in Śāradā, Nepālī, Maithilī, Bengali and Devanāgarī scripts; for the Southern recension, manuscripts in Malayālam, Grantha and Telugu scripts.

Of course, the number of the Mahābhārata Mss. is legion. And some scholars have objected to the plan of preparing a critical edition, when it was first proposed, that with such a huge number of Mss. the preparation of a critical edition of the text was simply impossible. But on an examination of a considerable number of Mss., it was soon found that it was quite unnecessary to utilize all Mss. in existence for preparing the text of the Mahābhārata. There exist about 235 Mss. of the *Ādiparvan*, as far as they have become known to the Editor either from catalogues or through private owners of Mss. But though it is true that no two Mss. are entirely identical, as every copyist claims the right of making

his own mistakes or indulging in paltry alterations of the text or even of interpolating a śloka or two here and there, yet on the whole the deviations between Mss. belonging to one class are so insignificant that it would be a more than useless overburdening of the *apparatus criticus* and a mere encumbrance, if the different readings of all available Mss. were given.

As Dr. Sukthankar has shown, and as I know from my own experience, five or six Mss. of one class are generally sufficient to establish the text of the special version represented by that class of Mss. The large number of Devanāgarī Mss. is especially due to the popularity of Nilakaṇṭha's version. And when the text of that version is once established, it would be useless to collate all Mss. giving this version. Great is also the number of what Dr. Sukthankar calls "misch-codices", that is, Mss. which give the text not of one particular version, but a mixture of readings belonging to different versions and even recensions. They are of little value for the constitution of the text. In short, the Editor had to attach more importance to the quality than to the quantity of Mss. Nevertheless, of the 235 Mss. of the Ādiparvan about 70 were fully or partly examined and collated for the critical edition, and the *critical apparatus* gives, for the first two Adhyāyas (which are of special importance) the readings of 50, for the rest of the Book those of 38 Mss. Besides the Mss., the commentaries were also used wherever available.

The best known commentary is that of Nilakaṇṭha. But it so happens that he is neither the oldest nor the best commentator, nor is his text the most reliable. As Kullūka has had the unmerited good fortune that his commentary of the Manusmṛti has become most popular, though it is much inferior to all the other commentaries, similarly Nilakaṇṭha is shown by Dr. Sukthankar (p. LXV ff.) to be not only the latest, but also the most unreliable commentator. His text "has acquired in modern times an importance out of all proportion to its critical value." The oldest commentary seems to be that of Devabodha, on which Arjunamiśra's commentary is largely based (p. LXX). Nilakaṇṭha refers to Devabodha, whom he calls "ancient" (prācīna), Vimalabodha, Arjunamiśra, Ratnagarbha and Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa. While Arjunamiśra's text is closely related to the

Bengali version, that of Devabodha seems to have much in common with the Śāradā (Kāśmīrī) version, though we cannot be quite certain, because Devabodha's commentary is not accompanied by the epic text.

Dr. Sukthankar has shown (pp. XLVII ff.) that the Kāśmīrian Śāradā version is the shortest, containing less spurious matter than any of the other versions. He has, therefore, taken it "as the norm" for his edition. Its superiority to other versions is also proved by archaisms and *lectiones difficiliores* which it has retained. Not only the Kāśmīrian version, but also the Bengali text is a better representative of the Northern recension than the text of Nilakantha, which is mainly identical with the so-called "Vulgate", the text of the Calcutta and Bombay editions.

Compared with the Śāradā text, which Dr. Sukthankar would designate as a "textus simplicior", the Southern recension offers a longer, fuller, and more exuberant text, which is therefore styled by the Editor the "textus ornator". In those parts, however, which are not affected by this tendency towards inflation and elaboration, the text proves purer and more archaic than the Northern recension, and often agrees with the Śāradā version where it differs from other Northern versions.

Professor P. P. S. Sastri, the editor of the Southern Recension, has concluded from this, that "the Southern Recension is the more authentic and reliable version".¹ And as the Āndhra Bhāratamu, the Telugu adaptation of the Telugu poet Nannaya Bhaṭṭa (ca. A.D. 1022) agrees on the whole with our present Southern Mss., and as the Javanese adaptation (ca. A.D. 996) is said by Prof. Sastri to follow the Southern recension, he concludes that this was "perhaps the only Recension that was current in India before the 9th century A. D." Accordingly he considers all the passages which are found only in the Southern recension, to be authentic and to have been omitted in the Northern recension, which represents "a mutilated and hastily put together composition of the Middle Indian Redactors" (l. c. p. VIII).

Whatever may be the source of other Parvans of the Javanese adaptation—the question requires much further investigation—

¹ The Mahābhārata (Southern Recension) critically ed. by P. P. S. Sastri, Vol. II, Adī parvan, Part II, pp. V ff.

the Ādiparvan is shown by Dr. Sukthankar (p. XXVI) to be more in agreement with the Northern Mss. So it cannot prove anything for the authenticity of the Southern recension "before the 9th century A. D." Also the hypothesis that the Northern recension represents a "mutilated" text has been proved by Dr. Sukthankar to be utterly untenable. There is not the slightest reason for assuming that the Śārada text is an abridged version. Copyists of the epic text have never found it too long; on the contrary they were always inclined to enlarge their text by any matter found in other local versions accessible to them. Professor P. P. S. Sastri still attaches, as my late lamented friend Mr. Utgikar did, importance to the Parvasaṅgraha argument. But Dr. Sukthankar has proved the futility of this argument, as the text of the Parvasaṅgraha has been tampered with in the different versions (pp. XCVII ff.).

We have, therefore, nothing to go upon for the constitution of the critical text except a careful study of the manuscript tradition. We have no means of tracing the text of the Mahābhārata back to the time when it consisted only of real epic songs which were transmitted orally by bards. We can take it for granted, however, that already these early bards or rhapsodists took every possible liberty with their texts, as in later times the copyists did.¹ In the 4th or 5th century A. D. there were, however, already manuscripts of the Mahābhārata in existence, and the Mahābhārata was at that time not only a Kāvya, but also a Smṛti which in an early inscription is already styled "the collection of a hundred thousand verses" (śatasāhasrī saṁhitā.) About 600 A. D. manuscripts of the Epic existed already in distant Cambodia.² Now the earliest manuscript that the Editor of the Ādiparvan could get hold of is a Nepālī Ms. that was probably written about A. D. 1395, whilst the majority of Mss. were written only in the last two or three centuries.

A study of these Mss. with their huge mass of variants, of differences in sequence, of additions and omissions of which the critical apparatus bears witness, has convinced Dr. Sukthankar

¹ Cf. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, Calcutta 1927, p. 466.

² See Winternitz, l.c. pp. 463 ff.

that for many centuries "there was a free comparison of manuscripts and extensive mutual borrowings," extending also to Mss. of different recensions (p. LXXIX).

From all this it follows that the text of the Mahābhārata has been in a fluid state from the very beginning, and this means that a wholly satisfactory restoration even of the śata-sāhasrī saṁhitā, to say nothing of an "Ur-Mahābhārata," is impossible (p. LXXXII). What then is possible? This question is clearly answered by the Editor (p. XXXVI): It is only possible, "to reconstruct the oldest form of the text which it is possible to reach on the basis of the manuscript material available," abstaining "from effecting any change which is not in some measure supported by manuscript authority."

For anyone acquainted with Mahābhārata Mss. there cannot be the least doubt that "the Mahābhārata problem is a problem *sui generis*,"¹ and that therefore the ordinary methods of textual criticism cannot be applied to it. The peculiar conditions of the transmission of the Epic necessitate "an eclectic but cautious utilization of all manuscript classes" (p. LXXXV f.).

From this main principle are derived the details of the method followed, and clearly set out by the Editor (pp. LXXXVI ff.).

Of course, our full approval of the general principles followed by the Editor, does not imply that we agree with him in every detail of the constituted text. Both I myself and other critics have already referred to passages where we should prefer other readings.² I may be allowed to add here a few more passages in which I differ from the Editor. They are passages which I have come across in reading parts of the critical edition with my pupils in our Indological "Seminar" from time to time.

1, 3, 60 b (in the hymn to the Aśvins): *vā* should be omitted according to the principle that agreement between K and S warrants the better text, for KoN: S omit it. Besides it disturbs

¹ See already Sukthankar in JBBRAS (NS) 4, p. 157 and ABI XI, p. 262.

² Cf. for instance, Ind. Prag. I, 65; F. Edgerton in JAOS 48, 1928, 738 ff.; H. Weller in ZII 6, 1928, p. 167; 7, 1929, p. 94; and J. Charpentier in OLZ 1932, 275 ff.; 1934, 253 ff. and see also Sukthankar, Epic Studies I JBBRAS (NS) 4, 153 ff.; II, ABI XI, 167 ff.; III, ABI XI, 277 ff.

the metre, and the sense. See already H. Weller in *Zeitschr. f. Indol. u. Iran.* 7, p. 94.

1, 3, 145 c: The correct form *nyavasatūm* is given by the Kāśmīrian transcript K₁, by the Maithili and Bengali Mss., by Arjunamīśra, and by some Southern Mss., while Ko. 2-4 D₅ read *nivasato*. Nīlakaṇṭha reads *ca vasatūm*. I am not sure that the Ms. evidence justifies the reading *nivasatūm*, though this is also the reading of P. P. S. Sastri's edition of the Southern recension.

1, 3, 183 c: The majority of the N Mss. read *me kim*; Ko *mūn kim*, K₂ *mām yat*, B₄ S *kin vā*. The reading adopted in the text seems to be only found in K₁. 3. 4. The *vā* is quite useless after *prabrūhi*. Both *prabrūhi me kim* (or *prabrūhi nām kim*), and *prabrūhi kin vā* are better. I should prefer *me kim*.

1, 55, 3: The Kāśmīrian version including the Śāradā Ms., which has been "taken as the norm for this edition" (p. XLVII), reads: *śrotṛpālraṁ ca rājāns tvām prūpya* and seems to me better Sanskrit. The reading is also supported by Devabodha and the Nepālī version. But the whole verse seems to suffer from an early corruption, and deserves waved lines.

1, 56, 8: If anywhere, waved lines seem indicated for this verse. The Śāradā Ms. is missing here, K₁ omits the verse. The other Mss. read:

<i>vinirjitam dyūte</i>	K 2. 4 D ₂	
<i>vinirjitā dyūte</i>	Ko D ₅	
<i>vyasaninam dyūte</i>	most N Mss.	
<i>vyatikramam dyūte</i>		} S Mss.
<i>vyatikramadyūte</i>		
<i>vyatikramadyūte</i>		
<i>vyatikramo dyūte</i>		
<i>vyatikrame dyūte</i>		
<i>vyatikramadyūte</i>		

In the second line also the Mss. differ widely in their readings. The reading *vyasaninam* is not only supported by better Ms. evidence, but gives also a very good sense: I do not believe that we should go so far to adopt a reading only because it is a *lectio difficilior*. We have either, following N, to read *vyasaninam*, or following S: *vyatikramadyūte* in the sense of "false game."

I, 57, 20 b: I see no reason why we should not read *kriyate-bhyucchrayo*; the Mss. have **tyucchrayo* and **bhyucchrayo*; *ati* for *abhi* is a frequent mistake in Mss. Su. seems to think that the irregular Sandhi *kriyate ucchrayo* (as he prints by emendation) gives the explanation for the various readings, which I doubt.

I, 57, 21 b: *hūsyarūpeṇa śaṃkaraḥ* is no doubt the *lectio difficilior*, but it is far from certain and should at least have a waved line. Śaṃkara as a name of Indra is not known otherwise.

I, 57, 58 c: The reading *dr̥śyator* (pass. part. praes. with active ending) is no doubt the *lectio difficilior*, but it seems to be found only in K (Śi is missing for this adhyāya), and in part of the S Mss. Would it not be advisable to state in such cases exceptionally, on what authority the adopted reading rests? All the other N Mss. have the reading *dr̥śṭayor*. The Grantha Mss. and P. P. S. Sastri's edition (I, 53, 116) have quite a different reading.

I, 91, 3 c: The reading *rājarṣayo āsan* seems to me a very unhappy "emendation". The N Mss. read *rājarṣayo hyūsan*, so also P. P. S. Sastri's edition of S; while Sukthankar's S Mss. read *tatra rājarṣayas sarve* or *rājarṣayas tathā sarve*. I think, we have here only one of those numerous palpable variations, which need no explanation by a *lectio difficilior*. I should certainly read *hyūsan*.

I, 91, 6 a: As nearly all Mss. read *sopadhyāto*, I can see no reason, why we should read *apadhyāto* with 3 inferior Mss. There is no objection to the repeated *sa* before *mahābhisah*, if we do not prefer to read *tu* (on the authority of a great part of N Mss.).

I, 91, 8 cd: Here the reading *manasūdhyaṃ* has been adopted on the authority of Śi alone, while N reads *dhyānti* and S *dhyātā*. Su. is probably right in choosing the *lectio difficilior*, the rare absolutivum *ādhyāyam*. He is probably also right in giving the *lectio difficilior upāvatat* of N against *upāṛtā* of S. But the waved line would seem to me more appropriate for **dhyāyam* (reading of only one Ms.) than for *upāvatat* (reading of all N Mss.).

I, 92, 2 b: Here Su. adopts the reading *Gaṅgā śrīriva rūpiṇi* of Śi K₁, against the reading of all other N Mss. *Gaṅgā strīrūpa-*

dhūriṇī, which seems to me better. The same Mss. ŚīK₁ have in c *śayanāt* for *salilāt* of all the other Mss., which is rejected. Why should Śī K₁ in the first line be of greater authority than in the second line?

I, 92, 7 d: The reading in the text seems to be only found in V₁. The other N Mss. read:

divyām kanyām varastriyam N²B₅m Da Dn D₁. 5

rūjan kūmyām „ Śī Ko-2. 4

rūjan divyām „ K₃

divyām kūmyām „ N₁. 3.

The epithet *kanyā* seems not very appropriate for Gaṅgā. It is, of course, possible, that for this very reason other readings may have been substituted in the Mss. (The Southern rec. has an entirely different pāda: *dehi kāmām varastriyaḥ*.) But if the Śāradā text is to be taken as a "norm," why should its reading be rejected here?

I, 92, 45 c: Here Su. reads *na ca tām kīncanācā*, with the majority of the N Mss., though ŚīK have the better reading *za* for *ca*. If we read *ca*, *ca* would have to be translated by "but". S has a different reading. I think, we should not exaggerate the principle of preferring the *lectio difficilior*, especially when we have the Śāradā Ms., the "norm," as evidence for the better reading.

I, 92, 50 a: The "emendation" *aśleme* does not seem to me justified in any way. The Kāśmīrian Mss. read *aślau me*, the Bengali Mss. *aślau ye*, the other N Mss. *imeślau*, S *aślau hi*. (P. P. S. Sastri's edition, however, I, 91, 13, has *ime' ślau*.) I cannot see, how *aśleme* should be the source of the other readings. If we do not adopt the easier reading of the majority of the N Mss., we can follow the Kāśmīrian Mss., reading *aślau me*, which is quite possible: "The eight Vasus etc. have of me (in my body) ... on account of Vasiṣṭha's curse obtained birth as human beings."

I, 93, 1 d: Why *mānuṣīm tanum āgatūḥ*, which is only found in very few unimportant Mss.? The evidence is divided between *mānuṣīm yonim ā*, supported by three N versions and the S recension, and *mānuṣātām upāgatūḥ*, the reading of the Kāśmīrian version and of Arjunamīśra. The evidence is more in favour of *mānuṣīm yonim*, but also *mānuṣātām upā* is justifiable.

I, 93, 8 b: The evidence of the Mss. is almost equally divided between *abhivīśrutā* and *abhiśabditā*, the first being preferable because it is supported both by N and S. The reading of the text *atigarvitā* is, as it seems, only found in Ś₁, is less suitable, but can hardly be called a "*lectio difficilior*."

I, 93, 11 d: Here Su. adopts the reading of the Kāśmīrian and Nepalese Mss.: *devadevarṣisevitam*. The other N Mss. and the S recension have *devā devarṣisevitam* which is decidedly better. For the hermitages are frequented by "divine Ṛsis," not by "gods and divine Ṛsis", *devāḥ* belongs to *vasavaḥ*. Even apart from that I should attach greater importance to the agreement between three N versions and S, than to that between two N versions, even if one is the Kāśmīrian. In the very next verse:

I, 93, 12 d, where the Kāśmīrian Mss. alone read *vaneṣūpa-vaneṣu*, the reading of the other Mss. *parvateṣu vaneṣu* is given even without waved lines. Why should Ś₁ K be of greater authority in verse 11 than in verse 12?

I, 214, 9 a: The "emendation" *atiprītyā* for *hyatiprītyā* is really unnecessary, for *hi* which is found in all N Mss., including Ś₁, occurs so frequently as an expletive in the epic that an emendation is out of place, even if some S Mss. have *api* for *hi*.

I, 215, 2 d: Both in verse 2 and in verse 5 the Kāśmīrian and some other Mss. read **yacchatām* for **yaccha'am*, the only possible form. Yet our text gives *prayacchatām* in verse 2, and in verse 5 the correct form.

I, 216, 10 a: The reading *yat* (Ś₁ K₁, 3 N₁ D₁ T₃ G 2-6) is impossible, referring to the masc. *ratham*. P. P. S. Sastri's edition reads *yam* in the text, and notes *yat* as the reading of two (Grantha) Mss. The correct reading *yam* is given by the majority of the N Mss., and by M, the best representative of S.

I, 218, 14 d: There is a great variety of readings. But the reading *jaladhārūsamākulān* in nearly all N Mss., including Ś₁, makes good sense, as also the reading of S, *jaladhārūmuco 'tulān*. I am at a loss to see why the reading जलधारासुचोऽकुलान्, which, apart from the bad Sandhi, makes also bad sense, is given in the text.

I, 218, 27 : Why *vyātiṣṭhanta* on the authority of S₁K₁ ? The correct reading *vyatiṣṭhanta* is the reading of the majority of N and S Mss. The authority of Ś₁ K₁ and V₁ was not strong enough for adopting the reading *halaujasah*, not even for a waved line under *mahaujasah* in the same verse.¹

These remarks do not touch the general principles adopted by the Editor. Thus, it is certainly a sound principle that in very doubtful cases, when other tests fail, that reading should be chosen " which best explains how the other readings may have arisen," and that " this will often be a *lectio difficilior* " (p. XCII). But it seems to me that this principle has been carried too far by the Editor in some cases.

When I object to emendations in a few cases, I do not mean to say that the principle on which emendations are resorted to by the Editor is wrong (pp. XCII-XCIV).

The preference given to the Kāśmīrian (Śāradā) version is, no doubt, justified. While stating, however, that the Śāradā version " is certainly the best Northern version and probably, taken as a whole, the best version of the Ādi ", Dr. Sukthankar yet admits that " this version is, not by any means, entirely free from corruptions and interpolations " (p. LVI). Consequently he has himself found it necessary, sometimes to reject the readings of Ś K, and if I do so in some cases where he has adopted the Kāśmīrian reading, I do not differ from him in the general valuation of the Kāśmīrian version. The agreement between the Kāśmīrian and the Southern versions is no doubt a great indication for originality, because it is an agreement between independent versions, or as Dr. Sukthankar sometimes cautiously expresses it (see p. XCI) " more or less independent versions ". For there has been mutual influencing also between recensions and versions, which on the whole may be called " independent ". The Telugu Mss. are always, and the Grantha Mss. often con-

¹ I may add here a few errors, probably misprints, which I have come across, and which are not mentioned among the "Errata": Page 417, 940* Is *nanu* misprint for *na tu*, as P. P. S. Sastri's edition reads? For *nanu* makes no sense. — Page 421, 953 * d; For *samapadyata* read *sama-pāyata*? — Page 846; foot-notes to I, 217, 1 a: Should it not be *rathisreṣṭhau* for *ratha*? — Page 849, foot-notes to I, 218, 2cd read *prācchādayad ameyātma*.

taminated from Northern sources (p. LXX f.). The best representative of the Southern recension is no doubt that of Malabar. My own experience fully agrees in this respect with that of Dr. Sukthankar (p. LXXIII f.). But even the striking agreement between M and Śi may not always be entirely due to their being independently preserved from the original text. Both Kāśmīr and Malabar have for long been chosen homes of Sanskrit learning and Brahmanical culture, and there was intercourse between the learned Brahmins of the two so distant countries.¹ That Kāśmīrian Brahmins came to the Carnatic even in the times of Bukka Rāya, we know from an inscription which records the gift of a village by this king's great minister Mādhava "on Kāśmīr Brahmins, pre-eminent by their virtues and the country of their birth, travellers to the farthest point of the Cārāyanīya aticarapāmnāya"². Nevertheless, if it should finally be proved that Kāśmīrian Brahmins have at some time brought Mahābhārata Mss. with them to the South, it is all the more remarkable that, while the Kāśmīrian and the Southern versions so often agree in their readings, they do not agree as regards the additions peculiar to these versions. This is indeed a strong argument "for the primitive character of their concordant readings" (p. LV).

The greatest differences of opinion will naturally arise with regard to those readings which the Editor has marked as "less than certain" by a waved line printed below them, because the balance of manuscript evidence is equally divided between the different versions, especially between the N and S recensions. This is often a matter of subjective opinion. Some reader will think that a waved line was not necessary in one case, while he would put a waved line in another case where it is not found. As in every case the whole manuscript evidence is given in the footnotes, and the reader can see by himself that a reading is "less than certain," I am not sure, if these waved lines, which no doubt

¹ Cf. Rao Sahib S. Paramesvara Aiyar and P. K. Narayana Pillai in "A Souvenir of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Department for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts, Trivandrum (1934), pp. 73, 104 ff.

² *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. VII, pp. 33, 256 f.

are a proof of the extreme conscientiousness of the Editor, could not in future be dispensed with.

In his scrupulous conscientiousness Dr. Sukthankar has also stated the unavoidable shortcomings of the constituted text in such strong terms, ¹ that some reader of the Prolegomena may ask himself in despair, if there is anything certain at all in the text of the Mahābhārata, and if the attempted text reconstruction was worth the immense trouble and labour. A well-meaning critic has indeed once proposed, in order to save the Editor all the trouble, to print simply "the best manuscript extant," adding the variants of all the other Mss. which have been collated. Not a word need be added to what Dr. Sukthankar has said (pp. LXXXIV ff.) with regard to this and similar proposals.

The fact is, in spite of all the difficulties in the way of text reconstruction—difficulties which an editor naturally sees far more clearly than any critic could—the case is not quite as desperate as it might appear in view of these difficulties. There is, after all, a considerable part of the text where the Northern and the Southern recensions are in full agreement, where there are no variants at all, or—more frequently—only unimportant variants. Only as a specimen, Dr. Sukthankar has selected a hundred such stanzas (pp. LXXXVIII ff.), but their number could be easily augmented, if greater latitude is allowed with regard to "unimportant" variations. These passages which are handed down more or less uniformly in all manuscripts of the different versions, will be of the greatest importance for a future study of epic style and diction. Years ago Adolf Holtzmann published a pamphlet "Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata" (Leipzig 1884), in which he tried to collect all the archaisms and solecisms found in the Mahābhārata text, that is, in the Vulgate which alone was then available. This was an impossible task at that time.² Only now, when we have at least the critical edition of one Parvan, a

¹ For instance when he says (p. CII) "The Mahābhārata is the whole of the epic tradition; the entire Critical Apparatus. Its separation into the constituted text and the critical notes is only a static representation of a constantly changing epic text"

² Apart from this, the pamphlet is full of mistakes, as I have shown in my review (Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient 10. 1884, 307 f.; 11, 1885, 23 f.). Today it is quite useless.

beginning can be made with collecting materials for an "epic grammar." Only now we have something to go upon, when we want to know the peculiarities of epic style and grammar.

For there cannot be the least doubt that the text of the *Ādi-parvan*, as we have it now before us, is nearer to the original *Śatasahasrikā* than any one manuscript of whatsoever recension and version, and than any of the previous editions. Above all, it has been possible, not on any subjective grounds, but on the clear evidence of the manuscripts themselves, to purge the text of numerous later additions, spurious ślokas and long passages.

To many Hindus it will be a surprise, if not a shock, that there should be so many interpolations in the *Ādi-parvan*, viz. 121 long passages in the Appendix, and 1634 short passages included in the foot-notes. Yet the evidence of the manuscripts leaves no doubt of their spuriousness. Many of them are only found in two or three late and inferior Mss. A great many of these passages are absurd, childish, contradicting of the immediate context, or else palpable additions. But not a few are written in the same style and diction as the rest of the epic with such skill, that they could not be detected as spurious, if they were not found to be so by the manuscript evidence. Yet I hardly believe that even one of these 1755 passages relegated to the Appendix or the foot-notes, will be found to be a real loss to the epic as poetry.

No doubt many a Hindu reader will object to the exclusion of certain passages which he was wont to read in his *Mahābhārata*, the Northern in the Northern or the Southern in the Southern recensions. Dr. Sukthankar himself has drawn attention (p. LX f.) to the dramatic scene at the *Svayamvara* of *Draupadī*, where Karna is rejected by *Draupadī* as a suitor on account of his low birth. Many readers will not like to miss this scene in the text. But there can be no doubt about the spuriousness of this passage, as it is not found in the *Śaradā*, in the Bengali and in the Southern versions. And Dr. Sukthankar shows "that the loss of the epic is not as serious as one might, at first, suppose, since it is a palpably faked and thoroughly unreal situation."

There will no doubt also be readers who will miss the *Kanikānīti* (Appendix I, No. 81 = I, 140 in the Bombay edi-

tion), this racy piece of Macchiavellian teaching put in the mouth of the "minister" Kapika. It has been relegated to the Appendix by the Editor on the authority of the Kaśmīrian version alone, along with four other passages which are also found in all Mss. except the Kaśmīrian. Kapika or Kaniṅka Bhāradvāja is the name of a teacher of Nīti quoted by Kauṭilya (p. 253 in Shama-sastry's 2nd Ed.). Dr. Gaṇapati Śastry, in his commentary on the passage,¹ relates an anecdote about this Kaniṅka, in which he is said to have lived at the court of a king of Kosala. In the Śānti-parvan (Mahābh. XII, 140, Bomb. Ed.) a conversation between Śatruñjaya, a King of Sauvīra, and the Rṣi Bhāradvāja is related, in which Bhāradvāja gives the king a piece of advice on polity. In the colophon the piece is called "Kapikopadeśa."² Dr. Sukthankar (p. LL) describes the Kapikanīti in the Mss. of the Ādiparvan (Bomb. Ed. I, 140) as a "replica" of the Kapikopadeśa in the Śāntiparvan. I should prefer to call it another recension of the Kapikopadeśa. The Kanikanīti in the Ādiparvan contains 65 nīti ślokaś, besides the fable of the jackal, who deceives his friends, the tiger, the mouse, the wolf and the mon-goose (25 ślokaś), which is not in the corresponding piece of the Śāntiparvan. Of the 65 (resp. 63) nīti ślokaś only 33 are identical or similar in both. The Ādiparvan recension makes on the whole a more original impression than the more pedantic Kapikopadeśa in the Śānti. Nevertheless I think Dr. Sukthankar is right in declaring the Kapikanīti to be an interpolation. It is certainly an after-thought, to make Kapika or Kaniṅka of the Bhāradvāja Gotra, who seems to have been a historical person, probably an old author of a work on Nīti, the minister of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. It does not mean much that there is no reference to the piece in Ksemendra's Bhāratamañjarī. When it was missing in the Kaśmīrian version, the Kaśmīrian author would naturally omit it. But it is of more consequence that the Javanese version and Devabodha's commentary do not refer to the Kanikanīti (pp. LVII f.).

While Hindu readers will probably find that too many passages have been excluded from the constituted text, many a Western

II (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 80), p. 215.

² "Kapikopadeśa" in Protop Chandra Roy's edition.

scholar will be disappointed to find any amount of passages in the constituted text which he was sure could not be genuine and original parts of the Epic. I confess that I myself had hoped that the critical edition would confirm the spuriousness of such passages, for instances, as the various childish and contradictory stories which are meant to justify Draupadi's polyandrous marriage,¹ or the Śakuntalā episode in the form in which we find it in our editions, which could not have been the prototype for Kālidāsa's drama.²

We must not, however, allow our wishes to manage the facts of manuscript tradition. The Editor has certainly followed the only sound principle of relying entirely on the evidence of the Mss. themselves, viewing with suspicion any part of the text which is not found in all Mss., which is found only in one recension, or only in one manuscript, or in a small group of manuscripts or versions. This principle is based on the experience that copyists of the Mahābhārata have never found its text too long,³ whence we have no reason to assume that a passage omitted in a recension or version, had been omitted from a desire to abridge the text. Therefore, unless we can find some other valid reason, why a whole version should have omitted a passage, we have to assume that its omission is due to its having been added to the text in more recent times. Passages, however, which may be suspected on ever so plausible intrinsic grounds, must remain in the constituted text, if they are found in all versions and Mss. They may be interpolations, nevertheless, but then they must have been added at some earlier period to which our manuscript tradition does not reach back. The elimination of such passages is not the business of an editor, but must be left to that critical study of the Epic, of which the critical edition is only the beginning and the only safe basis.

¹ See my Notes on the Mahābhārata, JRAS 1897, p. 735ff. The Southern Recension has one additional such story, Appendix I, No. 100.

² See my paper Ind. Ant., May 1898, p. 136; and Hist. of Ind. Lit. I, Calcutta 1927, p. 376. The source of Kālidāsa's Drama was probably the Padma-Purāṇa. See Haradatta Śarmā, Padmapurāṇa and Kālidāsa (Calcutta Oriental Series 1925), which ought to have been mentioned in Dr. Sukthankar's note 4 at page XXVIII.

³ See above p. 163.

Dr. Sukthankar has, by his edition of the Ādiparvan, created a high standard of workmanship, and it will be no easy task for his collaborators who will have to edit other parts of the Epic, to keep up this standard. On the other hand, these collaborators will be greatly helped not only by the example set by the first editor in the edition itself, but also by the scholarly way in which he has treated, in the *Prolegomena*, the complicated manuscript tradition, and mastered the whole problem of Mahābhārata text criticism. The *Prolegomena* will be an inestimable help to the editors of other Parvans, though it is by no means certain that the manuscript tradition and the relation of the different versions will be exactly the same for the later Parvans, as for the Ādiparvan.

Before I conclude, I must not omit to refer to the beautiful illustrations which are a worthy ornament of this Edition, contributed by the Ruler of Aundh, Shrimant Balasaheb Pratidinidhi, by whose munificence the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute was able to start the work.

It is highly to be desired that this monumental work of scholarship, which is also a work of true Indian patriotism, may in future also always receive sufficient financial support from the Princes and governments, and possessors of wealth in India, in order that it may be possible to keep up the high standard that has been set by the Edition of the Ādiparvan.